John Brown
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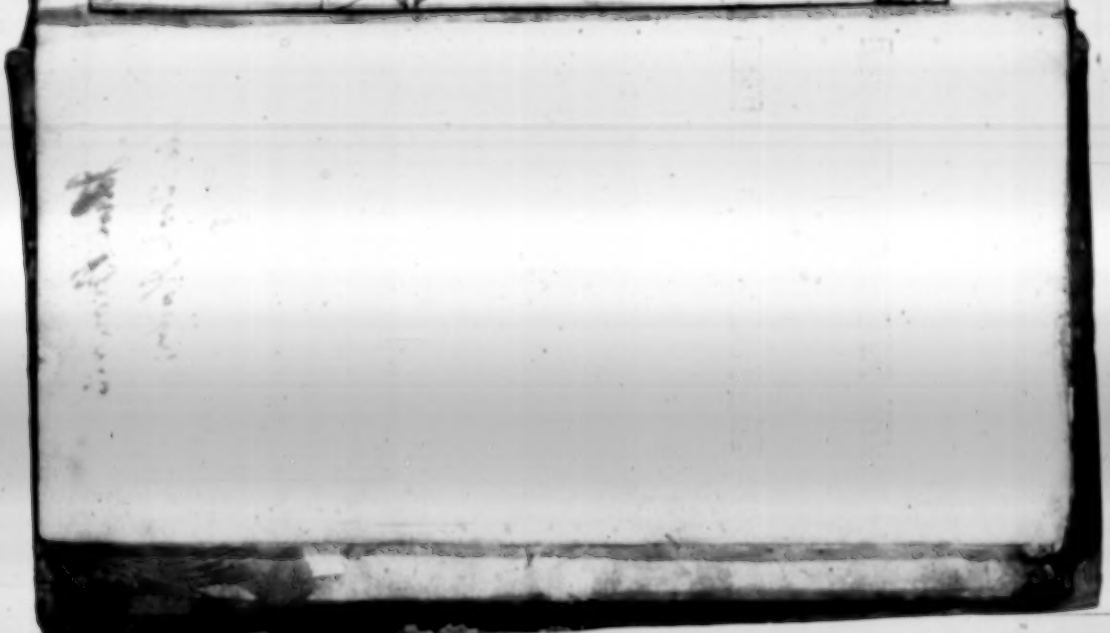
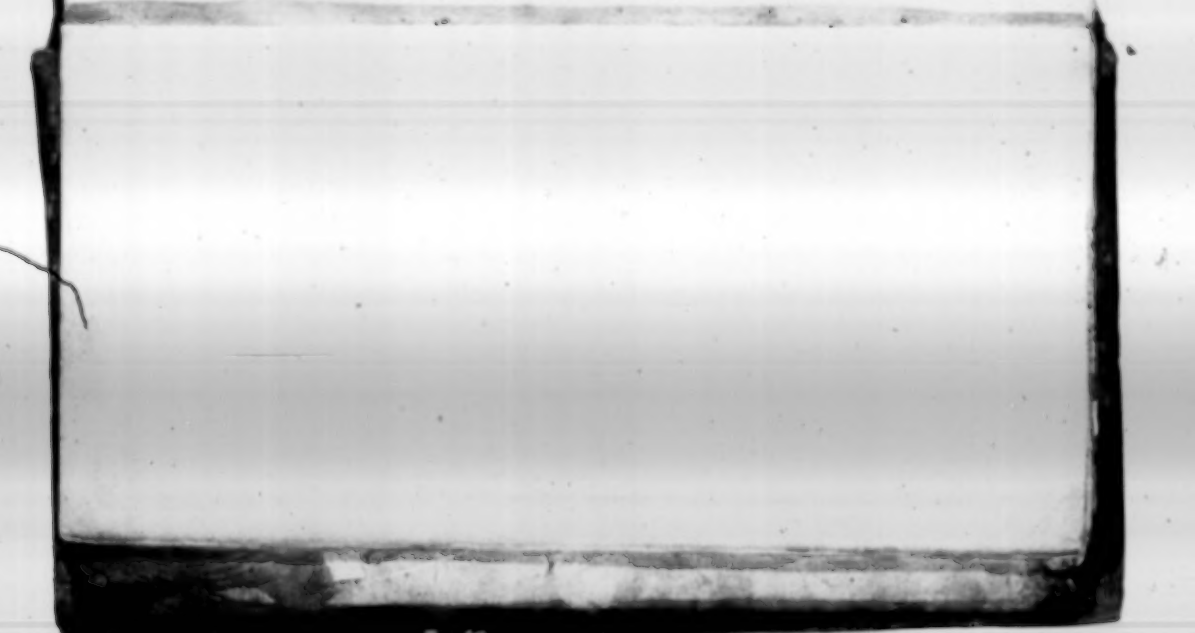


THE
Familiar
EPISTLES
of
M. T.
CICERO
Englished
and
Conferred with the:
French Italian
and other translations.

LONDON printed
by Edward Griffin.



I. WEBBE, D. OF PHYS:

TO HIS MVCH *ESTEEMED* Friend, FRA: L. *Esquire.*

YOur in-bred loue of knowledge, equaliz'd with able induſtrie; and your applauſe, and furtherance of a publicke benefit, brought vs acquainted.

quainted. In that an office freely done to any peculiar perſon, is very laudable; but extending it ſelfe to an vniuerſality; obligeth, and vniteth all men. For, as the mutuall participation of particulars, and their vſe, and faculties in a body naturall: So breedeth it, a louing harmony, and perpetuity, in that which is politicall: harmony of minds, through vniting courteſies; perpetuitie of being ſo, by an affectionate acceptance, and gratefull acknowledgement. Whereupon, there is not onely an exchange of fauours, out of the endowments of fortune: but from th'elaborated experience alſo, of ſuch as are not enuious, proceedeth a willing demonſtration of all, either infuſed, or acquired ſciences; euer binding, by reiterated offices, the receiuer to a new

new addition of thankefulneſſe, and the giuer to participate through a former deſcruing gratitude. And this was the mayne occaſion that I, (true friend) breaking the ice of my long concealed bleſſings, and inuentions, laid open to your view thoſe chriſtall, and abounding fountaines, which, who ſo taſteth, ſo inſtantly be-deweth his vnderſtanding, with ſo recreating a Balſamum that it ſpringeth in the coldeſt Winter, and is euer fruitfull. This powerfull and celeſtiall water, is (as you beheld) enuironed with a guard of auncient Authors of the moſt admired perfection in all profeſſions; and ſuch, as from the riches of their wiſedomes, haue left rules, precepts, and authorities; as legacies, regalities, and prerogatiues; by which all after-

ages, conditions of men, and dominions; haue beene, and muſt be inſtituted, maintain'd, and gouerned. All theſe, though they bewray'd a willingneſſe, to embrace you, and graunt you acceſſe vnto that fountaine: yet through an auncient familiaritie, begunne in childhood, betweene your ſelfe, and Cicero, which was one of them, you ſought this courteſie rather from him, and hee gaue rather way thereto, then any other. And as he was euer of an affable diſpoſition, & had beene well read in the conditions of all men, and, delighted to be frequented, by the moſt illuminated vnderſtandings; hee ſo taſted your inclination, that, calling me from clenſing, (as my cuſtome is) and purifying that fountaine, he requeſted me, in token

token of his affection, to preſent you with one volume of his Epiſtles. I ask't him which? Hee anſwered; the Familiar. In what Language? Engliſh. Whereat I bluſh't, and ſmiled. Hee gathering, mine inward thoughts by mine outward carriage, ſayd; Bluſh not to bee made a Tranſlator of ſo ordinarie Bookes as mine Epiſtles; In that, things the more ordinarie they are; argue the more vniuerſall acceptance: and beſides, men of greater ſhew, haue held their tranſlations of leſſer moment, for their greateſt ornaments: But bluſh to thinke that Cicero, *whoſe letters bewray his conuerſation, and whoſe conuerſation was with Conſuls, Kings, Imperator's, Prætors, Quæſtors, Tribunes, Generals, and friends of his owne ranke,*

Cæſar, Pompeius, Lepidus, Antonius, Brutus, Caſſius, Cato, Plancus, Lentulus, Deiotarus, Octauianus, *and ſuch great Potentates; and at that time when all the world was ſubiect vnto one dominion, and himſelfe in it a chiefe Commander; I ſay bluſh, to conceyte that he, ſhould reduce ſuch Epiſtles into Volumes, onely for little ones. And wrong not thine owne iudgement ſo farre, as to imagine, that euery man of thy Nation, and Countrie, which is deſirous, and worthy to read mine Epiſtles, is able to vnderſtand them in their originall: goe on then; for thoſe that ruled all men haue beene rul'd by me; be thou then ruled; and goe on. When I heard this, my ſhamefull bluſh was turned to a daring bold-*

neſſe;

neſſe; which made mee replie, Commaund: but, thou art the whole worlds greateſt Orator; and I, when theſe are ended, ſhall be but a young Tranſlator; Let me bring thee a Sydney, *a* Great L: Chancellor, *or a* Sandys; *that can parallel thy Latine, with our Engliſh Language. No, ſayd mine Author; they haue done; doe thou. With that, I asked him, how? Haſt thou forgotten, ſayd hee, that,* Epiſtolas quotidianis verbis texere ſolemus? *Here I grew ſilent: but not ſo ſilent, as preſumptuous; For, hence came theſe Epiſtles. Neither did I forget a French* Doletus, *and* Italie's Manutius, *who had daſed as much, and were applauded. But when I was almoſt at an end, and met with,* alter ſcribimus quod eos ſo-

los

los quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lecturos putamus. *I was abſolutely determined to commend my former labours, to the ſecreteſt of all friends, a fire. But you, at that very inſtant, ſent by deſtinie, reprieued them: and requeſted my patience once more to reade them, and returne you them. 'Tis done, and by theſe you ſhall receiue them. Send backe your cenſure; and Farewell.*

READER:

CICERO's Epiſtles haue in *Italian*, *French*, and other languages, endured ſundry tranſlations; and of each, many impreſſions: their Author being growne to that deſerued reputation, that not onely his natiue Countrey, but the whole world hath now, well neere a thouſand ſeuen hundred yeeres, admired him; aſwell, for his powerfull and perſwaſiue eloquence, as for his vnderſtanding in all learning, and eſpecially *in Politicis*. In which he ſo far excelled, that hee was not onely fought vnto, by the greateſt Generals, and Gouernours of mighty Regi-

ons

on and Prouinces, for Counsell and directions; but himselfe, from a Gentle man of no great fortunes, was by his owne deserts, so magnified, that passing thorow all titles and degrees, of place and honour, vsuall amongst the *Romanes*, he, aboue the rest, was glorified with these testimonies; of *Preseruer of the Cittie: Defender of all men*: and, *Father of his Country*. And came to bee of that authoritie, that hee was one of those, which commanded Kings and Potentates. These things maturely considered; a graue and powerfull Magistrate, of weightiest employment, about a great Monarch in *Europe*, made these letters his glasse, his rule, his Oracle, and ordinarie pocket-booke: an honour iustly due vnto the Prince of Eloquence; for, if I conceiue him, he affords letters of content vnto all ages; from the swath-band

Custos Vrbis; Defensor Omnium; Pater Patriæ.

band to the crutches: and to all conditions; from the meaneſt Artificer, to the higheſt Emperour: and to all capacities, from the moſt pleaſant and conceited'ſt Writer, to the ſerious Souldier, or graueſt Councellor. I know he loſeth much, by being tranſlated; though by the moſt expert Linguiſt breathing; and into the pureſt language ſpoken: Yet, becauſe hee hath like a pleaſing Actor, been call'd for, againe and againe, by other Nations; I doubt not, but with vs, he may retaine ſome reliſh of his admired ſweetneſſe, and profound wiſdome.

If in any place our *Engliſh* tranſlation, ſhall not preciſely run along with the originall. Firſt, know that the various lections may be one cauſe thereof: Next, the different expoſitions, in the *Italian* or *French* tranſlations; or their corrections in after editions; for in places that were diffi-
cult.

ficult, doubtfull, halting, or dismembred; after, conferring these (as sufficient, and carefull obseruers of our Authour) amongst themselues; and all with the text; I haue followed the most seeming probable interpretation. Neither haue I neglected the precept, that in this case, *Horace* gaue me:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres.——

Faithfull Translator, thou shalt
not afford
Exchange of languages, made
word for word.

Lest I might erre with that English Gentle-man, who being demanded by an *Italian*, what was become of his foot-boy? made answer: *Ha preso i suoi calcagni.* Which sounded almost as well to the *Italian*, as this

this other to an *English* man, from the mouth of a great Traueller, who being asked, when hee saw his friend? replied: *It maketh a little that hee was here.* Both these answers, as manie of the like, though they haue good words, yet for the sense, being word for word translated, the first is but *English-Italian*; and the last, *Italian-English*. Which how far they are different from the puritie of speech, in either language, let their *Boccace*, and our *S. Philip*, teach vs. Keeping therefore sense, for sense; lest I might offend mine owne language, or wrong mine Author, I haue endeuoured, within the compasse of my capacitie, to giue thee some, though not all manner of satisfaction. For, not alone the profit of younglings, is to bee respected; but theirs also, that are desirous to read matters of historie, negotiations, war, and secret passages of policie,

policie, and gouernmen: of which these little bookes are full: as being written by the greatest wit, and most industrious, and frequented Orator, in the weightiest businesses, and quickest times, of the *Romane* Common wealth.

An Abſtract of that part of the Hiſtorie of *Ptolemæus* King of Ægypt, which is vſually put before theſe Epiſtles for the better vnderſtanding of the firſt booke.

PTolemæus, *king of Ægypt, father, to* Ptolemæus, *that ſlue* Pompeius: *and to that well-knowne* Cleopatra: *abuſing his royall dignitie by his lenitie, as, playing the minſtrell, while others danced; from whence hee was ſurnam'd* Auletes: *and being otherwiſe in life lycentious, gaue daily new occaſions to his ſubiects to withdraw their loue, and loyalty. But, falling into th'-*

acquaintance

acquaintance of Pompeius *in the warre against* Mithridates; *and ambitious of* Societie *and* amitie *with the people of* Rome; *as was vsuall with other Kings and his owne predecessors: hee gaue to* Cæsar *then Consull, and* Pompeius *his sonne in law sixe thousand talents to effect it. Hee also sent an ayde vnto* Pompeius *in his imployments in* Iudæa *of eight thousand horse, without any charge vnto the Commonwealth. Hee kept a sumptuous table for a thousand personages, and bore the charges of as many seruitors to attend them. These and the like profus'd expences daily encreasing: and surmounting his annuall reuenue of twelue thousand and fine hundred Talents: being inforced to borrow of* Caius Rabirius Posthumius, *and other friends, and Vsurers; and after to taxe his subiects for the payment, they growing at length to dislike his proceedings, not able further*

Suetonius. Sterling. 1050000.l

Sterling 1187500.l

further to tollerate so heavy burdens, expell'd him the kingdome. Whereupon, about the end of the Consulship of Publius Lentulus *and* Q. Metellus, *he repaires to* Rome; *complaines to the Senate; vrgeth the* Societie, *and* Amitie; *of himselfe, and Ancestors; with the Senate, and people: gets* Pompeius *to backe him, and plead his deserts; and so effectually follows his businesse; that it was thought, not onely iust; but for example-sake vsefull, and profitable to reuenge the iniuries of that King, whom the Senate and people of* Rome *had not long before graced with those attributes of* Friend, *and* Companion. *A decree of the Senate was forthwith enacted, That the Consulls should cast lots which of them should restore him to his Countrie. The first lot fell to* Lentulus, *together with the gouernment of* Cilicia *and* Cyprus. *For* Spaine; *that fell*

fell to his Colleague Metellus, *was too remote from* Ægypt, *and not to be annexed to the reducement of the King of* Alexandria. *Against this decree, and ballottation* C. Cato *Tribune of the people opposed; obiecting religion; and alleadging an Oracle out of the* Sibylline *verses. That,* it the King were reduced by a multitude, it would prooue dangerous to the Common-wealth. *Then, they deliberated, who should reduce him without an armie. Some stucke to* Lentulus, *whom they had formerly aswell by decree, as lot receiued: some thought it fit to send* Pompeius; *some, otherwise. The varietie of opinions prolonged the businesse: but* Cato's *audacitie ouerthrew it. For, from the beginning of his Tribuneship, hee by dayly detractions, prouoked enuie both against the King, and* Lentulus. *At length a law being diuulged,*

to

to abrogate the gouernment of Lentulus *in* Cilicia; *his friends withdrew their thoughts, from a leſſer care, to a greater feare. And* Pompeius, *was by the ſame* Cato *ſo bitterly accuſed to the Senat, that he gaue ouer all pretence in that reducemẽt. The King diſpayring of the Senates ayde, fled to* Gabinius Pro-Conſull *in* Syria; *By whom, through the promiſe of* *ten thouſand talents; *and the aſſiſtance of* Pompeius *then Conſull, hee was reſtored about twenty fiue yeares before the beginning of our Chriſtian Computation. Hee found his kingdome vnder the Dominion of* Archelaus *friend to* Gabinius, *in the right of his wife* Berenice, *eldeſt of the three daughters of the ſaid* Ptolemæus: *but he ſlue them both in his reſtoring.*

Starling 175000.l.

Gabinius *being after call'd in queſtiõ for violating the prerogatiue of the Cõmonwealth, in that he*

he had passed the bounds of his Province against the Law Cornelia de Maiestate: *was by corruptiõ of Iudges absolued. The detestation whereof, was cause that hee was shortly after accused of extortion, condemned, and with confiscation of goods banished. Our* Cicero *was in the first accusation, Plaintife: in the last, at the request of* Pompeius *defendant.*

Read *Cicero's* Oration in defence of *Caius Rabirius Posthumius.*

THE FIRST *BOOKE OF* THE FAMILIar Epiſtles of *M. T. Cicero.*

Cicero to Publius Lentulus Vice-conſul. Epiſt. 1.

IN all my endeuours on your behalfe, and eſpecially in my deuoted affection towards you; I ſatisfie all other men, yet neuer ſatisfie my ſelfe: For, you haue ſo well deſerued of me; becauſe you neuer left my buſineſſe till 'twas effected: that I, not hauing the like ſucceſſe in yours, finde my life diſtaſtfull to me. The reaſons are theſe

Admonius the Kings Ambassadour manifestly withstands vs by money; And the businesse is carried by those Creditors who had the managing thereof while you were present. There are but few, if any, that are inclining to the Kings suite, and they all will haue the businesse referred to *Pompeius*. The Senate giues way to the brute raised of the Religion, not for the Religion, but for iust disdaine, and hatred, taken against the Kinges briberie or corruption. We cease not to exhort and intreat *Pompeius*, and in conclusion, freely to reprehend him, and to admonish him that he draw not on him so great an infamie. But my entreaties and aduertisements are needlesse: for, as well in his priuate discourses, as openly in the Senate, he hath so carried your cause, that no man could with greater eloquence, grauitie, endeuour, or earnestnesse haue pleaded it; acknowledging your fauour to him; and his loue to you in the best fashion he was able. You know you haue displeased *Marcellinus*. Yet this cause of the Kings excepted, he makes plaine demonstration, that in any other occasion hee will fauour you to the vtmost of his abilitie. And we are contented with his pleasure. There hath beene no meanes to make him alter his course about the religion. This is the state of the businesse, til the thir-

teent

teenth of Ianuarie, in the morning of which day, I wrote these. *Hortensius* and I, and *Lucullus*, touching the Armie, let the religion carrie it: (for otherwise we should doe nothing,) yet remitting our selues to the order made when you propounded the matter; we stand for you: that the Senate may commit vnto you the charge of restoring the King without the Armie, as the Religion requireth: so that you may doe it without indangering the Common wealth. *Crassus* chooseth three Ambassadours, not excluding *Pompeius*: for my meaning is of such as haue publicke authoritie: *Bibulus* also three Ambassadours, priuate Citizens, and with him agree the other Consulars, except *Servilius*; (who holdeth that in no case he should be restored;) And *Volcatius*, (who consenting with *Lupus* chooseth *Pompeius*:) and *Afranius*, (who assenteth to *Volcatius*:) which thing augmenteth the suspition of the intention of *Pompeius*. For it is found, that *Pompeius* friends agree vnto the opinion of *Volcatius*. The difficulties are manie; and the businesse beginnes to grow doubtfull: The manifest, and earnest practises of *Libon* and *Hipseus*, and the great desire of all *Pompeius* friends, bewray the hidden fire of his ambition, to haue the managing of this businesse. And they that contradict him, are not

friends to you, who haue so much extolled him. My authoritie herein is the lesse, by reason of my obligation to you. And the impression which men haue made touching *Pompeius* intention drowneth my fauours, they surmising, that they shall gratifie him by this occasion. Things are now in the same estate with vs, as they were long before your departure; being as well by the King himselfe, as by the intimate, and domesticke acquaintance of *Pompeius* priuily corrupted: afterwards by the Consulars openly sifted, and made exceeding hainous, and reproachfull. Euery man shall in your absence perceiue my integritie; but your friends shall know the loue I beare you. Had there beene trust, where there should haue beene most, these troubles had not fallen vpon vs. Farewell.

Cicero to Tullius Lentulus Vice-consull. Ep. 2.

THe xiij. of January the Senate determined nothing: because the greatest part of that day was spent in Controuersies, betweene the Consull *Lentulus*, and *Caninius* Tribune of the people. At which time I also spak much on your behalfe, and by manifest to-

kens

kens I perceiued, that the Senate tooke wondrous well, the remembrance of your reſpect vnto that order. Whereupon the day following, they were pleaſed, that I ſhould make a briefe recapitulatiõ of euery mans opinion For, they ſeemed to be reconciled vnto vs: which I perceiued aſwell by the pleading of your cauſe; as by their calling euery man, and requeſting their fauour for vs. When therefore the firſt ſentence was pronounced, which was of *Bibulus* that the King ſhould be by three Ambaſſadours reſtored; The ſecond, that you ſhould reſtore him without the Armie, as *Hortenſius* deſired; or as *Volcatius*, who gaue the third; that *Pompeius* ſhould reſtore him: It was demanded, that the particulars of that opinion of *Bibulus* might be conſidered. No man oppoſed that part wherein he touched the Religion; as being a thing not to be contradicted. Touching the three Ambaſſadors, the greateſt part ſtue from him. Then followed the opinion of *Hortenſius*, vpon which *Lupus* Tribune of the people (becauſe he had made the motion for *Pompeius*) began to contend, that it belonged vnto him rather than to the Cõſuls to command that euery one ſhould goe to that ſide to which they were moſt addicted. But his ſpeech was interrupted by the out-cryes of all men: becauſe it was a

thing new found out, and without sence or reason. The Consuls neither assented vnto him, nor were they greatly repugnant. They were contented the day should be thus driuen ouer, and so it was. For they well perceiued that the greatest part would follow *Hortensius*: though they outwardly seemed to allow of the opinion of *Volcatius*. Manie were requested to giue their opinion, and that with great vexation of the Consuls, whose desire was that the opinion of *Bibulus* might be preferred. This controuersie endured till night, and then the Senate rose; and I, as it fell out, supt that night with *Pompeius*, lighting thereby vpon this occasion more fit than heretofore hath beene offered, as being the first Senate day, that hath since your departure prooued fortunate vnto vs. I so reasoned the matter with him, that he seemed to giue credite wholly to my discourse, and to deliberate how he might fauour you. Hearing his own tale, I must needs free him from the least touch of Ambition: but when I consider the carriage or passages of his familiar acquaintance, of what degree soeuer, I finde that assuredly true, that at length is manifested to all the world: that all this cause hath beene before this time by some corrupted, and not without the knowledg or priuitie of the King himselfe, and of his

his Counſellers. Theſe I wrote the 14. of Ianuarie before day, in which the Senate was to ſit. We ſhall as I hope maintaine our reputation in the Senate ſo far, as is poſſible in this ſo perfidious an age, and full of iniuſtice. As for the popular reſpects, I thinke we haue ſo carried things, that nothing can be done with the people, without the violating of diuine authoritie, or breach of lawes, no nor without compulſion. Yeſterday the Senate ratified the things aforeſaid, by interpoſing of their graue authoritie: to which though *Cato*, and *Caninius* oppoſed themſelues, yet is was regiſtred, and I thinke it ſhall be ſent vnto you. I will not faile to giue you good accompt hereafter of euery thing that paſſeth: and I will engage all my thoughts, endeuours, diligence, and friends, in the effecting this buſineſſe, to our owne contentment. Farewell.

Cicero to Lentulus. Ep. 3.

A*Plus Trebonius* my auncient and familiar friend, who hath affayres of great importance in diuerſe places of your Prouince, and ſuch as may be ſoone diſpatched; hath beene heretofore very well-come ſhifter, as well

for his owne worth, as for being by my ſelfe, and other friends recommended: and, at this preſent, in reſpect of your loue towards me, and for our neere alliance, he is very confident, that he ſhall be able by meanes of theſe my letters, to purchaſe your gracious fauour. I beſeech you therefore let not his hope deceiue him; and I recommend vnto you all his affayres, his Freemen, his agents, his familie; and eſpecially, that what *Titus Ampius* ſhall decree about his buſineſſe, you would be pleaſed to ratifie: and ſo vſe him in all other occaſions, that he may thereby gather, that I haue effectuallie recommended him. Farewell.

Cicero to Lentulus. Ep. 4.

VPon the fifteenth of Ianuarie, when we had the better hand in the Senate, for that the day before, we had broken the neck of that opinion of *Bibulus*, concerning the three Ambaſſadors; and that there was now onely reſting the opinion of *Volcatius*, to contend withall; the buſineſſe was with diuerſe cauills prolonged by our aduerſaries: who could not endure, that we amongſt ſo manie, and ſo great varieties of opinions, ſhould carrie away the glorie

glorie of the day. *Curio* was at that time a bitter enemie vnto vs, *Bibulus* much more milde, and rather a friend than otherwise; *Cæsonius*, and *Cato*, had resolued to propose no law before the next creation of Magistrates. The Senate, as you know, by the interdict of the law *Pupia*, cannot be reduced before the Calends of Februarie, nor for all that moneth, vnlesse the Ambassages be either dispatched, or put off. But the people of *Rome* are possest, that those that enuie and hate you, haue brought vp this brute of an inuented Religion, not so much to hinder you, as to keepe euery man else from seeking for credits sake to goe that iourney with the armie into *Alexandria*. And no man can report other than that the Senate, hath had good respect of you: for it is well knowne, that your aduersaries haue hindred the dispatch of your cause, but if they shall attempt now any thing by wicked and trecherous proceedings (as they haue done) vnder pretence or name of the people of *Rome*, it is sufficiently prouided, that they can passe nothing, vnlesse they will withstand authoritie, and the lawes, or else bring their intent about by violence. I will omit to speake, either of mine owne faithfulnesse, or other meas ingratitude. For it were but a follie to make any ostentation of my selfe, consider-

ring that if I ſhould ſpend my life for you, I cannot counteruaile your courteſies: And to complaine of other mens iniuries, were but to renew my old troubles. If in this time of weake Magiſtrates, any thing ſhall be attempted by force, I can make no reſiſtance: but if no violence ſhall be offered, I can aſſure you, that the Senate and people of *Rome* will doe what in them lyeth to ſupport your reputation. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Lentulus Vice-conſul. Ep. 5.

THough I deſire nothing more, than to be knowne firſt of your ſelfe, and then to all the world, for a moſt thankful man, and one that cannot forget the good turnes you haue done me; yet it grieues me to the heart, that the times ſince your departure are ſuch, as inforce you to make triall as well of mine, as other mens truſt, and affection towards you. For I vnderſtand by your letters, that you haue had the ſame proofe of your friends, in your authoritie, that I haue had of mine, in my health, and proſperitie. I endeuoured with all my vnderſtanding, care, and power, to bring about the cauſe of the [illegible] when on the ſodaine [illegible], beyond all

all imagination, propoſed a wicked law, which did not onely hinder the cauſe, but hath made that buſineſſe, which was before light, and eaſie; to be very difficult, and deſperate. But, though in ſo croſſe an accident, we are to expect all miſchiefe; yet wee feare nothing more than treacherie. Come what will come, let *Cato* be wel aſſured, we will reſiſt him. About the reſtoring of the king, I promiſe you thus much, that I will ſo beſtur me, that you ſhall reſt fully ſatisfied. Yet I doubt, that either the buſineſſe may be taken out of our hands; or that there will be no further proceeding in it: and I cannot well determine, which of theſe two courſes will leaſt content me. But if it come to this paſſe; there is a third way which neither *Scipio*, nor I diſlike. That we neither ſuffer the King to be abandoned; nor let him be put ouer vnto that man for his reſtoring, who is alreadie thought, to haue obteined him. We will doe the beſt we can, that things may goe, as we would haue them: if not; we will ſo leaue off, that we may ſuffer no diſgrace thereby. It is for a man of your wiſedome, vnderſtanding and valour; to be well aſſured, that all your greatneſſe, and honour proceedes from your owne vertue, your noble actions, and graue proceedings, (which will neuer faile you) and to ſet light by that,

that, that the perfidiousnesse of any man can detract from you, in any thing wherein fortune hath inriched you. Knowing for certaine, that whatsoeuer is done in that kind, will turne to them more hurtfull, than to you hereafter. There is not an houre passes, but I am either doing something in your businesse, or contriuing how to doe it. And in euery thing I vse the helpe of *Quintus Selicius*: whom I esteeme as discreete, faithfull, and louing vnto you, as any of your other friends. I make accompt that you haue vnderstood both by frequent letters, and messengers, aswell what we haue now in hand, as that that hath beene hitherto effected. Of that, that is expected, I hold none fitter then my selfe, to send you mine opinion. I haue seene *Pompeius* vpon two occasiõs terribly troubled. First, for that on the 6xt of Februarie, speaking to the people in the fauour of *Milo*, they gaue not onely a negligent eare vnto him: but often interrupted him with exclamations, and villanies: secondly because *Cato* speaking ill of him, in the Senate, and sharply accusing him, had a most quiet audience: so that, it seemes he altogether shrinketh from this cause of restoring the king, in which we haue alwayes held our owne: the Senate not hauing taken any thing from you herein, but that, which by the Religion it cannot

cannot giue vnto another man. Our hope therefore at this present is, that the King finding himselfe deceiued in his opinion of thinking to be restored by *Pompeius*: and being depriued of all other hopes herein, will necessarilie applie himselfe vnto you. In the effecting hereof we will vse all diligence: and he will doubtlesse be most willing; so that *Pompeius* make but the least shew to be content therewith. But you know how slow he is, and how silent in all his actions, yet there is nothing, that may be done herein, by vs omitted. The other iniuries that *Cato* threatneth to doe vs, shall need (I hope) but easie resistance. Of the Consulars I find none to fauour you, but *Hortensius*, and *Lucullus*. The rest are partly secret, partly open enemies. But be of good courage: And without al doubt, the rash attempt of this phantasticall fellow will come to nothing, and you shall recouer your former honour, and reputation. Fare you well.

Cicero to Lentulus. Ep. 6.

HOw matters haue beene carried, you may enforme your selfe of *Publius*; who was not onely present at them, but employed in them. In the depth

depth of the trouble I ſuffer about your buſineſſe, my comfort is, that I hope aſſuredly, that the good Councell of your friends, and time it ſelfe, which diſcouereth the deſignes of enemies, and trecherous perſons ſhal ſhelter you from their wicked pretences. One better comfort I haue more, calling to remembrance, my troubles paſt; whoſe very image I perceiue in your affayres, for although the blemiſh of your honor, is not to be compared with the loſſe of my well-fare: there is notwithſtanding ſuch a reſemblance, that I cannot imagine, but you will hold me excuſed, if thoſe things affright me not, which you your ſelfe neuer feared. But, be you that man, that I haue knowne you from your infancie; and credit me, the iniuries of men, ſhall make your greatneſſe more illuſtrious. And expect from me the chiefeſt fauours, and offices that can be ſhewed you, for I will not faile your expectation. Fare you well.

Cicero to Publius Lentulus Vice-conſull. Ep. 7.

I haue read your letters, in which you are thankfull vnto me, becauſe I often acquaint you with all paſſages, and be-

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cauſe I make open demonſtration to you of the affection I beare you. It was needleſſe to thanke me, becauſe I was obliged to loue you, (if I would not appeare vnworthie of your good opinion:) and beſides, I tooke delight in this frequent epiſtolar correſpondence with you, ſeeing we could not in abſence otherwiſe enioy one another. And when it fals out that I write not ſo often vnto you, it ſhall proceed from a diſtruſt I ſhall haue to put my letters in euery mans hands. But alwaies, when I ſhal haue a faithful meſſeger, I wil not omit the opportunitie. Touching the particulars, which you deſire to know, concerning your friends, they would be tedious to relate, but as for that, of which I haue often heretofore written vnto you, I can bid you now relie vpon it for a certaintie. That ſome, which both greatly could, and ſhould haue fauoured you, haue enuied your greatneſſe, and the courſe of your Fortunes. Although the caſe be not alike, yet it hath ſome equalitie with mine. For they that were offended with you, vpon an occaſion that concerned the Common-wealth, haue openly withſtood you; and thoſe that were defended by you, haue not beene ſo mindfull of your valour, as hatefull of your commendation. At which time, as I haue heretofore at large written vnto you, I haue

knowne *Hirtenius*, and *Lucullus* to be very affectionate towards you; and amongst those that are Magistrates, *Lucius Lucullus*, a most faithfull and louing friend of yours. With that diligence, I bestow in fauouring you, I profit not so much as I should, if I fauoured another, men presuming, that I helpe you more out of obligation, than discretion. Amongst the Consulars I haue not knowne a man besides *Hirtenius* and *Lucullus*, that hath made so much as a shew, of any good, much lesse done any good thing for you. I write nothing vnto you of *Pompeius*, because you know, he hath beene very seldome in the Senate. But this I tell you, that hee hath often reasoned with me, about your matters, and that not onely when he was inuited thereunto by me, but of his owne proper inclination also. And the letters which you lately sent him, were wondrous acceptable vnto him, as I haue vnderstood by signes of greatest certaintie, I must needes confesse, that you haue not onely filled me with ioy, but with admiration, when I consider, how ingeniously, and with what great discretion, you haue kept so rare a man your friend, and so much obliged him vnto your countesie. Wiping out of his memorie, the false suspition, which he had, that you should be offended with him, believing as others did, that

that he ſtroue with you about the reſtoring of the king. To tell truth, though you haue alwayes found him readie to pleaſure you, and eſpecially then, when peraduenture the contrarie was doubted, as when *Caninius*, ſought that the people ſhould giue him the managing of this buſineſſe, yet I can aſſure you, that I neuer ſaw him, more earneſt, or forward than at this preſent. Therefore know, that whatſoeuer I write, ſhall be written by his Councell, and opinion. I ſay then, till now the Senate hath not denied you the reſtoring of the King. Becauſe that decree, that no man might reſtore him, was rather made out of furie then by reaſon; and the Tribunes as you know were thereunto oppoſed. You therefore hauing the gouernment of *Siria* and *Cyprus*, may eaſily informe your ſelfe, whether your forces be ſufficient to bridle *Alexandria*, and *Ægypt*, and finding it a matter feaſeable, you may, goe into *Alexandria* with the armie, leauing the King at *Ptolemais*, or there bouts, and when you haue ſet all things quiet, and appointed, and placed your gariſons, you may reſtore *Ptolemie* to his former ſtate and Dominion. And after this manner, he ſhall be reſtored by you, as the Senate had in the beginning ordained; and reſtored without the armie, as theſe religious perſons ſaid, was according to the pleaſure,

ſure, or liking of the *Sibylla*. And you ſhall thus doe a thing agreeable to the honour of your ſelfe, and of our Common-wealth. It is true, that the attempt ſeemes vnto vs, doubtfull, becauſe wee know men will iudge according to the ſucceſſe. And, if the matter ſhould fall out as we would haue it, euery man will proclaime you wiſe, and valorous: If any misfortune ſhould come betweene you and home, all men will ſay you were vaine, and ambitious. Wherefore, you ſhall better gather than we, whether the enterpriſe be ſecure, as hauing the eſtate of all *Ægypt* within your view. Our opinion is, that if you haue any certaintie, to poſſeſſe your ſelfe of that kingdome, that you defer no time in effecting it; but if the caſe be doubtfull, put not your ſelfe vpon it. This I aſſure you, that if you proſper in it, you ſhall be in your abſence praiſed of many, and at your returne, of all men; if it happen otherwiſe, I forſee that nothing but ill can come thereof. The Senate hauing declared their pleaſure, and beſides there being the reſpect of the religion. But as I exhort you, to put your ſelfe vpon the taske, if you finde things without danger; ſo if you doubt they will giue you battell: I diſſwade you from it. And againe I tell you what from the beginning I haue ſignified vnto you, that men will cenſure your

actions,

actions, not ſo much according to the counſell you haue embraced, as according to the end that ſhall enſue thereof. But if this way ſhould appeare dangerous vnto you, we ſhould like it well, that the king, (giuing aſſurance to thoſe friends of yours, which in diuerſe places of your Prouince, haue furniſht him with moneys;) ſhould vſe your ayde to returne into his kingdome. You being eaſily able to helpe him; aſwell for the qualitie, as ſituation of your Prouince; he being deſtitute of a more ſure meanes to returne withall. This is my opinion; now doe what you thinke beſt. Whereas you reioyce at my condition, at the familiaritie of *Milo*, at the vanitie and weakneſſe of *Cladius*, I wonder not at your ioy; being the cuſtome of an excellent artificer, to take pleaſure in his own workmanſhip. Though you cannot imagine how great peruerſitie (not to giue it a worſe terme) raignes in ſome kind of men, who if they had fauoured me, I had neuer changed mine intention, in the managing of the Common-wealth, but their all carriages towards me haue conſtrained me, to runne a courſe for mine owne ſafetie, of which I haue beene hitherto ſomething careleſſe, eſteeming honour more than mine owne life. Both might haue beene done very well, if theſe Conſulars were to be truſted, or had

had any constancie: but they are for the most part so malicious, and so depriued of iudgement, that whereas they should long affect me, as one that am a most affectionate citizen to mine own Countrey, they enuie me for defending it. Which I haue written thus freely vnto you, because I acknowledge, not onely my present estate from you, but the beginning of my honour also. And moreouer, because I begin now to beleeue, that my obscure parentage, was not the cause I was so ill beloued: considering that you, that are borne of a most noble house, could not auoid the rage of these malicious people. Who though they haue suffered you to arise to one of the chiefest places, they haue afterwardes alwayes laid waite, to clip your wings for feare you should flie higher. I reioyce, that your Fortune hath not beene like mine, for there is great difference, betweene being a little crossed, and being vtterly ruined. Notwithstanding out of your worth, you haue laboured so, that I am not greatly to complaine of mine; you hauing prouided, that I haue made greater gaine in honour, than I haue receiued damage in my estate. Therefore at this present I entreat you; vrged hereunto not onely by the fauours you haue done me, but by the affection that I euer bare you, that you shew with all your

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power to arise vnto the height of glory; to which euer since you were a boy, you haue had a strong inclination: and let not euery occurrent matter, deiect the loftines of your spirit, which I haue alwayes loued, and admired. The hope that is of you is great, and great is the commendation of your liberal nature, as also the memorie of your Consulship is great; to which you know well, how great an ornament, and honor will bee added, if some noble argumēt or token of your valour can in the gouernment, which you now haue of that Prouince, be produced. Though I am vnwilling you should enterprise any thing, without diligent consideration, examination, and preparation. And because I know that all your thoughts haue euer beene enclined to ascend to the highest step of honour, when you are arriued, I assure you 'tis an easie matter to maintaine you there. And to the end that this my exhortation appeare not friuolous, and from the purpose: know that I haue to this effect beene desirous to put you in minde of the accidents which haue occurred to both of vs, that hereafter you may know whom you may trust, and of whom you should be ware. Whereas you write that you would know, what the state of the Commonwealth is: there is great discord, but the strife is vnequal; for they that are ſt on-

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geſt in riches, armes, and power, ſeeme to haue gone ſo farre through the folly, and inconſtancie of their aduerſaries, that they are alſo at length before them in authoritie. So that, hauing few or none againſt them, they haue fully obtained that of the Senate, which was neuer thought ſhould haue beene granted by the people, without great commotion. And thus a ſtipend, with ten Ambaſſadors hath beene aſſigned and graunted vnto *Ceſar*, and the time of his gouernment in *France* prolonged, contrarie to the Law *Sempronia*, which I write briefly vnto you, becauſe the preſent ſtate of the Common-wealth diſpleaſeth me: yet I write it to aduertiſe you, that you may in time reſolue your ſelfe to beleeue that, of which I by the ſtudie of ſo many yeares, and much more by experience, am reſolued; that, a man ought not to loue proſperitie without authoritie, nor it without proſperitie. Whereas you congratulate with me about my daughter, and *Craſſipes*, I acknowledge your courteſie, and hope, that of ſuch a marriage wee ſhall haue that content, which is deſired. It reſteth onely that I remember you, that you bring vp our *Lentulus* in all thoſe ſciences, to which you haue euer beene enclined: but aboue all things, that you put him vpon that courſe, which you haue holden: by which if he goe, there

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is no doubt, but he shall become most vertuous, and very valorous; having in these his greene yeares, made himselfe of so great an expectation. We do most entirely loue him, aswell because he is your sonne, and worthie to be so; as because I know he loues me, and hath euer done so. Fare you well.

Cicero to Publius Lentulus Vice-consull. Ep. 8.

OF all things which concerne you, what is done, determined, and promised by *Pompeius*; *Emplor vius* shall to the full enforme you: who hath not onely seene, but sollicited them; and that with so much loue, iudgement, and care, that greater of any friend could no wayes be expected. Of the same man you may vnderstand the state of the weale publique, whose shape by pen can hardly be portraied. But let it suffice you, that the gouernment is in the managing of our acquaintance, and the common opinion is, that in our time it will not be changed. Wherefore I, as well for the obligation that I haue to *Pompeius*, as to obey your comfortable, and safe Councels; and to maintaine my regained honour, together with my prosperitie; I fauour his pretences,

pretences, as he vpon your request hath fauoured me in my occasions. You know how full of trouble it is vnto a citizen to change the habite of his minde, especially when it is good, and such as hath beene by him long time continued. Notwithstanding I applie my selfe to this mans pleasure, not being able with honestie to gainesay him, neither doe I this as is peraduenture by some enformed, with dissimulation; because a naturall inclination, and loue, which I beare him, can doe so much with me, that I hold all things to be honest and true, which are to his profit, and good liking. And in my iudgement his aduersaries also should doe well, if (not being able to withstand him) they should cease to contend longer with him. Verily this also giues me comfort, that euery man freely graunteth vnto me, as it were by a speciall priuiledge, either to fauour the designes of *Pompeius*; or to be silent; or to retire me to our common studies, in which I take the greatest pleasure. And if his friendship forbid me not, I will by all meanes doe so; not being able to councell the common-wealth with that freedome I desire; nor with that authority, which I, after so manie troubles sustained in managing the greatest places of dignitie haue expected. Although this is not my losse alone, but vniuersall. For, of ne-

cessitie,

cessitie, either place must be giuen (though with losse of reputation,) to the wils of some few: or difference of opinion, and opposition must be vaine and tmuolous. And whatsoeuer I haue hitherto written, hath beene almost wholly vpon this occasion. That you may at length looke to your selfe. The courses of the Senate, of all Courts of iustice, and the whole state are altered; nothing remaineth for vs to doe, but to wish for quietnesse: and those that gouerne, make show that they wil content vs, so that men will be quiet, and not so much prouoke their greatnesse to displeasure: but we must not thinke to liue with that reputation which befitteth noble Senators: thankes be to them that haue alienated *Pompeius*, from the Senate, and broken the peace which was betweene him & the Nobilitie. But to turne to our purpose, about your matters; I haue found that *Pompeius* is a good friend vnto you; and when he becomes Consull, you shall finde (if I be not deceiued) whatsoeuer true, particular, and important fauours, your heart can imagine, or be desired. And I hauing an especiall care of all your businesse, will continually prouide forward. And I am not onely sure, that I shall neuer seeme vnto him importunate, but I rather hope, that he perceiuing me so grateful, will therein

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assuredly find great contentment. *Lentulus* liue secure, for euery little occasion of yours sticks neerer me, then all mine owne. And I being of that mind, can satisfie my selfe for matter of my diligence; but for the effects, it is impossible; as not being able with my very thoughts, to serch out the way, to shew you my thankefulnesse, much lesse in act to equalize the least part of your fauours. It is here reported that you haue gotten a great victorie. And we expect the newes thereof from you. And we haue alreadie spoken to *Pompeius*; and so soone as your letters shall arriue, we will speake with the Magistrates, and Senators. And in all your businesse, although it shou'd so fall out that we should worke more then we thinke our selues able: yet it seemes much lesse vnto vs then is befitting. Fare you well.

Cicero to Publius Lentulus Vice-consull. Ep. 9.

YOur letters were very acceptable vnto me, because I vnderstood [by them] that you apparently perceiue how much I respect you; which had not beene so well expressed, if I said I had loued you, because in my conceit, that

that name of reſpect, although it be exceeding graue and holy; is notwithſtanding of leſſe vveight, and of much leſſe price, then are the courteſies you haue done me. As for the thankes you render me, nothing hath thereunto more mooued you, then a certaine aboundance of affection; which giues occaſiõ, that you eſteeme thoſe things vvhich vvithout my vtter ſhame, and ſoule imputation cannot be pretermitted. But if all this time we haue beene ſeparated, we had liued togither, and in *Rome*, I had made more manifeſt demonſtration of my mind vnto you. For vvith equall commendation, in defence of the Common-wealth, vve ſhould haue proceeded in euery action to one, and the ſelfe ſame end, and purpoſe. And I hope it may yet come to paſſe; aſvvell for that, vvhich you giue notice of; as becauſe you can eaſily performe the ſame. Of the which I vvill hereafter giue ſatisfaction according to your deſire, and vvill declare vnto you hovv I am affected, and the ſtate in vvhich I now find my ſelfe. But to turne vnto my purpoſe, if you had beene at *Rome*, I would haue beene gouerned by your pleaſure, and haue remitted my ſelfe wholly vnto your loue and infinite vviſedome, and you ſhould haue vſed me as a Counceller, peraduenture not altogether ignorant, but I

am sure, faithfull, and affectionate. Although I am verie glad, (as I ought to be,) to heare you are full of glorie in your Prouince, for your late obteined victorie: Yet here you would haue reaped, a better crop of your seede, and more aboúdant. Because I would wonderouslie haue helped you, to haue bin reuenged on them, of whom you know there are some, that greatly maligne you, for hauing restored me into my Countrie; other some, that enuie you for the reputation and renovvn, which is fallen vnto you by so noble a fact, and honourable enterprise. Although that wretched villaine, naturall enemie of his friends, vvho vvithout fauour, and depriued of any man to vphold him, in recompence of your especiall fauours done him; bestirred him vvith that feeble force he had, to doe you iniurie: Yet hee himselfe in our reuenge hath giuen condigne punishment to his owne offences. For such plots of his haue beene discouered, that haue not onely vtterly dishonored him, but during life depriued him of libertie. And although I should haue lik't it better, that you had learned by my example, then by your owne experience; yet I reioyce in my sorrow, that you haue knowne that faith in men vvith small cost, which I to my great losse haue beene acquainted vvith, and

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I am disposed to discourse a while vpon this point, to giue answere to that you haue demanded. You write that you vnderstand that I am reconciled vvith *Cæsar*, and with *Appius*, and further you adde, that for being so, you doe not reprehend me; but that you would know what reason hath moued me to defend & praise *Vatinius*: which, that it may the better be explained, it is necessarie, that I declare my minde vnto you; taking my discourse from far-fetch'd passages. When I returned, good *Lentulus*, into my Countrie, it was my meaning to helpe, not onely my friends, but also the Commonwealth; and because I found my selfe infinitely obliged vnto you, as being by your meanes returned; I thought I was likewise obliged vnto it, as hauing fauoured you in my restauration. And whereas formerly I had wearied my selfe in the seruice thereof, because I would not be wanting vnto it in the office of a good Citizen; I now thinke that it behoueth me much more to doe the same, that I might not be vngratefull. And this disposition of mine I made knowne vnto the Senate, when you were Consull; and reasoned with your selfe often about it. Though from the beginning, when you sought that the Senate should restore my former losses, many things offended me; find-

ing my ſelfe of the one part ſecretly hated, and of the other ſlowly fauoured. For, neither when there was reaſoning about my houſe, or of that wicked violence, by which I, and my brother were caſt out of doores; did they ioyne with you, which ſhould haue aſſiſted: nor yet made they demonſtration of that minde towards me, which I expected; not only in matters that were of moment, no nor yet in ſuch, as although they were for the great loſſe of all my mouables neceſſarie: howſoeuer they were of mee, but as baſe things, little eſteemed. And though I perceiued things paſſe in this manner, (for they were not very ſecret,) yet did I not eſteeme the preſent ſhame, equall vnto their merit paſt. Wherefore, although I knew my ſelfe much obliged to *Pompeius*; eſpecially becauſe you more then any man tolde mee, that you ſaw him very earneſt in my cauſe; And although I loued him, not ſo much for hauing receiued curteſies from him, as becauſe I haue beene alwayes inclined to affect him; thinking that he for his vertue had deſerued it: yet without hauing any regard to what he deſired, I followed my old cuſtome, hauing in euery action, the good of the Common-wealth my ſole obiect. And in token of the truth, *Pompeius* being of the Senate, when he went in-

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to *Rome*, to commend *Publius Sextius*; and *Vatinius* one of the teſtimonies, had tolde, that I was become one of *Cæſars* friends, moued thereunto by his happy fortune; I gaue him this anſwer. That the fortune of *Bibulus*, which hee eſteemed full of miſery, was greater in my eſtimation, then all the triumphs, and victories. And in another place, I ſaid (euen in the preſence of *Pompeius*,) that none but they thruſt mee out of *Rome*, which where occaſion that *Bibulus* feared to ſtir out of doores. And that examination of mine was onely to reprehend the Tribuneſhip of *Vatinius*. Where I ſpake with great liberty and courage, about violence, authority, and the donation of Kingdomes. Neither did I in this cauſe [illegible] many other times ſpeake in Senate with the ſame conſtancie. And further, *Marcellinus*, and *Philippus* being Conſuls, the Senate vpon the firſt of April, was contented vpon my requeſt, that on the fifteenth of May in open Senate, the caſe ſhould bee propoſed of the *Campan* Territorie. Thinke you that I could at this time courageouſly handle this cauſe rather, then forget my owne calamities, and call to remembrance my owne actions? When I had ſpoken my opinion, there grew great alteration, in ſome particular perſons, which had occaſion; and in others alſo, which I

could never haue imagined. For the decree being made, after that manner that I had councelled; *Pompeius*, without making any demonstration vnto me, that he was displeased; tooke his iourney for *Sardinia*, and *Africa*: and went by *Luca* to meet with *Cæsar*; who complained much of this deed of mine: as being incensed a little before in *Rauenna*, by *Crassus*, who had spoken much ill vnto him concerning mee: And, though I had vnderstood by many, that *Pompeius* was offended with mee; Yet my brother gaue mee the greatest notice, who meeting him in *Sardinia*, a little while after hee came from *Luca*, was thus saluted by him. In very deed, Sir, I desired to see no man rather then you: neither could fortune haue brought mee any man, with whom I could bee so much contented. If you take not such order, that your brother *Marius* keepe the promise that you on his behalfe made vs, this debt will fall vpon you. What needs more words? He complained grieuously; hee made repetition of his deserts; hee called to memory the agreement made about the acts of *Cæsar*; and followed on yet further, that he knew well, that *Cæsar* lou'd my happinesse; praying him at last, to recommend vnto me the cause, and the honour of the aforesayd [*Cæsar*] And that at the least, I should not

oppugne

oppugne him, if I vvould not, or could not helpe him. When I had from my brother vnderſtood theſe things, and *Vibullius*, by commiſſion of *Pompeius*, hauing beene a little before to ſpeake vvith mee, that I ſhould in courteſie leaue, till his returne, the *Campan* cauſe, in the ſtate it vvas in: mee-thought to bethinke me of my ſelfe, I turned me vvholly to conſider mine ovvne affaires, becomming after a ſort petitioner to the Common-vvealth: That in conſideration of ſo much paines, as I had taken for it, it vvould be pleaſed to grant me, that I might ſhevv my ſelfe gratefull tovvards my benefactours, and continue the truſt of my brother; and that it vvould ſuffer that man to bee good, vvhom in all occaſions it had found to be a good Citizen. Novv in all my actions and ſentences, vvhich ſeeme to offend *Pompius*, I perceiued, that there vvere certaine perſons vvhom you may imagine, vvhich, notvvithſtanding they vvere of my opinion, and had alvvaies beene ſo, yet they reioyced, that I followed not the vvill of *Pompius*; hoping aſſuredly, that he, for that cauſe ſhould grovv a cold friend vnto me, and *Caſar* a capitall enemie. I had iuſt occaſion to be grieued hereat; but much more, that in my preſence, they did moſt familiarly embrace, vvelcome, and kiſſe mine enemie. But vvhy doe I ſay, mine

enemie? rather enemie of the Lavv, of the Courts of Iuſtice, of the quiet of his Countrey, and in concluſion, of all men of honeſty. vvith that demonſtration, they had an opinion they ſhould moue mee to anger, but it vvas not ſo; becauſe in mee all anger vvas extinguiſhed. Theſe paſſages therefore conſidered, and making a calculation, vvith that vnderſtanding that God had giuen mee, I reduced into forme all my diſcourſes: vvhich if I be able, I vvil briefly recount vnto you. If I ſhould ſee the Common-vvealth to bee gouerned by vvicked & looſe Citizens, as vve knovv falleth out in our times; and haue vnderſtood, to haue at other times alſo occurred; no force, either of revvards, vvhich I ſlightly eſteeme, nor yet of dangers, vvhich were vvont to feare the ſtouteſt men, could haue ſuch intereſt in me, that I ſhould conſent to the liking of men of ſuch condition, although my heart ſhould tell mee, they had obliged mee. But the Common-vvealth reſting it ſelfe vnder the ſhadow of *Caius Pompeius*, vvho, vvith his great deſerts tovvards it, and vvith his vvorthy actions, hath gotten this povver, and eſtimation; and I hauing from my youth fauoured, nay, I ſay more, hauing furthered him, both vvhen I vvas Prætor, and vvhen I vvas Conſull, and he in like manner helping mee, as vvell

by

by councell, as by fauour; and vnwilling to haue other enemy in the Citie, then that man that was to me an enemy; I thought not, that I ſhould bee held for inconſtant, if I had a little altered ſome of my opinions; inclining my will to that, which appertained to the dignity, both of a man of his ſort, and of ſuch an one, as was my Benefactour. And being of this minde, it was neceſſarie for me, as you ſee, that I ſhould alſo fauour *Ceſar*, hee being inward with *Pompeius*; to which, partly ancient friendſhip much moued me, that I and my brother *Quintus* haue alwaies, as you know, held with *Ceſar*; partly, the humanity and courteſie, which hee hath many wayes in ſhort time ſhewed vs. And to this, the reſpect of the Common-wealth, made great addition: ſeeming vnto mee, that it did not onely diſlike, but ſtrangely refuſed, that there ſhould be any contention with men of that quality. Eſpecially *Ceſar* hauing performed many valorous actions thereunto behooſefull. And I being heretofore entred into ſuch deliberation, was vpon the former occaſions, altogether ſettled, by reaſon of the teſtimonie, that *Pompeius* had giuen of me to *Ceſar*, and my brother to *Pompeius*. Moreouer, I ſhould haue conſidered, that which is by our *Plato* written ſo diuinely; that, *Citi-*

zens

Iens were wont to bee such, as their Gouernours. I remember the first day of my Consulship, and often afterwards, that I might keepe the Common-wealth in a direct course, and at one stay, I layd so strong foundations, and in such a manner encouraged the Senate, that it was no maruell, though it carried it selfe so stoutly in December following. And in conclusion, I remembred: that from the time of our Consulship, vntill that of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, men liued in exceeding peace, and vnity; And vpon any occasion wee had to speake in Senate, our opinions had that esteeme that was befitting: afterwards; at that time when you were Gouernour of the hither *Spaine*, the Common-wealth hauing no Consuls, but Merchants of Prouinces, and seruants, and ministers of seditions; fortune would, to giue occasion of war, throw mee into the midst of the Camp of discord, and ciuill contention. In which danger, the Senate hauing readily raised it selfe, and whole *Italy*, with the strength of the best men, in my defence and assistance: I will not relate what happened; because I should complaine of many; I will onely in briefe say, that I needed no army, but I wanted Commanders; And the fault was in generall of all those, which did not defend mee; but particularly of those, which

which were tyed to defend me. And if they ſhould bee reprehended, which were truely feareſull, they which counterfeited *feare*, are ſo much more blame-worthy. Certainely, that diſpoſition of my minde was worthy of commendation; when ſeeing my Citizens moſt ready to ſuccour mee, and deſirous, to ſhew me their thankfulnes; yet becauſe they were without Leaders, I would not put them to encounter with armed ſeruants. But it ſufficed me, onely to ſhew, how much ſtrength ſhould haue beene by conſent of good men gathered, if they had had occaſiõ of a battaile for me, when I was ſtrong, and luſty; ſeeing they could afterwards, when I was at the weakeſt, giue mee ſuccour. Whoſe mindes you did not onely know, when you took paines about mee, but alſo you confirmed and maintained [them.] And I will neuer deny; rather, while I breath, I will be mindefull, and report it willingly; that you vſed the meanes of ſome moſt noble perſonages, which were more ſtrong in reſtoring me, then they were after in retaining mee. In which intention, if they had perſeuered; together with my proſperitie, they had regained their owne authoritie. Becauſe, the good Citizens, recouering themſelues in your Conſulſhip; and being by your example rouzed from that drowzineſſe, that

that had long oppreſſed them; eſpecially, hauing the protection of *Cneius Pompeius*, and of *Ceſar*, who, by his owne ſtrength, was raiſed by the Senate, to ſingular and vnuſuall honours, no wicked Citizen could haue euer offended the Common-wealth. But marke, I pray you, how things haue proceeded. That infamous fellow *Clodius*, which polluted the womens ſacrifices; who gaue no more honour to the Goddeſſe *Bona*, then to his owne three ſiſters, was abſolued of that fault, for which he ought deſeruedly to haue ſuffered. And afterwards, *Milo*, Tribune of the people, and with him many worthy men, entreating, that this ſeditious Citizen might, according to his fact, bee punished; the Iudges, againſt all right of Iuſtice, did acquit him, depriuing the Common-wealth of ſo memorable an example, of reuenge vpon ſeditions. And afterwards, the very ſame Iudges permitted, that the name of *Enny*, was with bloudy letters engrauen, in the houſe, that was not mine, (becauſe it was no booty of mine, I hauing once a hand in the building thereof) but did belong vnto the Senate, who payd the charges of it. It is true, that I ought them that thankfulneſſe, which was due for ſo great a benefit, as bringing me out of baniſhment, and giuing me my health againe. But I would, that

they

they had not onely, as Phyſicians, had regard vnto my health, but alſo of my ſtrength, and colour; according to the cuſtome of thoſe good maſters, which take care to anoynt ſuch as are to make proofe of their actiuity. But as *Apelles*, by his curious Art, finiſhed the head of *Venus*, with the vpper part of her breaſt, leauing the other part of her body, with a meere beginning: ſo may I ſay that ſome men about my head, haue onely laboured, and haue left the reſt of the body rude, and vnperfected. And becauſe thoſe that enuie me, and eſpecially mine enemies, thought, that the blow giuen mee by baniſhment, had partly taken away my courage, you could not imagine how much I haue deceiued their expectation. Heretofore, of *Quintus Metellus*, ſon of *Lucius*, who was a ſtout man, and of a ſtrong heart, and in my iudgement, for greatneſſe, and conſtancie of minde ſurpaſſing all men; they reported, that they vnderſtood, (though I hold it rather to bee a thing of their owne forging,) that hee being returned from baniſhment, made alwaies ſhew of a weake and dejected minde. How is it credible, that hee ſhou'd be changed by baniſhment, hauing both by eſpeciall election accepted it, and with great courage of minde ſuſtained it, being careleſſe of his returne? and how comes it, that they

take

take not notice, how *Metellus* in constancie and grauitie exceeded all men; euen that *Metellus Scipio*, who was so famous to the world? But their malice made them beleeue that of mee, which they imagined, or vnderstood of him; that is, that I should grow base, or bee dejected: though the Common-wealth gaue me greater encouragement, then I euer had before, in making knowne, that it could not be without mee. Besides, *Metellus*, by intercession of one only Tribune of the people was restored; whereas I was by the Senate, by the Consuls, by all *Rome* recalled, accompanyed with whole *Italy*, at the Conuocation assembled for the chusing of Consuls, and by the whole Countrey with great concourse of people receiued. Neither haue I afterwards euer done, nor doe I any thing at this present, which may offend any man, though he were the most malicious man in the world, onely I doe what I can, that I may not bee wanting to my friends, or strangers; either in doing, counselling, or taking any paines I am able for them. This custome of mine, perhaps offendeth him, that lookes after the glorie and appearance of this life; and doth not consider, the cares, and heauie troubles with which it is incombred. But because I was wont, to commend

Cæsar,

Cæsar, they doe herein openly reprehend me, as if I were become a rebell to my owne person, and vnto the affection which I haue formerly carried to my countrie. And they consider not, that I am moued hereunto, not onely by the reasons spoken of in the beginning, but also these last, which I began to manifest. O *Lentulus*, you shall not finde that vnion of good men, which you left vs, the which confirmed in our Consulship, and sometime afterwardes interrupted, and destroyed, before you were Consull; was afterwards by you intirely restored: and is at this present abandoned of such, as should haue fauour'd it. Which, those chiefe men of ours, doe not onely demonstrate with signes externall, from the which they might with ease haue abstained, but haue many times in diuerse fashions reuealed it. So that vpon good reason euery wise Citizen, (of which number I desire to be one, and so to be esteemed) ought wholly to change as well his will, as opinion. Because, the same *Plato*, (whose authority it pleaseth me to follow) would, that *a man should take paines in the Common-wealth, till he can perswade his Citizens, to their owne benefit.* And he addeth; that *it is not conuenient to force either Father, or Country:* and he saith, that the occasion of his not medling in the

the Common-wealth vvas, that *having found the people of* Athens *now at length growne old in madnesse, or folly, he had no hope to be able either with reason or force to correct, or reclaime them, the one being impossible, the other seeming vnto him a thing that was not honest.* I had not the like libertie; because I could neither say, that the people of *Rome* vvere so mad, as *Plato* once found that of *Athens*; and because, I hauing beene now long time conuersant in the Common-wealth, it seemed troublesome vnto me to take my selfe from it. And I thought it a matter of no small consequence, to be able vvithout blame, to hold mine ovvne estate. Beyond all that hath been, hitherto spoken, I considered the rare, or rather diuine courtesie, that *Cæsar* hath vsed to me, and my brother: for which, though *Cæsar* were lesse fortunate in the successes of war, yet were I obliged to fauour him; so much the rather therefore should I doe it, perceiuing him to be in so expedite a course of a prosperous fortune. And be you well assured, that after your selfe, from whom I acknowledge my welfare; there is no man, to whom, I should not onely confesse; but be glad to be so much beholding. Hauing made this preamble, it is easie for me to make answere to your demand, concerning *Pasienus*, and *Crassus*. And I take great de-

light

light, that you are pleased, that I should keepe good quarter with *Cæsar*, and with *Appius*. Now to come to *Varrius*. First of all *Pompius* reconciled me vnto himselfe, as soone as he vvas made Prætor, I having with all my power withstood his petition in the Senate, not so much to offend him, as to defend and preferre *Cato*. After that, *Cæsar* sought me, with intreaties of greatest efficacie, that I would be his defender. But let me entreat you, not to be further inquisitive, why I haue commended a man of his condition, then I shall thanke fating: least I requite you with the like, at your returne; though I can also requite you at this present; that you may well remember what you haue written in commendation of any man, euen to the outmost bounds of our dominion. Neither be you therefore grieued, because I also doe now, and will hereafter doe the like. Yet I confesse, that the spur which put me on to defend *Varrius*, was that of which I said, while at the bar I defended him: it appeared vnto me, that I did act the Councell, which the *Parasite* giues to the souldier in the *Eunuch*.

If it fall out, that free name Thaleia,
Produce then straight the name of Pamphila.
If shee say, let vs send for Phædria,

To

To sup with vs; say thou, bid Pamphila,
That with her pleasing note may solace you.
If you shall heare her praise the comelinesse,
Of him: praise her; and to conclude, doe thou
Reply, pinch, bite her, with like craftinesse.

So I, because some noble men, and my benefactors, did loue mine enemie more then beseemed them, and in my presence oftentimes drew him apart, sometime as if it had beene about earnest businesse, and did at other times familiarly, and pleasantly embrace him: and because they had their *Publius*, I besought the Iudges by speciall fauour, that they would also grant vnto me an other *Publius*: that I might a little sting them, as they had somewhat pinched me. Neither doth it suffice me to haue said it, but often also, with th'applause of Gods, and men, I make the effects apparant. You haue hitherto vnderstood of *Varinius*: now hearken [to what I shall say] about *Crassus*. We were then become friends, I hauing, (because I would not disturbe the Common-wealth,) forgiuen all iniuries; when it fortuned, that he vndertooke the defence of *Gabinius*, with no small wonder to euery man, hauing but

a while since strongly oppugned him. I should haue cared but little, so that he had defended him with modestie, and vvithout vnome: but hauing galled me without cause, and with little respect; I was enforced to turne me, and I beginning againe to be inflamed vvith the disdaine of former iniuries, (whose sparkes were not yet extinguished, as I beleeued, but [vvere] onely couered.) suffered my selfe to be transported into extreame choller. This gaue me great reputation amongst the people; and it much pleased some kinde of men; I meane such, as I often name, without naming them: who greatly praised me, that I vvas so free in speaking; saying, that they began then onely to beleeue, that I was returned into my Countrie that *Cicero*, which I was wont to be. But of the other side, they said it pleased them, that *Crassus* vvas mine enemie, and that his friends should neuer become friends to me. Whereupon I, hauing vnderstoode by men of authoritie, and credite, of their malice; and *Pompeius* praying me more then euer to be reconciled to *Crassus*; and further, *Cæsar* vvriting vnto me, that he vvas vere sorry for this disagreement: I regarded not onely my troubles, but also mine owne nature: and *Crassus*, to assure it vvere, the people of *Rome* of our reconciliation, that very day, that hee

parted

parted to goe vnto the gouernment of *Syria*, desired to ſup vvith me in the gar-den of *Craſſus* my ſonne in law. Where-upon I vndertooke to defend him, as did befit our acquaintance; and vvith his great reputation I defended him in the Senate. You haue vnderſtood vpon what grounds I went, and vvhat buſi-neſſe I haue defended; and my eſtate in the gouernment of the Common-vvealth, ſo farre, as concerneth me. But beleeue faithfully, that I had done nei-ther more nor leſſe, though I had beene at libertie, and free from all reſpects. Becauſe I ſhould not hold it a vvaſe en-terpriſe to contend againſt ſo great power; nor to thruſt at the principali-ties of ſuch like perſonages, though it vvere not impoſſible; nor to perſeuer in one opinion; the courſe of things being altered, and good men hauing changed their minds, excepting onely in religious obedience. Neither ſhall you euer finde, that wiſe men, and ſuch as are expert in the affaires of the Com-mon-vvealth, praiſe him, that doth al-vvayes proceed, after one and the ſelfe ſame order. But, as it is vviſedome, to obey the time, or vvinds in nauigation; although you cannot arriue vnto the port; yet being able, by changing of your courſe, to arriue thither; it vvere folly to goe forvvard the vvay begun vvith danger, rather then by changing it,

it, to land at the place desired: euen so, it behooueth vs, as I haue often said, to haue for obiect, our owne good, together with that of the Common-wealth: we should not alwayes hold, one and the selfe same way: but alwaies walke to one and the selfe same end. Wherefore I againe reply, that, if I had mine owne liberty, I would not, for it gouerne me otherwise then I doe at this present. But being bound by good turnes, and by iniuries vnged, I rather lay my foundation in this opinion, so to helpe the common-wealth, that I thereby be not endangered. Neither doe I greatly care to manifest my selfe for such in euery occasion: first, because my brother *Quintus*, is *Cæsars* Ambassadour: next, because I haue neuer done any office for *Cæsar*, no, not of the least condition, for which hee hath not manifestly made demonstration, to be exceedingly bound vnto me. And I obtaine of him, all those great fauours, that may bee desired from a man of his qualitie. Whence it proceeds, that the malice of others cannot hurt me: by the which I should haue beene shrewdlie foyled, if I had not made me a buckler of those which are the most honoured, and potent Citizens: because my wonted guard was not sufficient to defend me. Me thinke I am certaine, that if you had beene present,

present, you would not haue counselled me otherwise. I know debates, or contentions, please you not; I know the temperance, and mildnesse of your nature; I know, that you intirely loue me, and that you hide within your breast no hurtfull or euill thoughts to any man; I know you haue a great, and a generous spirit; not hid vnder any vaile of dissimulation, but plaine, and full of sincerity. I haue seene in your friends the same deceit, that you might see in mine. It is therefore credible, that the same reasons should moue you also by which I was moued. But alwaies when I shall enioy you, you shall be the man that shall aduise me in mine affaires; and take charge of mine honour, as you tooke charge of my safetie: and I in your actions, opinions, and pleasure, and finally in euery thing dor promise to help you, and be your associate; Neither will I while I liue thinke of any other thing, then that you may finde euery day greater content then other, in hauing honour'd me. Whereas you pray me, if I haue written any thing since your departure, that I would send it you: I haue written certaine Orations, which I will giue to *Maecenas*: but bee not afraid; for they are so few, that they will no waies be tedious vnto you. And because I doe not alwaies attend vnto O-

rations

rations, but some times turne me to more pleasing studies, which, as they did in the daies of my youth; so they doe now much delight mee: I haue written, or I haue endeauoured to write, a disputation after the manner of *Aristotle*, or a Dialogue of the Orator; which matter I haue deuided into three Bookes; and I am halfe of opinion, that they may bee helpfull vnto your *Lentulus*: because they are different from the common precepts, and embrace the whole art of Oratorie, which was written in times past by *Aristotle*, and *Isocrates*. Moreouer, I haue written in verse three bookes of my owne troubles, and calamities; and if I had thought good to haue devulged them, I had not deferred so long to send you them; because they are, and shall be perpetuall testimonies of your fauours towards me, and of my thankfulnesse and affection towards you. But I haue not sent them, for feare: not of those, which would hold themselues offended, (because of them I haue written both little, and sleightly,) but of my benefactors, who being in number infinite, it was impossible I should of euery one make mention. Yet I will send you them howsoeuer; if I finde conueniencie of a messenger. And, because you haue alwaies exceedingly loued learning; I now giue you all the

fruits, which shall grow of those stu
dies, in which I haue beene euer mos
delightfully exercised; and to you I de
dicate and consecrate the future birth
of mine vnderstanding. It was no
needfull to remember me, nor to re
commend vnto me your affaires: be
cause they are so neere vnto me, that I
would not be put in minde of them:
and I cannot be praied [to doe any
thing] about them without extreame
griefe vnto me. Touching that you
write me, that you could not this som
mer furnish the want of my brothe
Quintus, because, being hindered by
sickenes you went not into *Cilicia*: be
sure, that hauing made him to haue the
possession, he will thinke, and haue a
especiall occasion to thinke, that yo
haue entirely accomplished his busi
nesse. I beseech you write often vnt
me, giuing mee familiar aduertisemen
of your affaires; and signifying alwai
vnto me, how our *Lentulus* proceedet
in his studies; & how he doth exerci
himselfe therein. And be well assured
that no man euer loued another mu
so well, as I loue you, and I wi
striue to make such signes appeare, tha
not only you, but all men liuing sha
perceiue it; yea, and our posteritie. *Ap
pius* hath first reported in many pla
ces, and lastly hath spoken it openl
the Senate, that, if the law *Curiata* b
pro

produced, he will take that prouince; that fortune ſhall allot him: the law being not produced; he will deale ſo with his Colleague, that hee ſhall be contented to let him come in your place; and that, though it bee a cuſtome, that the Conſull ſhould go with the authority giuen him by the people; it followes not therefore, that hee may not doe otherwiſe: and, that it is ſufficient, for him to goe with that, which the Senate hath giuen him by way of the law *Cornelia*; and vvould ſerue himſelfe of it, till his returne to *Rome*. I know not what your friends write vnto you concerning this; I know vvel, that there are diuerſe opinions; one, that hauing no ſucceſſor from the people, you may chooſe whether you will depart or not: another, that if you depart, you may leaue one in your place. I know not ſo well the law in this point; (though it bee a matter of no great difficultie to know it) as I know that it is expedient for you without any delay to reſigne your prouince to your ſucceſſor; If it were for nothing elſe, but to ſhew an act of magnanimity, and befitting that courteſie, which I know delights you: Eſpecially conſidering that you can without ſuſpect of your owne ambition, oppoſe his. I hold it my part, to tell you what I thinke; and to defend what you doe

After I had written these, I receiued yours, about the customers of your prouince. Who cannot in reason complaine of you, touching Iustice: but considering that you haue alwaies been their furtherance, I would you had now also beene as warie as you could neither to endamage, nor offend them. For if you had but vsed them in a little more gentle manner, they would haue beene contented. I will not now be slacke in defending what you haue decreed: but you know what manner of men these customers are: and you know, with what furie they were enraged against *Quintus Scæuola*. However, I would counsell you, that after the best manner you may, you would seeke to appease, and reconcile them. And though it be a thing full of difficultie, yet by your wisedome it may withfacilitie be effected. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Valerius Doctor of Law. Ep. 10.

FOR I haue no reason but to giue you this trouble, especially, seeing audacitie may bee now a daies vsed in place of wisdome; I haue written to our *Lentulus*, thanking him very diligently on your behalfe; but now

would no longer haue you vſe our Letters; but that your ſelfe ſhould come at length to viſit vs: with an intention to liue in ſuch places, where other Doctors, and your equalls are; rather then to abide there, where you only may ſeeme wiſe amongſt the ignorant. Though ſuch as come now from thence tell vs, that you are ſometimes ſo proud, that you diſdaine to anſwer; ſometimes ſo outragious, that you anſwer iniuriouſly. But now at laſt I deſire your ſelfe to be merry with. Come ſpeedilie therefore and goe not into your *Apulia*, that wee may reioyce at your comming home in health: for, if you goe thither, I am in great doubt, that, like *Vliſſes*, you will not be able to call to minde any of your [poore] allyance.

Farewell.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Caius Curio. Epist. 1.

THough I am sorrie you should suppose, me to be negligent in writing: yet it grieues mee not so much to bee accused of negligence, as it is pleasing vnto me, that you inuite me to put pen to paper: for in the one I am altogether blameleſſe, and in the other you

shew me that affection, which though I haue formerly perceiued, yet in the acknowledgement thereof I receiue much contentment. I haue euer written, when I had opportunitie of sending: and who, in this kinde is more officious then my selfe? But from you I can sweare, that I haue not receiued about two, or three letters at the most; and very short ones. Wherefore, if you, as a strict Iudge, looke too narrowly to the matter, I will bee euen with you in the same errour: if you bee vnwilling, that I should vse you thus; you were best to iudge discreetly. But let this much suffice about letters: for I shall finde out meanes enough to giue you satisfaction herein, If I shall know how to please you concerning them. Your absence troubles, and contents me. It troubles mee; because it hath depriued me of the fruits of your most pleasing conuersation: It contents me; because all things are fallen out to your glorie and commendation: And seeing your fortune in all things comforts mee: I cannot choose, but giue you, out of mine affection towards you, one briefe remembrance. There is so great an expectation of your valour, and vnderstanding; that I haue the boldnesse to intreate you, as much as may bee, to returne so disposed, that you may be able to gouerne, and maintaine it. And be-

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cause it is impossible, that I should euer forget your deserts: I would that you also should call to minde, that, if, when you were little, you had not obeyed my most faithfull and louing aduertisements, it had beene impossible for you to haue obtained those profits, and honours, which our country will bestow vpon you. In reward whereof, you ought to be content, that I now at length weare with age; by resting my selfe vpon your loue, and youth; may giue some repose vnto my latter daies. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Curio. Ep. 2.

THE death of your renowned Father, hath depriu'd me of a testimonie of great authoritie; informed sufficiently of my great loue vnto you. And, had the heauens so fauoured him, that before hee dyed, hee might haue seene you, hee had beene the happiest man in the world; as well for the memory of his owne vertue, which will liue for euer; as because he hath left behinde him, a sonne of such condition. But I will not beleeue, that our friendship shall haue need of testimonies. God keepe you, and increase your patrimonie. And be assured I will hold you as

deare, and beare you the same affection, that was borne you by your owne Father. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Curio. Ep. 3.

IT is not *Rupa's* fault, that the sports are not publisht, which you would celebrate in honour of your father: but we haue councelled him, that it is better to expect your returne; to the end, that the busines may rest in your arbitriment. And about this matter, either I will write hereafter at large, what my opinion is; or els, least you should thinke thereon, I will take you at vnawares, and face to face against that reason which moueth you I will dispute: that I may either draw you to that which I thinke fitting; or at least, I may leaue a memory of mine opinion to your consideration: that, if at any time (which I would not) you shall repent you of your owne counsell, you may call mine to your remembrance. But I can tell you, that your returne meetes with such times, as, by those benefits, which nature, industrie, and Fortune haue giuen you; you may more easilie obtaine the highest dignities of the Common-wealth; then by pleasing the people with the vanitie of such like spectacles,

ſpectacles, which are not eſteemed; becauſe they are ſignes of riches: and not valour; and there is no man, that nowadayes is not therewith glutted, till his eyes are wearie againe. But I doe otherwiſe then I did at firſt make ſhew of. I ſaid I would not write you mine opinion; yet I am entred vpon the particulars thereof. Wherefore I'le put off all this diſcourſe till your returne. I giue you to vnderſtand, that great matters are expected from you; and ſuch as ſhould proceede from one that is exceeding rare for valour, and vnderſtanding: For which you being, as you ought to be, and as I hope, prepared: We, that are your friends, and all the Citizens, and the Common-wealth, ſhall be more bound vnto you for this, then for all the ſports or ſhewes you can giue vs. Aſſure your ſelfe, that to mee no man is more deare then you, or more acceptable. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Curio. Ep. 4.

YOu know, there are diuers ſorts of letters in vſe; but the chiefeſt is that by which the cõueniencie was brought vs of writing, to giue notice vnto our friends, far off, about needfull matters, to vs, or them appertaining. Letters of this

this kinde I assure me, that you expect not from me. For, of your priuate occasions, you haue them that giues you notice, and those that brings you newes thereof: and in my [affaires] there is no new thing happened. There are yet found two other kinds of letters, which much please me: one familiar, and conceited: the other seuere, and weighte. Of these, I know not, which is least to my purpose. Should I be merry with you? truely I doe not thinke, there is a Citizen, that hath in these times any will to laugh. And in graue matters, *Cicero* cannot write to *Cæsar*; except hee discourse of the Common-wealth, of which it is not safe at this time to speake what he thinkes. Wherefore not hauing other occasion to write, I will end after my wonted manner, and I will encourage you to pretend the height of glory. Because it is necessary you should encounter that expectation, which hath so much obliged you to people; and against this potent enemy, to fight manfully. Which you shall easily ouercome, being of opinion, that, if you will arriue vnto that height, which you desire, it is necessarie you should employ your selfe about those vertues, by which men get immortall honour. I would to this purpose write more at large, if I did not faithfully beleeue, that without my words you were sufficiently inflamed: neither

neither touched I this poinc to enflame you, but to manifeſt the affection, that I beare vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Curio. Ep. 5.

CONſider how the caſe ſtands with vs, when I dare not ſo much as write vnto you thereof. And although you are, whereſoeuer, (as I haue heretofore written,) in the ſelfe ſame danger: yet I am glad, that you are not at *Rome*: Be it either becauſe you perceiue not that, which we ſee; or becauſe your commendation is in a moſt eminent, and noble ſituation, in the view of many of our friends, & Citizens: brought hither not by any obſcure, or various relation, but notable, and immutable. Now know I not, whether I ought to reioyce, or feare, that there is an admirable expectatiõ raiſed of your returne: not becauſe I doubt, that your vertue is not anſwerable vnto mens opinions; but indeed, becauſe I feare you will find no employment for it, when you are returned; all laudable cuſtomes of our Country are now at length ſo impayred, and almoſt extinguiſhed. But becauſe I know not, whether this alſo, which I write, be written with ſecuritie, I will leaue the remainder to be ſignifi-

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ed vnto you by others. Yet, you either hauing, or not hauing any hope of the Common-wealth, doe for your part whatsoeuer befitteth a valorous Citizen, and such an one as may hereafter restore the auncient libertie, and accustomed dignitie, to your countrey afflicted, and oppressed with the miseries of the times, and wicked behauiour. Farewell.

Cicero to Curio. Ep. 6.

THere is yet no newes; of your approching *Italy*. Neuertheleſſe, because it's thought it will not bee long ere you come. And being knowne for certaine, that you are already parted frō *Aſia*, & are on your way to *Rome*; the great importance of the buſineſſe hath forced mee, without any delay, to ſend this preſent meſſenger; which is *Sextus Villius*, a familiar friend of my *Milo*; I being exceeding deſirous, that this my letter may come vnto your hands with all expedition. If it were true, *Curio*, that you had ſuch obligations to me, as you publikely ſpeake of, which I hold nothing; I would with more reſpect ſeeke after you, when I ſhould haue occaſion to aske any thing of you. Becauſe a modeſt man ſtanneth, as much as is poſſible.

poſſible, to entreat a fauour from him, to whom he thinkes hee hath done any kindneſſe; leſt that, in place of a requeſt, hee ſhould ſeeme to receiue as a durie, that which hee demandeth; and to take it rather for payment, then a benefit. But being more manifeſt then the light, that I am exceedingly obliged vnto you, through the nouelty of my miſeries, and calamities: and conſidering that it becommeth a gentle ſpirit, to accept willingly of a good turne from one, of whom other benefits haue been formerly receiued; I haue beene bold to requeſt that of you by this letter, which aboue all other things doth moſt import me. Becauſe I neuer doubted that I ſhould not be able to ſway the waight of your good turnes, though they were infinite; eſpecially, conſidering that I am not of ſo weake, or poore a ſpirit, that I cannot aſſure my ſelfe abilitie, to bee capable of euery fauour, how great ſoeuer, and to remunerate the ſame, and to exceed it. I haue deliberated with my ſelfe, to recollect what fauours I am able, to vnite all my forces, and all my thoughts, to draw *Milo* vnto the dignitie of Conſull: not ſo much to be eſteemed courteous and louing, in the occaſion of ſuch a friend, as to ſhew my ſelfe gratefull, and ready to make acknowledgement, to one that hath beene ſo much my Benefactour. For I

beleeue,

beleeue not, that euer any man liuing, had so great care of his owne health and substance, as I haue of his honour, which I esteeme equall with my life. And I am most assured, that if you will fauour him, further meanes will not be requisite. For we haue already all these things; the stay of those that are honest, which are affectionated to him, by reason that he being Tribune, laboured on my behalfe; the fauour of the people, for the magnificence of the shewes, and because they know him of a free disposition; the attendance of the young men, and those that are beloued of the people, because they see him also beloued, and know how diligent hee is in the like occasions. And there is last of all the fauour, which I afford him: which, though of it selfe it bee not of that quality, that it can doe much, yet, because it is knowne to be iust, and due, and full of grateful affection, perauenture for this cause, if not for any thing else, it will produce some fruit. We want still a head, and one that may as it were, moderate these windes, and gouerne them: whom if wee should choose out of many, we should not find a better then you selfe. Wherefore, if you haue an opinion, that I am a thankfull, and honest man; as you may beleeue, seeing me take these paines that I doe, for *Milo*; and to bee short, if you hold

hold mee worthy of your fauours; let me entreat you to grant this my deſire, of your beſtowing your fauour vpon this my commendation, or, (to ſpeake better) vpon my welfare. And of the aforeſaid *Milo* I promiſe you, that if it ſhall pleaſe you to embrace him, you ſhall not finde a friend more courageous, graue, conſtant, and beneuolous towards you; beſides, my obligation, for the honour, which will redound vnto me by this action, ſhall bee no whit inferiour to that, which I haue already vnto you, for hauing aſſiſted mee in my returne from banishment. I know you are not ignorant, how much I am obliged to *Milo*, and conſequently, how much I ought to helpe him in this his demand; I meane, not onely when it were needfull to contend cunlly, but to fight with weapons. Therefore I will ſay no more. I recommend to you this cauſe, and remit my ſelfe vnto your loue. And aſſure you, that for ſuch a courteſie, I ſhall hold my ſelfe in a manner more bound vnto you, then I am to *Milo* himſelfe, for hauing reſtored mee into my Countrey. Becauſe the content was not ſo great, that I found of my freedom, which he principally procured; as the ſweetneſſe ſhall be, which I ſhall taſte in ſhewing him that thankfulneſſe, which his receiued good turns merited: and ſo much I eſteem of your

fauour,

fauour, that I doubt not, but by it alone, our suits may fully bee accomplished. Farewell.

Cicero, Vice-Consull, to Caius Curio, Tribune of the people. Ep. 7.

FRiends were not wont to bee reprehended, though they slowly reioyce at other mens good fortunes, so their slacknesse proceeded not from negligence. For I liue far off, and newes comes hither but slowly. I reioyce then, that you haue obtained the Tribuneship, and I desire, euen from my heart, that you may purchase therein eternall praise. Further, I exhort you, that in all things you cleaue to your owne wisdome, and bee not led by the nose, through other mens perswasions. No man can better aduise you, then your selfe. You shall neuer erre, if you sticke to your owne counsels. I write not this without iust cause. I know to whom I write it. I can iudge of your vnderstanding and wisdome. Questionlesse, being directed by your owne iudgement, you will neuer enter into any ignoble, or vnworthy actions: neither will you euer father any other, then discreet proceedings. And, being in

these

theſe hard times of the Common-wealth poſſeſſed of your place (not by chance; but by your diſcretion: not by accident, but election; and at this time, when the ſtate of publique affaires is in danger) I am certaine, you perceiue, how farre the nature of times, beare ſway in the gouernment thereof, what great varietie of affaires there is, how doubtfull their ends are, and how eaſily the humors of men bend, ſometimes this, ſometimes that way. Nor make I any queſtion, but you vnderſtand, that all negotiations in this world, are carried with colour, and deceit. Open therefore your eyes, [I ſay] open them, and doe as I haue directed you: follow your owne courſe, and onely rely on your owne counſels. A man ſhould hardly find one, that can better aduiſe another, then you: who then ſhould better direct your ſelfe? Good God, why am I not at *Rome*? that I might bee an eye-witneſſe of your honours, and as it were, enioy a part in them; and bee at hand to aduiſe and coũſell you. Though you haue no ſuch need: yet the ſincerity and greatnes of my loue towards you, would ſo worke, that my faithfull inſtructions might ſtand you in ſome ſtead. But at another time, I'le write more at large, for within a few dayes, I mean to diſpatch priuate meſſengers,

to

to informe suddenly the Senate, briefly of the victories, wee obtained ouer our enemies, all the last summer. By your free-man *Thraso*, I wrote vnto you, how diligent I was about your Priesthood, and the difficulties I met with all. Deere *Curio*, by the vnfained loue wee beare one another, I entreat you, that you will suffer mee to spend no longer time, in the gouernment of this Prouince, of which I now grow exceeding weary. I spake vnto you hereof, at *Rome*, no wayes supposing, you should this yeere haue beene Tribune. And the same suit I often renewed by letters: but, then I sought your fauour, as a noble Senator, and a young Gentle-man generally beloued. Now I importune it, as from a Tribune of the people, nay, as from *Curio* the Tribune. I pray therfore be pleas'd, to vse all meanes, not of comming to new consultation, which ordinarily is the more tedious course, but rather to preuent the same: by requesting, that I may be tyed to those conditions enioyned me, when I tooke vpon me this gouernment; which are extant in the Senates decree, and by the Lawes prescribed. Let mee by all meanes craue thus much of you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero Vice-consull, to Marcus Cœlius. Ep. 8.

THis is not that which I expected from you: It may be you thought, I required you to write vnto me of fensing encounters, the issues of suites, or of the thefts of *Clodius*: but I meant no such matter: for these are things, that when I was in *Rome*, no man would presume to acquaint me with. What look't I for then? obserue, in what nature I esteeme you, (and not without cause, for in all my dayes, certainely I haue not knowne a more vnderstanding man then your selfe in Common-wealth causes) not that I care so much to haue such triuiall matters imparted to me, nay, nor will I that you should certifie me of matters, of farre higher consequence, daily discussed of in the Commonwealth, except they concerned my selfe: for, other matters come diuerse wayes to mine eares, and fame it selfe will relate them to me. I expect not therefore from you, either things past, or present, but rather those future, and to come, as from a man that is cleare, and farre sighted, that beholding a draught of the Common wealths modell in your letters, I may conceiue what the whole structure will be. But I excuse

excuse you for not hauing sent me it hitherto, because nothing hath fallen out, that any of vs might not forsee as well as you; you might rather haue foreseene, then any of vs, and especially my selfe, who was sundry daies in *Pompeies* companie, and euer in discourses of the Common wealth, which neither can nor ought to be expressed in writing. Let me onely tell you, that *Pompeius* is a famous, and faithfull Cittizen, and hee wants neither courage, nor prudence, to constitute those ordinances for the preseruation of the Common-wealth, which are fit and expedient: And therfore I would wish you, to offer him your loue: do but obserue how cheerefully he accepts of it. For now at length he holds that those are good, and those bad Cittizens, that we were wont to hold so. I stayed in *Athens* ten whole dayes, where our good friend *Gallus Caninius* kept me alwayes companie. Vpon this present, being the first of Iulie, I am to depart. I commend all my businesses, to your speciall care, but aboue all my desire is, that things may so be wrought, that this office of mine may not be prorogued. How you should carrie your selfe herein, I know you need not my direction; I will remit my selfe vnto your wisedome. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero Vice consull to Marcus Cœlius Rufus, chosen AEDILE Curule. *Epist. 9.*

I Am very glad, both for mine owne, and for your sake; of the dignitie lately conferred on you, and for that which you attend hereafter. And, though I doe this office slackly, it is not out of negligence, but because I heare not how matters passe at *Rome*, the iourney being long, and the wayes encombred with theeues, which cuts off the expedition of newes. I am glad then, not onely for your present honor, but for those also, that are expected to succeed the same. And besides my contentment, I finde my selfe deepely bound vnto you: neither can I deuise words to expresse my thankes, because you are come to it by such a meanes, that you haue giuen vs a subiect of that condition, that will euer minister vnto vs matter of laughter. So soone as I heard of it, I set before my imagination the person of that man; (you know whom I meane) and I represented vnto my thoughts, those his youths, of whom he so vainely gloried. I am scarce able to speak for laughing But, contemplating, you absent.

absent, me thought I spake thus vnto you. *I regard not how great a matter you haue compassed; nor what offence you haue committed.* And in that the businesse had better issue then I expected. That saying came to my minde. *I am told that, that is impossible.* But presently I became full of all ioy. For which being rebuked, as if I had beene halfe out of my wits, I excused my selfe thus:

Accuse me not good friends, great pleasure landing:
Obscures my reason and mine vnderstanding.

What should I say more? while I scoffe at him, I seeme as verie a foole as himselfe. Heere I'le make a stop. Another time, when I haue more leisure, I will write more copiously vnto you, both of this and many other things that concerne you. *Rufus*, I must needs loue you, because Fortune hath made you a friend, to augment my honour and curbe, not onely mine enemies but euen such also as enuie me: that those may bee sorry for their bad and dishonest parts; and these for their apparant follies. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Marcus Caelius Rufus Elected Ædile Curule. Ep. 10.

I Cannot bee perswaded, that you wrote not to mee since your being made, *Aedile*, especially being elected with such disgrace to the honest man you wot of, and so much joy of your friends. Howsoever, since this happie Creation, that so rejoyced my heart, I never heard one word from you: which makes me feare least my letters should miscarry as well as yours, and be intercepted by the way. I assure you, I never wrote to mine owne sonne but you had a letter: neither could I doe otherwise, the world not affording me a dearer, or greater friend then your selfe. Be carefull therefore by whom you send me letters. Behold *Cælius* how it falls out according to your owne desire: I shall gaine a Triumphant crowne without joyning battaile with the *Parthians*; of whom you doubted, knowing that my power was but weake, to encounter so strong an enemie. Conceive therefore; that when I hear of the *Parthians* approch and remembred how weake I was in Souldiers; I retired to places of advantage; and so came to Amanus tru-

sting to the strength of that situation. I had in mine Armie, a companie of very good outlandish men. The mountaneous people, who neuer knew me otherwise then by Fame, came flocking in to see mee. For in this countrie I manie times ouer-heare these words; h this that *Cicero* which deliuered *Rom* from the Treason, of those conspirators: to whom the Senate, &c. When I arriued at *Amanus*, which is mountain that seperates mine, from *Ci licia* his prouince, by a torrent; *Cassius*, to my singular contentment, had fought so victoriously, that he had driuen the enemie from the siege of *Antiochia*. *Bibulus* had taken vpon him the Gouernement of his Prouinces; and I, with all my forces pursued certaine rebells of *Amanus*, who had euer been enemies vnto vs. Many of them were slaine, many were by vs taken: the fled some into one, some into another quarter. A few strong places there were which we suddainely surprising, took and set one fier. And this victorie was of that import, as I deserued to be entituled, by the Armie, *IMPERATOR*, according to the manner. And this honour I receiued before *Issus* where *Cisarchus* told you, that *Darius* was vanquished by *Alexander*. The performed, I marched along with my Armie, to certaine fortifications, which

dai'ie forraged all *Cilicia*: and now I am before an exceeding strong towne, called *Pindenissus*, which I haue beleaguerd these fiue and twentie daies, with argiues, vines, or shelters, and turrets: and were it [a towne] of note, I might hope thereby to win much honour. for beleeue me 'tis as difficult, and dangerous an enterprise, as could bee vndertaken: If I take it in, (as I make no doubt) the Senate shall forthwith be aduertised therof. These precedent circumstances I thought good to let you know, for your further hopes of that successe, which you desire. But to returne to the *Parthians*, wee haue past ouer this Sommer, with reasonable euent, to our satisfaction; but 'tis very doubtfull what may heereafter ensue And therefore noble *Rufus*, vse your best endeauours to procure mee a successor in this charge; or, if this (as you write, and I suppose) be hard to compasse, let not my Command in any wise be prolonged: for this will readily bee granted Furthermore, I instantly request you, to write vnto me of the state, not onely of present, but future affaires: and vouchsafe heerein to bee very vigilant, and carefull. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Calius Aedile Curule. Ep. 11.

WOuld you euer thinke I could want words, and not yours onely so elegant, but euen those vulgar [termes] that ordinarilie passe betwixt vs? yet this want doe I finde: for, in that I am much troubled with the feare of what will be resolued on, about the Prouinces; I am exceeding desirous to returne to *Rome*: I can forbeare the sight of my friends no longer: I am in a comparable wearie of my Prouince: either because I haue already purchased such fame, that I need not so much labour to augment it, as feare, least Fortune diminish it; or in that the employment, is not proportionable to my forces, which can, and haue susteyned farre waighter burdens of the Common weale; or else in verie deed, because an hot warre is looked for, which may be auoyded, as I suppose, if I be suffered to depart at the time appointed. As for your Panthers, I haue spoken to diuers who take them, that they should by all means get me some: but they light on so few now, as 'tis wonderfull; and they too, as men commonly say, complaine exceedingly, that all things are secure in my prouince

besides

beſides themſelues, and therefore they reſolued to paſſe ouer into *Caria*. Notwithſtanding, they daile looke for ſome there, and eſpecially from *Patiſcus*; thoſe that are found ſhall bee all yours; but yet I tell you not how many. Our of doubt your Aedileſhip gaue mee heartie contentment, and this preſent time renued the memoriall thereof: for I wrote this letter on the Feſtiuall day of the great Mother of the Gods. I pray ſend me a particular information, of the whole ſtate of the common-wealth, becauſe I may boldely build vpon the truth of your aſſeuerations. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Coelius Aedile Curule. Ep. 12.

THE great rumors, which, (as I heard) fell out in *Rome*, on the feſtiuall dayes of the goddeſſe *Moneta*, by reaſon of ſpeeches made vnto the people; keepe my minde I aſſure you, in continuall trouble, becauſe I could neuer heare further of it: and yet that which moſt grieues mee is, that among theſe ſtirres, if there be any thing worthie of laughter, I cannot make my ſelfe merrie with you: for I well know, there are many [things] but I dare

not write them. One thing I dislike, that you would never vouchsafe to certifie me, what hapned in *Rome*. Wherfore vpon the receipt of this letter, though the prescribed time of my Government will be out, yet would I bee glad to meet with yours, to bee truely acquainted with the present state of the Common-wealth: to the end, when I arriue, I may not bee a meere stranger. Your friend *Diogenes*, a very discreet, and well gouern'd man, went from me, with *Philo* in his company, from *Pessinus*, to go seeke King *Deiotarus*, though they know well enough, that he is neither rich, nor bountifull. Liue in *Rome*, ô *Rufus*, that is, in the eie of the world. Men in other places become base, and obscure; who in *Rome* through industrie, might quickly grow famous. Hauing euer knowne thus much, and from my tender youth beleeued so, I would I had beene constant in this opinion. To tell you true, I esteeme more of a friendly walke, and familiar discourse betweene our selues, then of whatsoeuer honor, or profit may accrew from my Prouince. 'Tis questionlesse, that this gouernment will conferre vpon me, the respect, and commendation of integritie: and my gaines therein had beene as much, had I remained at *Rome*. Oh, but you will tell mee of a Triumph: What more glorious Triumph

is

is there, then to enioy the preſence of thoſe things that are moſt deere vnto me, from which I haue ſo long beene abſent. But I verily hope to ſee you ſhortly. On my way let me meet with letters, worthie your ſelfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Cælius Ædile Curule. Ep. 13.

THough your letters bee rare, (and thoſe peraduenture ſometimes not faithfully deliuered me) yet doe they yeeld mee great contentment. What wiſdome might I perceiue in your laſt? how louingly and prudently you aduiſe me? and though I was reſolued to take the ſame courſe, that you preſcribe me, yet when the opinions of wiſe men and faithfull friends concur with our owne, wee like our former determination the better. I loue *Appius* deerely, as I haue many times told you: and hee ſeem'd no leſſe to loue me, preſently after wee were reconciled. For both being Conſull, he gaue mee great reſpect and honour: and he conuerſed with me moſt louingly; and appeared alſo to affect thoſe ſtudies, to which I was addicted. And I for my part, haue omitted no occaſion, wherein I might doe him any

pleasure: of which I desire no other witnesse, then your selfe; for, *Phanias's* testimonie, I thinke, is of no great authoritie. And I loue him the better, because hee professeth so much loue towards you. Besides this, you know how deere *Pompeius* is vnto mee, and that I loue *Brutus* with all my heart. Why should I not straine my selfe to fauour him? Is hee not of a flourishing age, rich, and powerfull? Is hee not gotten to a high degree of honour? Hath he not a rare wit? Doth hee not abound in progeny, kindred & friends? And which is more, is he not my Colleague? Hath he not dedicated his inuentions vnto mee? I am transported thus far, to remoue from you that suspition, which our letters imply of my affection towards him. You must needes haue heard something. But be assured, they are deceiued. And though in my Prouinciall managings, I take some different courses from his; whereupon some may suppose, that I doe this rather out of a secret hatred, then through diuersity of opinion, yet did I neuer either say, or doe any thing, with a preiudiciall intention to his honour. And this case excepted, which *Dolabella's* temerity hath exposed mee vnto, I am ready to become an humble Sutor for him in any danger. One part of your letter, where you write that the City

sleepes.

ſhapes, reioyced me much, conceiuing thereby, that, that ſame friend of ours, was growne cold. But the laſt words of your hand-writing, peirced my very heart. What? doth *Curio* defend *Ceſar*? Who, but my ſelfe, would beleeue it? for, as I liue, I thought ſo. Oh how I deſire to laugh with you. Becauſe I had viſited all parts of my Prouince, and made you a relation thereof, and that I had enriched the Cities, and perſwaded the people to pay the cuſtomes, not only the impoſitions of theſe preſent fiue yeeres, but the remainder alſo of thoſe fiue that are paſt: and had found no condition of men, but did thinke well therof; I determined the ſeuenth of May, to paſſe into *Cilicia*: and after I had beene at the Campe, and had taken ſpeedy order, for whatſoeuer concerned the Army; to take my iourney towards *Rome*, according as the Senate decreed. I would faine ſee you in your Ædile-ſhip. And I thinke euery day a yeere, till I bee in *Rome*, and amongſt my friends; but eſpecially with your ſelfe. Farewell.

Cicero, Imperator; to Marcus Cœlius, Ædile Curule. Epist. 14.

THere is great familiarity, between me, and *Marcus Fabius*, a very honest & a learned man: And I loue him heartily, not so much for his wit and learning, which is great, as for rare modesty I see in him. I recommend vnto you his cause, with the same care and loue, as if it were mine owne. I know the custome of you great Lawyers; you receiue no Client vnder an Homicide But in this mans case, no excuse can serue you. If you wish me well, lay all other businesse apart, when *Fabius* shall need your helpe I am very desirous to vnderstand, how matters goe at *Rome*: and aboue the rest, I would know how you dispose of your selfe, it being long since I heard any newes at all: but this hard winter is the cause thereof. Farewell.

Cicero,

Cicero, Imperator; to Marcus Cælius, Ædile Curule. Epiſt. 15.

I Could haue wiſhed no greater prudence, or expedition, then you and *Curio* vſed, in obtaining my ſuites. which giues mee ſpeciall ſatisfaction; both for their ſpeedy proſecution, and alſo in that our Competitor, who was angrie with vs, hath approued in the Senate of thoſe high praiſes, wherewith *Cæſo* honoured me, in relating my actions. Now prouide your ſelfe to procure mee the *Triumph* alſo: for I hope to obtain it. I am glad you haue a good opinion of *Dolabella*, and with all, that you loue him. Whereas you ſay, my *Tullia's* diſcretion muſt bee the beſt meanes, to correct ſome of his defects, I know you ſpeake this, for that which you once wrote vnto mee about him: what would you ſay now, if you ſaw, what I then wrote to *Appius*? But what ſhould we doe? Thus goes the world. God ſend mee good of this affinity, and that *Dolabella* may proue as good a ſon in law, as we deſire, and as I hope he will proue, the rather for the good inſtructions you may giue him, out of your accuſtomed good conditions, and nature. Now, I am wonderfully perſwa-

ded

plexed about the Common-wealth. I am a friend to *Curio*: I affect *Cæsars* honour: I could spend my life for *Pompey*: yet I loue the Common-wealth aboue all other. Labour not you much in this behalfe, for me thinks I perceiue you are taking care: in that you would bee both a good Citizen, and a good friend. I haue resign'd ouer the gouernment of my Prouince to *Caluus*, my Quæstor. To a childe, you'le say? And I answer, To a Quæstor, and a braue noble youth: And all haue almost don the like; & there was no man, that for his honor and worth, was more worthie of it. *Pontinius* departed long before. My brother *Quintus* had refused the charge: And say I had also left it him; euill mindes might haue reported, that this was no leauing of a charge, when hee but surrenders it to a Brother. And they peraduenture would haue added: that the Senates meaning was, the gouernment of Prouinces should be giuen onely to them, that neuer before had the like office: and that my brother held the gouernment of *Asia*, for three whole yeeres. In a word, I am rid of all care: If I had left my brother there: I should haue tear'd euery blast of winde. Neither did I this out of mine owne braine, but led by the example of such men; who being very mightie, yet sought the generall amitie

amity of the *Caſſij*, & *Antonij*. Though for my part, I ſtroue not ſo much, to win this young man; as not to offend, and make him an enemie; As I ſhould haue done in giuing this dignity to any other. You ought to approue of this my conſe, if for nought elſe, at leaſt becauſe there is no returning backward You write very darkly to me, touching Spaine, neither finde I any thing in the Records Your actions are ſo ſpread abroad, that your very marriage is knowne beyond mount *Taurus*. If the Eaſterly windes ſtay me not, I hope out of hand to ſee you. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Marcus Cælius Aedile. Ep. 16.

YOur letters would haue brought me much griefe, but that as well mine owne reaſon free'd me of all cares; as alſo, my minde being long time ſiuged in deſpaire, is now become ſo obdurate, that it entertaineth no new ſorrow, yet I know not what the contents of my former letters might be, through which you ſhould ſo cenſure of things as you write. I complain'd of the preſent troubles, whereat you alſo grieued: For I neuer found you ſo blind in vnderſtanding, but that

you

you could see the same, which I discerne. One thing I wonder at, that you who should know me so well, should euer be induced to thinke, that I am either so inconsiderate, that when I may sale securely, I will beare out into the maine: or so inconstant, that in an instant I should shake off the fauour of so mightie a man, which I haue with so long trauaile obtained: and be an enemie to my selfe, by my personall assistance in a ciuill warre, which from the beginning, and alwaies I haue shunned. What is then this my pensiue resolution? peraduenture to retire me into some solitarie place, for you may be sure that not onely my mind, to which yours once was answerable, but also mine eies cannot endure to behold the insolencies of some vnworthy persons. Whereunto as to be added this troublesome pompe of my Lictors, and that imperiall title, which hath beene imposed on me. For if this were not, my burden would be farre more tollerable. I could be content, to withdraw my selfe, into any obscure, or solitary place within *Italy*; but this my dignitie, lacts me open, not to the eyes onely, but to the tongues also of such as are maleuolent: and yet I neuer determine to leaue *Italy* without your priuitie. But least I should be troublesome to my friends, I am constrained to liue at three little

Farmes

Farmes I haue vpon the Sea coaſt. And vpon this, diuers ſuſpect, that I mind to paſſe the Seas, which peraduenture would ſtand with my liking, if I thought to arriue in ſome peaceable part. For it beſeeth not me to goe to warre, principally againſt one, to whom I haue alwayes ſhewed my ſelfe a friend: and in his aſſiſtance, to whom I can neuer be thankefull enough. And you cannot but carry in mind, what I once to freely told you, when you met me at *Cumes*. Remember you not then, how far I was from abandoning *Rome*? And when ſome ſpeech grew of leauing it, did I not proteſt vnto you, that I would rather ſtand to all chances, then ſo like *Italy*, to enter into a ciuill warre? Hath any thing ſince fallen out to make mee alter my minde? rather all accidents haue concurred, to maintaine my former reſolution. I ſweare vnto you, and I ſuppoſe you doe beleeue me; that amidſt theſe miſeries I ſeeke nothing elſe, but that men may perceiue, that as I haue alwayes affected peace; ſo being out of hope to effect it, I haue ſhunned ciuill warre with all my power. I hope, I ſhall neuer repent my ſelfe of this my conſtancie. For if *Quintus Hortenſius* was wont to boaſt, that he neuer aſſiſted in a ciuill warre; much more ſhould I be commended for the ſame. For in him it was reputed but a kinde of co-

wardize; And my former proceedings remoue this imputation. Neither am I dismaid at those dangers, which your viscerall loue, propounds vnto me; because there is no kind of disaster, which seemes not to oppresse euery one in these troublesome times: from which questionlesse with mine owne particular preiudice, and euen with those which you exhort me to shunne, I would most willingly haue freed the Common-wealth. To my sonne, whom I am glad you so dearely esteeme, if the Common-wealth stand firme, I shall leaue a rich patrimony, in leauing him the memoriall of my name. But if the Common wealth dissolue, no worse can come to his share, then falls to other Citizens. Whereas you pray me, to be carefull of my sonne in law, a worthie young man, and deare vnto me, you may well coniecture, that I am neerely touch't on his behalfe, considering the entire loue I beare to him, and my daughter *Tullia*. And I tell you thus much, that amongst the common miseries, the small hope I had, was, that he would auoid all those molestations, which his cum-free disposition made him runne into. Enquire I pray you; while he remain'd in *Rome*, what dayes were they, how bitter to himselfe, and to me his Father in law how dishonourable? Therefore, I neither attend the

end

end of the warre in *Spaine*; which I am certaine will be such, as you write vnto me; nor haue I any other stratagem in my head. If the Cittie euer recouer her former state, vndoubtedly, there shall be also some place for vs: if it shall not recouer, I beleeue that you also will retire to the same solitary places, where you heare we are setled. But I dreame perhaps; and all these things may haue a better issue, then we expect. For I call to mind the feares of those, which were old when I was a young man. Who knowes, whither I am not come to be of the same disposition, following the common defect of my yeares? God graunt, it prone so: but yet I am sure you haue heard, that there is an imbroidered gowne a-weauing for *Opimius*. And our friend *Curius* will haue one twice dyed: but the Dyer makes him diuerse attendance. I would needs put in this clause, that you might perceiue, that I can still be merrie, though I be a little moued I desire, you may see that come to passe of *Dolabella*, which I haue told you. And make reckoning, that it is your owne case. To conclude, be assured, that I will do nothing without my friends counsel: but I beseech you, that whereso euer I shall be, you will defend both me, and my children in such sort, as best stands with our amitie, and your owne loyaltie. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero Imperator, to Caninius Salustius Vice-questor. Epist. 17.

YOur officer on the xvii. of Iulie, deliuered me your letters at *Tarsis* whereunto I will particularly answere, as you seeme to desire. I heare not a word of any Successor in my place, neither doe I thinke, that any man shall succeed. There is nothing to the contrary, why I may not depart at the time appointed; especially all feare of the *Parthian* warre being taken away. And I thinke not to stay in any place, I haue an opinion, that I shall goe as farre as *Rhodes*, to see my sonne, and nephew. But I dare not assure you thereof. I would faine be with all speed in *Rome*, yet I'le proceed in my voyage according to the intelligence, that I shall receiue from thence. And according as I shall thinke, that it may turne to the benefit of the Common-wealth. Your Successor cannot come so soone, that you may meete me in *Asia*. Where you tell me, that *Bibulus* graunts you ample freedome, from rendring an accompt of that you haue receiued; I graunt you it were good for you that it were so, but I am not of opinion, that the law *Iulia* will tollerate it: which

Bibulus

Bibulus obſtructs not for ſome peculiar reaſons of his owne: but if you approue of my counſell: I would aduiſe you to obſtruct it. In that you write, I ſhould not diſſurniſh *Apamea* of men; I ſee that ſome are of the ſame opinion, and I am very ſorrie, that I haue giuen occaſion to malignant ſpirits to prattle thereof ſo vntowardly. Whether the *Parthians* are return'd or no, beſides your ſelfe, I know no man makes doubt: and becauſe this newes was generally diuulged for certaine, I caſhiered ſo great a number of choice ſouldiers; whom, I had placed in the garriſons of the Cities. It was not true, that I ſent you, my Quæſtors accompts; nor, were they yet finiſhed. I meane to leaue a copie of them in *Apamea*. Concerning the booties, that came to my hands in this war, no man laid hand vpon't, nor ſhall touch one farthing thereof, except the Quæſtors of *Rome*, that is, the people of *Rome*: I am minded to returne all the common treaſure, by the Bankers of *Laodicea*. From whom I will take ſecurtie, that it may be paid in without my daunger: Whereas you moouue me in a matter of ten thouſand crownes, I can in no ſort furniſh you: becauſe one part of the treaſure, amounting of the ſpoile, is alreadie in the conueyers hands: and mine owne portion the Quæſtor hath receiued.

receiued. For your demand, concerning my opinion of the Legions, which by the Senates order, are to come into *Syria*: at first I doubted, whether they should come or no: but now I assure my selfe, that they shall not come, when they shall vnderstand, that there is no daunger of warre in *Syria*. I see well enough, that *Marius*, successor to *Bibulus* will arriue very late, because order was set downe, that he should bring men along with him. I haue answered one of your letters, now I come to another. You intreat me, that I would write to *Bibulus* in your behalfe, with all importunitie possible. To which I answere, that I am readie hereto to giue you all contentment: but yet I haue some cause to complaine of you, that alone amongst all those which are about *Bibulus*, you did not aduertise me of the euill opinion, that he conceiues of me without cause. For many haue told me, that *Antiochia* being in great feare, and much hope being reposed in me and my armie, he should say, that he would rather suffer any extremity, then seeme to haue need of my ayde. And, that you haue concealed this from mee displeaseth me not, vnderstanding what respect a Quæstor should beare to a Prætor. And I heard before, what termes he stood vpon with you. Moreouer, when he wrote to *Thermum* touch-

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ing the *Parthian* warre, I had not ſo much as the leaſt word from him concerning it; to whom he knew well, that the danger of that warre did appertaine. Neither did he euer write vnto me, more then once, to recommend his ſonne vnto me when he ſtood for the Augureſhip. Whereupon I, moued by compaſſion, and becauſe I euer affected his ſonne, I would not but anſwere him very courteouſly: but if he be of that humor, that he beares an euill mind to euery man, which I could neuer beleeue, I ought to care the leſſe, though he loues not me neither. But if he haue any particular hatred to my ſelfe, my letters will ſtand you in ſmall ſtead That he hates me, I manifeſtly diſcerne by this, that he hath written to the Senate, how he hath vſed all endeuours, that the money might be made ouer by exchange, to the peoples aduantage; attributing onely to himſelfe that glorie, which was no leſſe mine then his owne: ſaying further, that he was the man, who ſent backe the troupes of horſe of *Lombardie*, to eaſe the people of ſuch a charge: which was my action, and none of his. He hath afterwards made me partaker of a buſineſſe, which concernes himſelfe onely; affirming that the prouiſion of prouender for the outlandiſh horſe, was demaunded by vs both. But what more manifeſt teſtimonie

monie of his malignant, and base nature can be requir'd, then, writing to *Ariobarzanes*, to whom, the Senate at my request, had giuen the title of King, he stiled him not King, but sonne to King *Ariobarzanes*. It is not good to commend any one, to men of that condition; because in such a case they doe worse. But, to doe you a pleasure, I haue written to him. About the deliuering, or not deliuering it, vse your owne discretion. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Quintus Thermus Vice prætor. Epist. 18.

I Am very glad, that my endeauours for *Rhodon*, and other fauours that I haue shewed to your most gratefull selfe, and yours, haue beene acceptable. And perswade your selfe, that daily, more and more, I affect your honour: the which by your iustice, and clemencie, you haue indeed, alreadie so amplified, that it seemes not, that any thing more can bee added thereunto. But ruminating euery day vpon your occasions, I cannot but like well of my counsell, that I gaue to *Aristo*, from the beginning, when hee came to finde me: it seeming vnto me, that you would

would draw vpon your ſelfe too pow-
erfull an enmitie, if this young man,
who is potent and mighti, ſhould re-
ceiue ſuch an iniurie from you. And
doubtleſſe it might be well termed an
iniurie: becauſe there is not any man,
whom the dignitie of honor exceedeth
him. And he, (leauing aſide his nobi-
litie,) in this reſpect, is ſuperiour to
your Legates, (men certainelie of ho-
neſt condition, and harmleſſe perſons,)
in that he is not onely Quæſtor, but
your owne Quæſtor. I vnderſtand ſuf-
ficiently, that no man ſhall well can pre-
iudice vnto: but yet I would not there-
fore, that three Brethren of a moſt no-
ble familie, courageous, and eloquent,
ſhould be angrie with you, eſpecially,
vpon ſome ground. For I feare that they
are all three, like to be Tribunes of the
people, one after an other; and who
knowes the condition of times, which
ſhall ſucceed in the Common wealth,
I for my part, am of opinion, that
there will be troubles. Why therefore,
would you expoſe your ſelfe, to the
diſpleaſure of the Tribunes? eſpeci-
ally, when, without any checke, you
may preferre the Quæſtor before the
Legates: who, if he follow the ſteps of
his predeceſſors, as I hope and deſire;
your ſelfe ſhall participate of his com-
mendation: if otherwiſe, the whole
infamie will redowne to himſelfe one-
ly.

ly. Going into *Cilicia*, I thought good to write my opinion vnto you. I pray God, that whatsoeuer you doe, may turne to your owne contentment. But if you'le follow my aduise, you shall auoid these oppositions, and bee carefull of the quietnesse of your posteritie. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Caius Cælius, sonne to Lucius, elected Quæstor. Epist. 19.

WHEN I heard the wished newes, of your being elected my Quæstor, I was in hope, that from thence, so much the greater contentment should redound vnto me, by how much the longer you were like to continue with me in the Prouince: and it was very necessarie, that to the neare tye of amitie, by which fortune hath linked vs, familiar conuersation should also be annexed. Afterwards, because neither your selfe, nor any other wrote vnto me of your comming, I doubted (as still I doe) least I should depart from the Prouince, before you arriued there: I since receiued your letters, written with singular humanitie, which were deliuer'd me, the xxii. of Iune in *Cilicia*, where I was with the Armie. And

And in thoſe, I diſcouer'd your courteous, and ingenuous nature: but they doe not expreſſe, neither from whence, nor when they were dated, or at what time I ſhould expect you; neither could I know it from the bearer, becauſe you told him not. Which circumſtances being vncertaine, I determined notwithſtanding, to ſend my Stators, and Lictors, with theſe preſent letters: the which if you receiue timelie enough, I ſhou'd be very glad, that you would out of hand come vnto mee into *Cilicia*: your coſen *Curio* (and as you know) my deare friend, and *Caius Virginius* your kinſman, and our familiar acquaintance, haue written effectually to me in your recommendation, and queſtionleſs, they haue wrought the ſame effect they worthilie did merit, but yet your letters were of greater effect, eſpecially being written, of your new dignitie, which vnto both of vs will giue occaſion of a more inward amitie. Fortune could not allot mee a Quæſtor, more pleaſing vnto mee then your ſelfe: and therefore I will doe any thing to aduance your honour: that all men may clearely diſcerne, that I haue had a due reſpect both to your owne, and the dignitie of your Anceſtors. But this I may the better effect, if you come vnto mee in *Cilicia*, the which, in my opinion, greatly imporeth

porteth both mee, the Common wealth, and your ſelfe eſpecially. Farewell.

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THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Appius Pulcher Imperator.
Epist. 1.

I Know your Freeman *Phanis*, to be so discreet, and haue noted him so vigilant, in obseruing what is done in the Common-wealth, that if her selfe could possiblie informe you of her owne state, I cannot thinke shee could giue you therin, better satisfaction then he can giue you. wherefore be

can sufficiently enforme you of all things. And it is a good excuse for my breuitie: besides, for some other respects, it is also more secure. But for my loue to you, though the said *Thamo* can say enough, yet I thinke it not altogether impertinent, that my selfe likewise, assure you thereof. Be therefore most secure, that you are very deare vnto me, both for the estimable parts of your wit, nobilitie, and courtesie; as further, because you write, and because I haue heard it from others, that all the good offices I haue imployed in your behalfe, are acceptable to you. And seeing Fortune, by loosing the knot of our neere familiaritie, hath depriu'd vs for so long a time, of familiar conuersation; I will labour to restore that which I did loose, by now fauouring and assisting you, as farre as I am any waies able. wherein I shall esteeme my selfe happie, if I may perceiue, that this my affectionate desire bee as acceptable to your kindred, as I know it is to your selfe. I neuer knew your Free-man *Felix* before he brought me your letters, which were full of loue and courtesie. And he also hath done me herein a wonderfull kindenesse, by relating dailie to me, with singular contentment, the great loue that you beare me, and which in all your discourses you demonstrate vnto me. what need I

so

ſay more? In two daies hee is growne domeſticall with me, but for all that, it cannot be that I ſhould not be very deſirous of *Phania's* returne, whom when you ſend backe to *Rome*, which I ſuppoſe will be ſhortly: I pray: enioyne him to vſe me in any thing wherein I am able to do you ſeruice. I friendly recommend vnto you *Lucius Valerius*, a Doctor of the Lawes, and I recommend him, though hee were not in effect a Doctor: For I will bee more warie in writing to you of him, then hee vſeth to be in aduiſing others. I wiſh him marueilous well, hee is one of the moſt froward, and truſtie friends that I haue. Hee acknow'edgeth himſelfe greatly bound vnto you, but yet he writes that I ſhall dot him a wonderful fauour, by recommending him vnto you; wherein I beſeech you, that you will not fruſtrate his expectation. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-Conſull, to Appius Pulcher Imperator. Epiſt. 2.

SEeing it hath ſo fortuned, both againſt my will, and beyond expectation, that I muſt neceſſarily repaire to the gouernment of this Prouince. Amongſt the multitude of my noleſtations,

tions, and in my sundry cares and cogitations, I haue found this onely comfort, that none could haue succeeded you, which stands better affected to you then my selfe: neither could I wish to haue receiued my Prouince from any man more desirous to resigne it me disincombred, and free from all disturbance. And, if you hope also that I beare the same affection towards you; vndoubtedly you shall neuer herein be deceiued. Out of our inward loue, and by your great humanity, I earnestly entreat you, that, wherein soeuer you may (as in many things, it will be in your power) you would be very carefull of my affaires. The Senate, as you perceiue, commits the Prouince to my charge. If you leaue it me, as little encombred as you can, I shall proceed in the course of my office. You know how farre in this you may assist me. I earnestly intreate you, that you will bethinke your selfe of euery thing wherein you may please me. I would vse more words about this matter, but that I feare I should wrong your courtesie; and offend our ancient friendship, which betweene vs suffers no superfluous ceremonies: besides, there needs not many words in a matter that speakes sufficiently for it selfe. I promise you assuredly, that if I vnderstand you haue a regard to my

pro

proceedings, you ſhall finde therein, ample ſatisfaction, and contentment. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-conſull, to Appius Pulcher Imperator. Ep. 3.

WHen I came to *Brundiſium*, the xxii. of May, *Quintus Fabius* your Legate, came to ſeeke me: and by your order told me that which not onely I, whom it concerned, but the whole Senate alſo call'd to mind; that this Province requir'd a ſtronger garriſon. For almoſt all were of opinion, that my Legions, and thoſe of *Sibylla* ſhould be made vp with *Italian* ſouldiers. Whereunto *Sulpitius* the Conſull, ſaying, he would not conſent, I much complained thereof; but the Senate ſo greatly haſtned my departure, that I was forced to obey him, as I did. Now I deſire, you would carry in mind, what I demanded of you in the letters, which I deliuered at *Rome* to your poſts: which was, that whatſoeuer one could effect, for the eaſe of a domeſticall and louing friend, in viſiting the Prouince, you would procure with all affection and diligẽce, for the inuiolable loue I beare you: that euery one might plainly diſ-

cerne, that neither I could euer haue succeeded any man, more denoted to me then you, nor you resigne the Prouince to any, who lou'd you more dearly then I. By those, which you wrote vnto the Senate, whereof you sent me a copie, I vnderstood, that you had casheer'd a great number of souldiers: but the aboue mentioned *Falius* certified me, that you had indeed such a determination, but at his departure, it was not yet effected. If it be so, you shall doe me a singular kindnes, not to weaken so small an armie. And as I suppose, you haue receiued the decrees enacted by the Senate to this purpose. Such is the loue I beare you, that any thing you doe, shall giue me satisfaction: but yet I am confident, you will be readie also to performe that, which accreweth to my benefit, and commoditie. I expected *Caius Pontinius* my Legate, at *Brundisium*, and I thinke he will be there, before the first of Iune, as soone as he comes, we will take shipping, with the first opportunitie. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-consull, to Appius Pulcher Imperator. Ep. 4.

THe fourth of Iune, being at *Brundisium*, I receiued your letters, wherein you write, that *Lucius Clodius* shall impart

impart ſomething to me in your name. I earneſtly looked for him, to heare what he wou'd haue deliuer'd, touching your commiſſion. I hope by many teſtimonies, you are now ſufficiently ſatisfied, of the affection I beare towards you, and the ſpeciall deſire I haue to ſerue you: and yet you ſhall better vnderſtand, when greater occaſion ſhall be giuen to ſhew it, how deepely your honor, and dignitie is imprinted in my heart. *Quintus Fabius Virgilianus*, and *Caius Flaccus*, ſonne to *Lucius*, and *Marcus Oſtanius*, ſonne to *Caius*, haue all three made knowne vnto me, how dearely you value my amitie: which I formerly collected, by many preſumptions, eſpecially in that delectable booke of Augurations, written ſo loungly, and dedicated to mee. Whatſoeuer one friend can doe for another, I will not leaue vndone for your ſake; not onely becauſe I euer honored you, from the firſt day you began to loue me: but further, in that I infinitely eſteeme two perſons, of two ſeuerall ages, *Curius Pompeius* your daughters father in law, and *Marcus Brutus* your ſonne in law. Moreouer, my ſelfe hauing beene receiued into the Colledge of the *Augures*, me thought this degree of honor, eſpecially approued by you, with my great reputation, was as it were a band, to linck vs together, in an indiſ-

soluble societie. But if *Clodius* speake with me, I shall haue ampler matter whereof to write, and I'le doe what possible I can, to see you out of hand. Whereas you write, that you lingred so long in your Prouince of purpose to meete me, I must needs confesse it gaue me great contentment. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-consull, to Appius Pulcher Imperator. Ep. 5.

I Came to *Tralles* on the xxvii. of July. There *Lucius Lucilius* presented me your letters, and related what by word of mouth you did commit vnto him. You could not haue sent me a man that was more my friend, neither as I thinke more wise and discreete, to informe me of such matters, as I desired to vnderstand. I haue read your letters with great satisfaction, and gaue a diligent eare to *Lucilius*: Now, you being of opinion also, that ceremonies should not passe betwixt vs, (for, you write, though you haue read, with much contentment what so euer by me was mentioned about mutuall kind offices, discharged one to another; yet because I fetch't my relation of them somewhat too farre about; you thought them not altogether so requisite) and because indeed

deed they are meerely ſuperfluous, when the amitie is ſuch, as hath beene long tried, and that there is no further doubt of faithfulneſſe; I will lay them aſide: thanking you onely, as I haue reaſon, for the louing diligence, you vſe, in reforming the ſtate of the Prouince, to facilitate my gouernment of the ſame. Firſt therefore, I thanke you for ſo courteous an office, then I engage my faithfull promiſe vnto you, that with all endeuour and zeale, I will euer labour, that firſt your ſelfe, and all your friends, and others afterwards may alſo perceiue, what a friend I am vnto you. And of thus much, whoſoeuer he be, that's ignorant, he rather ſeemes, to be diſcontented at our friendſhip, then not to be priuie to it. But certainely, it ſhall apparently bee knowne. For it ſhall be made manifeſt by no obſcure, nor ignoble perſons; neither in occaſions lightly importing: but let the effects rather proue this, then my words. And in that you write, that going the ſame way I entend, you feare, you ſhall not ſee me in the Prouince, I will reueale the whole matter to you. Talking with *Phania* your Free-man in *Frendſhip*, I remember I ſaid, I would willingly haue entred into the Prouince, on that part that ſtood beſt with your liking: to which he replied, that you meant to come by Sea,

and

and therefore you would be glad, that I were arriued at *Sida*, a maritime part of the Prouince: I told him I would: and so had done, but that *Lucius Clodius* aduis'd me in *Corcyra* not to enter into this encombrance, because at my arriuall, you would be in *Laodicea*. This was a farre shorter cut, and more commodious; principally in that it gaue you better satisfaction: but afterwards you altered your resolution. Now, you shall vnderstand my disseigne, to the end that you may gather, as you may easily, if there be any way for our meeting. I thinke to be at *Laodicea*, on the last of Iulie: and there will I continue for certaine dayes, for the receipt of some monies, which I made ouer by way of exchange from *Rome*. Then will I take my course towards the armie; so that in the middest of September, I make accompt to be at *Iconium*. But if I mistake my selfe in writing, (for I know not what may happen) whensoeuer I sit forwards you shall be aduertised of my iournies from day to day, with all possible expedition, and diligence. I neither dare, nor willingly will impose vpon you any burden, but if it may be with your conueniencie, it greatly importes vs both, that we should meete, before you leaue the Prouince. If any euill hap, preuent this our interview, yet notwithstanding in the gouernment of

of this Prouince, I will haue no leſſe care of your honour, and reputation, then if I had ſeene you. I will not write vnto you, that you ſhould performe any thing on my behalfe, till I be out of hope, of meeting you. Whereas you write, that you requeſted *Scæuola*, during your abſence, to gouerne the Prouince till my arriuall; I ſaw him in *Epheſus*, and he kept me company for thoſe three dayes, that I ſtayed there, but he ſpake not a word, of your mouing him to any ſuch matter. I would he could, for I cannot be perſwaded, that he would not haue ſerued you. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-Conſull, to Appius Pulcher Imperator.

Epiſt. 6.

WHen I compare that which I haue done, with that which hath beene by you perfo med, I am far better ſatisfied in mine owne, then in your proceedings. Although I deſire, that in true loue, we may diſcharge our ſelues reciprocally. *Thania's* fidelitie in all your affaires, being well knowne vnto me, and in what eſteeme he is with you, in *Brundiſium* I was bold to aske

aske of him, by what part he thought you would haue me make entrance into the Prouince: He answering me, that I could not please you better, then to goe by shipping to *Side*. I promis'd to doe so; though I did it with great discommoditie, and little credit. But afterwards meeting in *Corcyra*, *Lucius Clodius*, a man so possest of your heart, that talking with him, me thought I spake with your selfe, I said to him, that I meant to take the same course, *Pharnia* prescribed me: then he giuing me thankes, for the entire affection I shewed herein, importun'd me, to goe directly to *Laodicea*; affirming, that you would reside in the edge, or skirt of the Prouince, for your more readie departure: and, but that I was Successor, whom you so much desired to see, you would haue beene gone before your Successors comming. Which fitly confronted with the letters, that I receiued in *Rome*: by which I perceiued what hast you made to depart. I answered *Clodius*, that I was readie to doe as he counselled me, and farre more willingly, then to performe my promise vnto *Pharnia*. So that hereupon changing my determination, I presently wrote a letter vnto you, with mine owne hand, which was deliuered timely enough, as your answere thereunto implies. In doing this, I haue, as I suppose, discharg'd

my

my part, neither could I ſhew any greater kindneſſe. Now with this, compare what you haue done. You did not onely not come thither, where you might with the ſooneſt haue had ſight of me. but you remooued into thoſe parts, where I could not poſſibly arriue, within the terme of thoſe thirty daies, which were aſſigned you, for your departure, as I ſuppoſe, by the law *Cornelia*. So that it ſeemed vnto them, who were not acquainted with our mutuall affections, that you ſeeke to auoid our meeting; and conſequently (to ſay no worſe) that you were but a cold friend vnto me: but on the other ſide, they iudge, me moſt louing to you. And in deed, before I came into the Prouince I receiued your letters, in which, though you certified me, of your going to *Tarſus*, neuertheleſſe you gaue me aſſured hope of our meeting. Yet ſome perſons afterwards, and as I beleeue, malicious (for many at this day are poſſeſt with that vice) hauing fit matter to talke of, and being no waies acquainted with the ſtabilitie of my mind, laboured to alienate me from your friendſhip, alledging vnto me, that you had ſome intereſt in *Tarſus*, that you eſtabliſh't, and perform'd many things; whereas, you might haue conſidered, that when I was entred into the Prouince, it belonged not to you, further to gouerne it.

Which

Which neither they were euer wont to doe, that within a ſhort time expected the arriuall of their Succeſſor. But theſe mens wordes neuer troubled me; rather, being true, I was beholding to you, for you eaſed me herein, of a part of my burthen; and I reioyced, that whereas the imployment of my gouernment was to continue for a whole yeare, which I thought ouer-long, I was by your meanes eaſed, of a moneths labour and trauaile. One thing, (to ſpeake truth) diſpleaſeth me, that, of thoſe few ſouldiers, which remain'd in the Prouince, there wanted no leſſe then three Cohorts, which were more entire then the reſt; and, that I cannot learne how they are diſpoſed of. But aboue all it griefues me, that I cannot certainly vnderſtand, where to ſee you: and I deferd writing, for no other cauſe, but by reaſon, I hourely expected your preſence. But becauſe you wrote nothing to me, I haue ſent vnto you, *Antonius*, Conductor of the new Supplies, a valiant man, and one in whom, I put great confidence; that, if you thinke good, you may aſſigne to him the charge of the *Infantery*: that I may attempt ſome enterpriſe, while the ſeaſon of the yeare ſerues. Wherein, both our amitie, and your letters, put me in hope that I ſhould not want, your beſt directions, neither do I yet deſpaire of thoſe hopes.

But

But queſtionleſſe, when, or where I may ſee you, except you certifie me by writing, I cannot ſo much as imagine. For that which belongs to me; both good, and bad ſhall apparently ſee, that my mind is as friendly addicted to loue you, as poſſiblie it can be. For yours, you haue giuen ill diſpoſed men ſome occaſion to ſurmiſe the contrary; doe but reclaime this errour, and I will hold you moſt deare vnto me. And becauſe you might conſider, or caſt where we may meete, without the breach of the *Cornelian* law; I arriued in my Prouince on the laſt of Iuly: I goe into *Cilicia*, by way of *Cappadocia*. I remooued the Campe from *Iconium*, the laſt of Auguſt. Now, for the time when you may moſt fitly meete with me, you may take order at your pleaſure, caſting vp the dayes iournies, and the way; where it may be effected, and on what day, without any inconuenience to either of vs. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-conſull, to Appius Pulcher. Ep. 7.

VVHen I haue more time, Ile write more at large; I wrote theſe in great haſt, *Brutus* ſeruants being to depart for *Rome* without any ſtay; ſo

so as, I had no time to write to any bodie else but to you, and *Brutus*. The *Appian* Legates, brought me, I cannot say a letter, but rather an entire volume, full of vniust complaints, because by my letters, I hindred their building. In the same epistle you intreated me, forthwith to giue them licẽce to build, before the winter came vp6 them: & withal, checking me couertly, you cõplained that I prohibited them, to collect the tributte before my selfe, made acquainted with the matter, had giuen licence; you affirming that this was but a kind of crossing their courses; in that I could not informe me of this matter before the winter, after my returne out of *Cilicia*. Now, conceiue rightly, whether you haue any cause to complaine of me. Diuers parties came crying out, and saying, They were grieuously exacted vpon, through the paying of intollerable tributes. I wrote, that nothing should be done therein, before I had well examin'd the matter: can any man say this was iniustice? Oh, but you'le tell me I could not be inform'd thereof before the winter: I grant it: but should I goe seeke my informations from them, or they come to me? What you'le say, so farre off? When you wrot vnto me that I should permit them to build before Winter: suppos'd you not that they were to come where I was? though indeed

deed, they committed an absurditie, worthie of derision. For, they sent me the letters when winter was almost ended, importing a suit, that they might finish their worke in the Sommer that was past: but know, howsoeuer, I am readie to obserue your pleasure; although, they are far more in number, that refuse to pay such tributes, then those, that are therewith contented. Concerning the *Appians* this may suffice. *Pausanias*, *Lentulus* free-man, and an officer of mine, tels me, that to him you seem'd offended, that I met you not. Did I this, thinke you, out of any disesteeme of you, and because I am the proudest man in the world? A man of yours, came after midnight, and informed me, that you would be at *Iconium* before daie. When, being two seuerall waies, and not knowing by which you might haue come, I sent *Varro*, a familiar acquaintance of yours, one way, and *Quintus Lepta*, chiefe of the ingeniers of mine armie another enioyning both of them, to come post before, that I might goe out to meete you: *Lepta* came running and told me, how you were gone beyond the armie: I came presently to *Iconium*. How the matter went afterwards you know: why should not I come and meete you? First being *Appius Claudius*, then being *Appius* Imperator. Moreouer, it being the custome

ſtome of our predeceſſors? and, which is of greater importance, you being my friend? eſpecially, I hauing euer beene, more obſeruant in ſuch offices, then euer ſtood with mine honour and condition. But no more of this. The ſame *Tauſanius* told me further; how you complained of me in theſe words: did *Appius* meete *Lentulus*, did *Lentulus* the like to *Appius*, and would not *Cicero* vouchſafe, to come and meete *Appius*? How comes it to paſſe? that you being a man, in my iudgement, of ſingular learning, and wiſedome, greatly experienced in worldly affaires; and further, endewed with a pleaſing affabilitie; which is a vertue, as the *Stoicks* deſeruedly hold opinion; I ſay, how can it be then, that you ſhould be carried away with theſe fopperies, ſuppoſing that either *Appius*, or *Lentulus* for their nobilitie, ſhould be highlier eſteemed of me, then the ornaments of vertue? Though I had not paſt thoſe honours, which in vulgar eſteeme, are glorious, yet could not I admire theſe your names: I rather valued thoſe men highly, which left them vnto you. But after I was with much honour, elected to many offices of gouernments of great qualitie, wherein I bare my ſelfe ſo approuedly, that I could not wiſh greater reputation, or glory [then was giuen me]; I neuer reputed my ſelfe your

ſuperiour;

ſuperiour; but alwayes your equall. Nor could I ſee, that euer *Cneius Pompeius*, whom I preſer before all others, or *Publius Lentulus*, to whom I gaue place, retain'd any other opinion. If you thinke otherwiſe, it would not be much amiſſe, (the better to vnderſtand what Gentilitie or Nobilitie is) to conſider a little, what *Athenadorus* ſon to *Sandon*, writes thereof. But to returne to our firſt purpoſe, beleeue moſt aſſuredly, that I am not onely your friend, but your moſt entire affectionate, and in all manner of proofe, I will contend, to poſſeſſe you of ſo much. But if you ſeeke occaſions, that you may ſeeme not to be, ſo much obliged to labour aſwell for me, as I haue laboured for you, from this time forward I free you of this trouble. I ſhall queſtionleſſe finde out other Counſellers, or at leaſt *Loue* ſhall be my guide. If alſo your inclination be ſuch, that you affect to conteſt; yet ſhall you not make me, doe other then loue you after my viſuall manner: But you ſhall doe well, if you beleeue it not, for I little care whether you doe or no. I haue written freely to you, of theſe matters, becauſe my conſcience tells me, that I alwaies diſcharged the office of a friend; and relying on the loue I beare towards you, the which as it was entertained with a firme deliberation, ſo will I

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maintaintaine and hold it till you are wearie. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-consull, to Appius Pulcher. Epist. 8.

THough I perceiue so much as your own letters did seeme to intimate, that you are like to bee at *Rome* before you shall receiue these; and that ere now the twatling of these malignant people of the prouince, is somewhat cooled; yet you hauing written so copiously to mee touching their sinister relations, I thought it fit, briefliie to answer you. But I will not rip vp a new, the two first heads of your letter, because they comprehend no absolute, nor determinate points; except this, that in the place where matters are scand, and at some feasts, it was obseru'd by many externall signes, that I am not your friend. This, is as much as nothing; and being nothing, neither can I conceiue what these words of yours import; sure I am, that this might truely be spoken vnto you; that both on the seate of Iustice, and in priuate places, I haue many times vttered honorable and worthie reports of you, giuing manifest testimonie, of our familiar, and domesticall Amitie. And

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as for the Legates, cou'd I haue wrought more iuſtlie or equallie, then to eaſe poore Cities of a burthenſome charge, without diminiſhing a whit of your reputation, eſpecially being with great inſtance ſollicited thereunto by the Cities themſelues? For I heard nothing, that theſe embaſſies went to *Rome* in your Honour. When I was in *Apamea*, the principalls of diuers Cities came & told me, that the ordinarie charge of Embaſſies were ſo great, that the cities were not able to defray them. Then, I caſt many things in my minde: Firſt, I could not bee perſwaded that you, who are not onely wiſe, but as the report now goes, a noble minded man, ſhould be delighted in theſe Embaſſies: and as I remember once in *Synnadis*, vpon the publique Tribunall I ſpake much thereof; alledging in the firſt place, how *Appius Claudius*, without further teſtimonie from the *Mydenſians* (for that City was then mentioned) was knowne by the Senate, and by the people of *Rome*: and moreouer, that I had obſerv'd at other times, that the Legates that came to praiſe any man, neuer obtain'd audience of the Senate. And finally I concluded, that their good enclination lik'me wel, becauſe they ſhewed themſelues thankfull to you, who had benefit.d them; but that I thought this

courſe

course no wayes necessarie: and if needes they would demonstrate their good affection, I should haue thought well of it, if some one had done it of his owne charge: And haue granted it, so that the expence had beene reasonable; but not, if exorbitant. You cannot therefore in any reason, take this ill at my hands: except, (as you adde) that mine edict had beene past, vpon purpose, to crosse these legations; as some were of opinion. Now, in my iudgement, they beare not themselues so ill, who doe such bad offices, as they, that lend an eare vnto them. While I was yet in *Rome* I drew the edict; afterwards, I annexed thereunto but one clause, which I tooke out of yours: and this at the importunity of the Tole-masters, who came to *Samos* to me, for this purpose; and touching the disburthening of the Cities of their charge, I wrote that article with speciall care; and I annexed thereunto some new conditions, which gaue me good satisfaction; being so beneficiall to the Cities, as if I had herein restored to them their liues. But this point, which occasion'd all the suspition, that I went about to wrong you; is an ordinarie thing, put in practice by others before my selfe. And I could not be so foolish to imagine, that the Embassadours came to *Rome* for any priuate occasion,

as being ſent, not to giue thankes to a priuate man, but vnto you; not for particular intereſts, but publique; and in an aſſembly not priuate, but generall to the world, that is, in the open Senate. Neither when I interpoſed this my command; that no man ſhould depart without my licenſe, did I exclude them, which could not come to me beyond Mount *Taurus*, where I was with the Armie. And that clauſe in your letters well deſerues laughter. For, ſeeing they might haue ſpoken to me, as I went betwixt *Laodicea*, and *Iconium*; as the Magiſtrates and Ambaſſadours of all thoſe Precincts, and Cities did, Which dwell on this ſide *Taurus*; to what purpoſe was it, that they ſhould come and ſpeake with me in the camp; or that they ſhould paſſe the Mount *Taurus*: except they had not reſolued of their Embaſſies to *Rome*, before my being beyond *Taurus*. Which queſtion ſelfe is not ſo For while I was in *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Synnada*, *Philomelium*, and *Iconium*, in which Cities I ſtayd, all theſe Embaſſies were conſtituted. And yet you muſt conceiue thus much, that about the diminution, or abſolute taking away of the charge, for theſe Legations, I referred my ſelfe wholly to their pleaſure, that were of higheſt authoritie in the Cities. In that it might iuſtly be feared, that by reaſon of vn-

necessarie disbursements, things might haue beene brought to that passe, that it had beene needfull to sell the tributes, and to haue layd an imposition, of so much by the powle, or by the house; which, as you know, would haue beene a very hard matter. And I being carefull (not onely iustice, but compassion mouing me thereto) to ease the burthened state of those afflicted Cities, and especially oppressed by their owne Magistrates, I could not well be negligent, in the case of so impertinent an expence. When such tales therefore were told you, you should not haue beleeued them. But if you take pleasure to lay your owne iealousies vpon others, you bring vp in friendship, a certaine discourse little beseeming a Gentle-man. And if I meant in any thing, to haue blemished your reputation, I would neuer haue beene inquisitiue of your son in law *Lentulus*, of your free-man in *Brundusium*, nor of the cheese Engineer in *Coreyra*, whither you would haue me to come. And, if you followed the prescriptions of the learnedest men, that haue written exceeding well of amity, you should not haue vs'd these, or the like speeches. *They argued, I opposed: They affirmed, I denyed.* Thinke you that I neuer heard any thing touching you? As for example, that when I was to come to *Laodicea*, you passed [illegible]

Mount

Mount *Taurus*. that you giue entertainment in *Tarſus*, at the very ſame time, I gaue mine in *Apamea*, *Synnadis*, and *Philomelium*. I will adde nothing more, leſt I ſhould be thought culpable of the ſame defect, whereof I accuſe you. Thus much I will freely vtter; if theſe things, which you ſay, were related to you by others; bee your owne dreames, or fictions; you commit a greeuous errour: but being true, that they were the reports of others, yet, you are greatly too blame, to giue eare vnto them. I will neuer faile in the office of a good freind. And if any man thinke, I haue ſome ſubtill reach in my proceedings; whoſoeuer he be, I would hee would tell me, what a wonderfull ſubtilty I ſhould ſhew in this; that I, when I was in *Rome*, and your ſelfe in your Prouince, euer defended your reputation, when I could not ſo much as dream, I ſhould need your ayd in theſe occurrents; ſhould now, when you are in *Rome*, and I, in my Prouince, giue you cauſe, to neglect my credit? But it may bee, you ſuppoſe that I haue done you iniury, in my giuing eare to certaine perſons, that depraued, or ſpake ill of your Legates, or Cape-Ingeniers, or Tribunes of the ſouldiers: wherein, notwithſtanding, I neuer heard, that they touched your reputation; or that they ſhould ſpeake vnworthily of any

other, but the fore-mentioned, of which men, *Cladius* discoursing with me in *Corcyra*, complained greatly, and said, that other mens malignitie, had blemisht the integritie of your name. I neuer drew any man to speech of such like matters: but by reason, they are many that talke thereof, no wayes in my iudgement, wronging therein your honour, I would not be too forward, to put them to silence. If any one hold opinion, that no man can be really reconciled: hee accuseth not vs herein, as men perfidious, but rather manifests his owne treacherie, discouering that to be in himselfe, which he imputes to others: and such an one hath no better concept of you, then of mee: But if the forme of my gouernment distastes any man, thinking it strange, that in the gouernment of this Prouince, I take some courses different from yours: each of vs obseruing Iustice and equitie, though you one way, and I another; I doe not greatly value such a mans good opinion. You, as a most noble & bountifull Gentle-man, gaue profusely in the Prouince, if I haue proceeded with a more restrained hand, & that the yeere following hath cut off a part of your former bounties, by reason of the hardnes of the times, no man need wonder hereat: for, besides that of mine owne nature, I was

euer ſparing of anothers purſe, I was much mou'd (as I told you) out of the conditions of the time: and therefore little care, to ſeeme niggardly to thoſe, that complaine vpon their peculiar intereſts, ſo I bee herein good vnto my ſelfe. Touching the aduertiſements you ſend mee, concerning *Romane* affaires, I heartily thanke you, and the rather, becauſe you intimate, that you will be carefull of thoſe buſineſſes, that I commended to you; in which, of one aboue the reſt, I requeſt you to bee mindefull, that the time of my gouernment be not prolonged; And entreat *Hortenſius*, our Colleague and familiar friend, that if euer he did, or intended to doe me a pleaſure, hee will not now perſeuer in his opinion of the gouernment for two yeeres: for nothing can more moleſt, or diſcontent me. Where as you would know, in what ſtate I ſtand: I departed from *Tarſus* the ſeuenth of October, and the day following I wrote theſe, in the Countrie of *Moſſoleſtia*, where I was with the Armie. If I atchiue any thing, you ſhall bee aduertis'd thereof, and I'le neuer write home, but you ſhall bee written to. Concerning the *Parthians*, I take it for a fable. Thoſe *Arabians* that came into my Prouince, in *Parthian* habit, are gone away, as it's reported: and there is no feare of any warre in *Sy-*

ria. I would willingly haue you write often of your affaires, of mine, and of the whole ſtate of the Commonwealth, at which I am much troubled; ſo much the rather, in that you write our friend *Pompius* is to go into *Spaine*. Farewell.

Cicero, Imperator, to Appius Pulcher. Epiſt. 9.

WIth much a doe, I haue at laſt read a letter, well beſeeming *Appius Claſius*, full of humanity, courteſie, and friendly care. Out of queſtion, the very ſight of *Rome*, hath returned you your former ſweet proceeding. For when you wrote vnto me on the way, while you were yet in *Aſia*, about the matter of the Legates, whoſe comming to *Rome* I prohibited: and when you complain'd, that I hindred the *Appian* edifications, it gaue mee no ſmall diſtaſte; & mine own conſcience witneſſing, that I had beene euer conſtant in louing you, I returned an anſwer halfe in choller: yet after I read the letters deliuered to *Philotimus* my Free-man, I perceiued, there were many in the Prouince, which affected our falling out. But after you came to *Rome*,

or

er at leaſt, as ſoone as you had ſeene your friends, you vnderſtood of them my perpetuall loue and affection towards you, manifeſting it ſelfe, vpon all occurrents, while you ſtay'd in your Prouince: wherefore imagine, how neere my heart thoſe words went, you wrote vnto me. If any thing fall out for my aduancement and dignity, though it be vnpoſſible, yet render me equall kindneſſe. This, you may eaſily doe; for, what is there in this world, which endeauour will not compaſſe? Neither can any attempt be ſo difficult, but a true affection may ouercome it. I euer thought, & ſo my friends write, that you ſhould obtaine a *Triumph*, but yet I am exceedingly ſatisfied in the certainty you giue me thereof; and not becauſe I hope my ſelfe as eaſily to get it; (for this were but an *Epicurean* part) but in that your honour and dignity is of it ſelfe moſt deere vnto me. Seeing therefore, you haue greater conueniencie of meſſengers, then any other; for none would come hither, without giuing you notice; when my ſuit hath gotten that ſucceſſe, which you expect, and I deſire, I ſhould bee very glad, to be therof aduertiſed. If through thoſe long Seſſions of the Senate, as our friend *Pompeius* was wont to terme them, you are delayed a day or two, (for there is no likely-hood it ſhall bee

longer,) your dignity will no wayes be impeach't by this deferring. But for the loue you beare mee, and for that, that you expect from mee. Vouchsafe to cheere me vp, with this acceptable information, and remember to keep promise with me about the present, which you promised to make mee. For besides, that I am desirous of the Science of Auguration; any gifts of yours infinitely please me, they being an apparant testimony of the loue you beare me. And because you demand some equall remuneration, I must ruminate well vpon it, that I may make you the like requitall: For, if I should not take the paines in this, that vsually I doe in my other compositions, which you are wont to thinke worthy of admiration. You might haue iust cause, to repute me not onely negligent, but vnthankfull. And of these matters enough. Further now, my desire is, that you bring to effect the offer which you made me; my meaning is, that you labor by all means possible, to compasse me my suites; vsing therein your wonted diligence, that the Senate may pleasure mee, and out of hand, with the honourablest demonstrations that may be. You promis'd it me; see you doe not faile: and doe it like wise, for the sake of our ancient amitie. I doubt, I haue ouer-long deferred my writing thereof to the Se-

nate.

nate, and that my letters, through difficult paſſage by ſea, came in time of the vacations. But herein I followed your example; and I thinke I did well, in not writing ſo ſuddenly after my being called *Imperator*, but after the end of many enterprizes, brought to paſſe in all this ſummer. Be therefore carefull of this, according to your promiſe; and ſo in all other occaſions, vouchſafe to take my affaires, my ſelfe, and all mine, into your friendly protection. Farewell.

Cicero, Imperator, to Appius Pulcher. Epiſt. 10.

WHen I heard of their preſumptuous boldneſſe, that moleſted you, though at the firſt hearing I was aſtoniſhed; becauſe nothing could iſſue happened further beyond my expectation; yet when I more advisedly conſidered thereof, I tooke heart at graſſe, putting great hope in your ſelfe, and greateſt in your friends. And many reaſons perſwaded me to think, that this trouble would rather augment, then extenuate your honor. It vext me much, that envious men had found out a meanes, to deprive you of the glory of your Triumph, which queſtionleſſe

you should haue obtained, conformable to your deserts. Of which losse, if you make the same reckoning, that I euer esteemed should be made; you shall do wisely, & triumph at last in the sorrow of your enemies. For I know you to be so strong in friends, and so prudent, that vndoubtedly it will greatly grieue them, that euer they run into such a leuity. For mine own part, I assure & promise you, calling all the gods to witnesse of my heart, that for your dignitie, (for so I will rather terme it, then safetie) in this Prouince, which you gouerned, I will haue more then ordinarie care; entreating for you affectionately; endeauouring my selfe no otherwise then if you were my kinsman; vsing what authoritie, and power one may haue, that is deare, as I hope to be vnto the Cities, and hath the title of Impesator. Command mee, and expect at my hand all [good] offices, for my endeuours shall surmount your imagination. *Quintus Seruilius* deliuer'd me a briefe letter of yours, which notstanding I thought too long; for your intreating me, made me take it for an iniurie. I am sorrie the time is come, wherein you shall haue cause to know, what esteeme I make both of you, and of *Pompeius*, whom I must regard aboue all others; and what loue I beare to *Pratus*: Although you should haue

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diſcern'd it by ſome other way, as no doubt but you ſhall. But ſeeing ſuch an occaſion is offered, if euer I faile in any thing, let me be reputed a diſhonourable, and very bad man. *Pontinius* whom I know to be much bound vnto you, returnes you thoſe offices that hee owes you. Hee was gone to *Epheſus*, vpon buſineſſe of his owne, of no ſmall importance, but when hee heard of this accident of yours, he preſently returned to *Laodicea*. I knowing that you ſhall haue a number of ſuch men to fauour you; I make no doubt but this preſent croſſe will redound to your greatnes. But if you obtaine to bee Cenſor, and diſcharge the Cenſorſhip, as you ought, and can: I plainely diſcerne, that you will not be a perpetuall and firme defence to your ſelfe only, but to all your well willers alſo. Well, labour what you can, that there may be no prorogation of my office; that when we haue procured you all ſatisfaction from hence; we may alſo ſtand you in ſome ſteed there, if any thing happen wherein I may pleaſure, or further you. Whereas you write of ſome fauours ſhewed you, which my friends alſo haue written from thence vnto me; it was no newes; but yet it infinitely contented me: not onelie for your owne reſpect, whoſe friendſhip yeelds me much ſatisfaction, and benefit; but alſo

also because by this I see, there is some esteeme made in our Cittie of valour and worth: which reward I alwaies receiued, in paiment of my trauell and paines. But me thought it verie strange, this young man should bee so rash and headstrong, to incurre your enmitie, without all regard of me; whom with singular endeauour, I defended twice in capitall causes: especiallie you being back't with manie qualities, and assistances, that to himselfe are wanting, for I'le speake no worse of him: and these words that slipt from him like a childe, and a foole as hee was; were first certified me in writing by my friend *Marius Calinus*, and of the same, you haue also written to mee at large. Certainlie if I had tooke him for your enemie, I would rather haue shaken off mine old, then entred into any new amitie with him. For you shall haue no cause to doubt of my affection, which I haue made manifest to cutrie one, both now heere in my Prouince, and before in *Rome*: Neuertheleste because in your letters I obserue some little iealousie of me, I am enforced to iustifie my selfe with you. For now, 'tis no time for me to complaine. But tell me now? when prohibited I any embassie from comming to *Rome*, in your praise? see you not how I could haue done nothing of lesse preiudice to you then

this,

this, if I had proſeſt open hatred to you? And againe, in caſe I meant cloſelie to malice you, I could haue vndertaken no action, would more haue laid me open then this. Were I as perfidious, as they that report this of me, I had not beene ſo palpably fooliſh, to breake out ſuddainly with you into ſo great enmitie; eſpeciallie in a matter, wherein I might well diſcouer my deſire, but that in effect I could no waies offend you. I remember diuers came and told me, that the rated charge of Embaſſies, farre exceeded the vſuall proportion; whom I did not enioyne to any thing, but onely ſaid, I thought it fit, that the charge thereof, ſhould mount no higher then was determin'd by the law *Cornelia*: And in this likewiſe, I referred my ſelfe to their pleaſure; as the accompts of the Citie can teſtifie: by which it appeares, that the charge was ſuch, as themſelues thought good to be at; but, bad men haue ſtriuen to peruert truth with a thouſand lies; giuing you to vnderſtand, that prouiſions were not onely taken from thoſe Embaſſadors, who were going to *Rome*, but were redemanded, and caus'd to be reſtor'd by their Agents, who were alreadie departed, and that this was the cauſe that many forbare comming to *Rome*. I could finde in my heart to bee verie plaine,

plaine with you, were it not, (as before I told you) that my meaning is, as reason requires; onely to iuſtifie my ſelfe, and not accuſe you; no waies to aggranate your minde, which is alreadie ſufficiently diſturbed. So that I condemne you not for beleeuing theſe mens words: but I'le not ſpare to ſet downe ſome reaſons, why you ſhould not haue beleeued them. And certainly, if you repute me an honeſt man, and for a man worthie of opinion or fame in thoſe Sciences, whereunto from my childhood I haue beene addicted; if you ſuppoſe in mee any generoſity of minde: or if you value me of any iudgement in matters of waightie conſequence; I cannot perceiue, how it ſhou'd enter into your minde, that I would practiſe, (I will not ſay) any trecherie, any deceit, or diſſimulation in our friendſhip; but ſo much as the leaſt baſe, or diſhonourable part. But if you pleaſe to delineate me for an hollow, and double-hearted fellow: what is there more vnlikelie to bee thought of, in a man of ſuch a nature, then to call off the loue of a perſon placed in high dignitie: or to take away his good name, in the Prouince, whoſe honor blemiſhed by others, I haue at *Rome* defended: or to ſhew an ill minde, where I haue no power to hurt; or to intend trecherie in that place, where it would

bee

be diſcouer'd to no end nor purpoſe? And why ſhould I bee ſo implacable towards you: hauing vnderſtood by my brother, that you were not my enemie, when without blame you might haue beene ſo? And ſeeing with reciprocall deſire, we encline to concord: what fauour required you of me, during my Conſulſhip, that I deni'd you? when I accompanied you, on your way, to the Prouince; what charge left you with me at *Puteoli*, wherein, my care, ſurmounted not your expectations? and if it be true, that fallacious, and double hearted men, howſoeuer, haue a regard to their peculiar profits: what in concluſion could bee more beneficiall, and profitable to mee, then ioyning in loue with a noble and honourable perſon, whoſe power, accompanied with ſuch wiſedome, and valour; whoſe progenie, and kindred, might be vnto me, a wonderfull ornament, and preualent protection? Neither ſought I your friendſhip, with any particular end, or aime; but becauſe theſe your parts, and endowments, I eſteemed them, and loued them, for their owne ſake. Moreouer, how value I thoſe bands, thinke you, by which I reioyce, to ſee we are linked or ſoyn'd together? The likeneſſe, or identitie of ſtudies; the ſweetnes of mutuall converſation, life, and diſcourſe; and

that litterature that is not of many possessed? These things I passe ouer, as being better knowne to our selues, then others. What shall I say of those things, which are well knowne to the people? The peace, and agreement wee made; in which, being so generally noted, the least halting in the world, would haue rais'd suspicion of trecherie: The colledge of Augures, in which amongst our predecessors, it was not onely vnlawfull, to violate amitie, but further, no man could bee aduanced to that dignitie, who professed hatred to any one of the Colledge. But to leaue matters so waightie and important: where finde you, that any man held, could hold, or ought to hold another in that reuerence, as I hold *Cneius Pomponius*, your daughters Father in law. For if deserts be of any worth, I make account that he hath restored to mee my Countrie, my Children, my safetie, my Dignitie, and briefelie, euen mine own selfe: If sweetnesse of conuersation: who can remember in our Citrie, any friendship more inward then ours? and if signes of loue and courtesie deserue any thing; what proiect, would hee not commit to me? what secret would hee not communicate? when hee was remote from *Rome*, whom did hee vse but my selfe? what tearms of honour hath he not grac'd mee with? and in

conclusion

conclusion with what patience, with what humanitie, did hee once endure me to touch him to the quicke, in the defence which I made for *Milo*? with what ſingular care prouided hee, that I might not runne into any popular diſgrace, protecting me with his Counſell, Authoritie, and in a word, with armes? at which time hee ſhewed, that magnanimitie, and grauitie, as hee would neuer beleeue the words, I will not ſay of a *Phrygian*, or a *Lycaonian*, as you did in the matter of Embaſſies; but of many great men, who ſpake ill vnto him of me. Now his ſonne, being your ſonne in law; and beſides the reſpect of affinitie, I vnderſtanding how deere, and acceptable you are to *Pompey*: how ought I thinke you to bee affected towards you? eſpecially hee hauing written vnto mee ſuch letters, that if I were as great an enemie to you, as I am a friend, yet would I bee pacified, and ſuffer my ſelfe wholly to be directed, not onely by the will, but by the leaſt winke, or becke of ſo great a benefactor. But of theſe matters let this ſuffice: and I feare I haue beene longer then peraduenture was requiſite. You ſhall ſee, what I haue partly performed, and partly ſet on foote in your behalfe; the which I doe, and will vndertake, rather for your honour, then for any great danger, or doubt therein

therein For I hope ere long to heare, that you are created Cenſor: which being an office for a man of great valour and high vnderſtanding, (let me tell you) it requires other conſideration and care then this preſent imployment. Farewell.

Cicero, Imperator; to Appius Pulcher (as I hope) Cenſor. Ep. 11.

LYing with the Campe neere to the riuer *Pyramus*, I receiued at one time two of your letters, which *Quintus Seruilius* ſent me from *Tarſus*: one was written the v. of April: the other, which ſeemed the latter, bare no date. I will firſt therefore anſwer to the former. Whereas you write vnto me, that you are cleered of the imputed crime of *Maieſtie*: of which ſucceſſe, though I vnderſtood by letters, by meſſengers, and finally by fame it ſelfe, (for nothing could be more diuulg'd: not that any man thought otherwiſe, but becauſe all the occaſions of renowned men, are euer ſpred with a common voyce) yet your owne letters multiplied my ioy; not onely in that they reuealed what was paſt, more abundantly then others did:

did: but alſo, by reaſon, that vnderſtanding of it by your ſelfe, I had the greater cauſe (as I thought) to reioyce with you. I haue therefore entertain'd you a far off, in thought, and kiſſed your letters, and, with my ſelfe, I reioyc't, as if the buſineſſe had beene mine owne. For, when the people, the Senate, and the Iudges; doe fauor wit, endeauour, or vertue; me thinkes they fauour me alſo. Which peraduenture proceeds from that ſweet deceit, by which I am nuzzel'd in a beliefe, that my ſelfe alſo am poſſeſt of thoſe parts to which al fauour, or grace belongeth. Neither did I wonder, that your cauſe ſhould haue ſo glorious an iſſue, but that your enemies could carry ſo wicked a minde. And though you are yet to purge your ſelfe, *de ambitu*: this need not much to trouble you. For, as you euer encreaſed *Maieſtatem*, of the people of *Rome*, So you euer ſhunned *ambitum*. And what is *Maieſtas*? Nothing elſe, vndoubtedly (according to *Sylla's* meaning) but, *That no man ſhou'd be defam'd by any other, without rigorous chaſtiſement*: & *Ambitus* was wont for the moſt part to be ſo apparãt, that *as well he that ſeekes to defend himſelfe being culpable, offendeth: as he that accuſeth one that is innocent*. For whether one giues, or not, contrarie to the lawes, how can it poſſibly be concealed? & of all the honors you euer

euer enioyed, who euer had the leaſt ſuſpition [thereof] ? O, what hard fortune had I, that I could not then be preſent ? I know well enough, what ſport I ſhould haue made. But touching the triall *de Maieſtate*, you write two things, which giue me ſingular contentment; one is, that you were defended by the Common-wealth herſelfe, who, though ſhe were better ſtor'd with good and valiant cittizens, ſhould ſupport men of your qualitie: but now more eſpecially, becauſe there is ſuch a penurie, in euery age and degree, that ſhee being left as a poore forſaken, and deſolate widdow, hath great reaſon to imbrace ſuch tutors. the other is: becauſe you ſo highly extoll the fidelitie and loue, of *Pompeius*, and *Brutus*, both my very deare friends. I am glad, you haue two kinſmen ſo louing and noble: the one neither hath, or euer had in all the world his like; and the other hath now a long time enioy'd the chiefeſt place among the yong men of this Cittie; and ſhortly alſo, as I hope, ſhall carrie it from them, that in yeares farre exceed, and goe before him. Concerning the corrupted witneſſes, if *Flaccus* enuie not their infamie to be publickly proc'aim'd in their ſeuerall Cities; when I paſſe through *Aſia*, it ſhall be done. Now, I come to your other Epiſtles: I haue peruſde the forme and draft

draft you ſent me, of the preſent times, and the whole ſtate of the Common-wealth, and I am much comforted in the prudent diſcourſe you make there of. Becauſe I ſee the daunger is not ſo great, as I feared, and there is better defence, then I in any wiſe hoped; If it be true you write vnto me, that all the city referres it ſelfe to *Pompies* direction and gouernment. And alſo I conceiue, how preare your mind is, and enflamed to the defence of common libertie. And I was ſingularly well pleaſd in your louing care and vigilancie, that in the depth of your waighteſt occaſions, you faile not to make knowne vnto me, the ſtate of the Common-wealth. If I had thought, you had beene in theſe diſtractions, I would not haue written ſo earneſtly to you, about the bookes of the Auguries. Now, I ſollicite you not to the performance of your promiſe herein, reſerue them till another time, when both the one, and the other of vs, may be at better leiſure. And in their ſtead ſend me at this preſent, all your Orations compleat, as you promiſed. *Tullius* who ſhould haue ſpoken with me in your name, is not yet come to me And here are now no more of your friends; but that all mine, are likewiſe yours. I know not what thoſe letters be, which, you ſay, I wrote vnto you, in ſo great choller, I haue written twice vn-

to

to you, in iustification of my selfe, about the false reports, that were deliuer'd you of me: and in iustifying my selfe, I complaine of you, for giuing them credite: and me thought one friend might lawfully vse such expostulations with another. But if you relish them not, I le vse them no more. And if the letters I wrote to you, vpon such a subiect were (as you write) destitute of eloquence: I tell you they were not mine. For as *Aristarchus* accounted no verse to be *Homers*, which he approu'd not of: so, (giue me leaue a little to be pleasant,) suppose you nothing to be mine, which is not smooth and elegant. Farewell. And if you be Censor, be mindfull to looke backe into the Censorship of your great Grand-father.

Cicero Imperator to Appius Pulcher. Epist. 12.

I Will first congratulate with you, (for so the order of things requires) afterwards I'le returne to my selfe. I am glad therefore of your being cleared of the action *de Ambitu*, not so much for your acquitall, whereof no man doubted; as, in that the better citizen you are, the more valiant man, the more constant friend, and the grea-

ter

ter abundance there is in you of thoſe parts, that deriue from vertue, and endeuour: ſo much the more was it to be admired, that in the Articles of ſo many iudges, who are of power to accuſe, without producing the accuſer, there was no ſecret malice found out, which durſt oppoſe you. This was not a proceeding anſwerable to theſe times, to men of theſe dates, nor to preſent cuſtomes. For my part I haue not obſerued any thing this many yeares, that ſtrooke me into a greater wonder. Now, to come to that part, which concernes me: Imagine your ſelfe for a while in my place, and account you are my ſelfe. If you can eaſily deuiſe what to obiect vnto me, ſhew me no fauour, if I know not how to replie. I pray God this affinitie, which my friends haue made without my priuitie, procure to me and my daughter *Tullia* that contentment, which, out of your loue, I know you wiſh her. Which, though I hope it will come to paſſe; yet ſhould I grieue much, that this ſhould fall out, in time of your moleſtations, but that your prudence and humanitie affords me comfort. Wherefore I know not how to get cleare of this buſineſſe: For of the one ſide I ought not to diſapproue a thing, which you deſire to be ſucceſſull; and yet on the other, I cannot tell what ſtill

ſtill vexeth my minde; although I am perſwaded I may be ſecure, that you vnderſtand very well, that all this matter was brought about by my friends meanes: to whom, at my departure I gaue commiſſion, that I hauing ſo far of, they ſhould not attend my will and pleaſure, but of themſelues ſhould doe what they thought fit, and conuenient: And what if you had bin perſonally here, you may ſay? ſurely I ſhould haue entertain'd the match, but concerning the time [of conſummation] I would haue done nothing without your aduiſe, and counſell. Youſee, how I ſweat with the paines I daily take, while I ſtriue to defend a matter, which I am bound to defend, and not to offend you. Eaſe me therefore of this ſo waightie a burden. For to my remembrance, I neuer handled ſo intricate a matter. And be aſſured, that, when I heard the newes of this affinity, though, heretofore I had beene ſlacke, in performing any thing that appertain'd to your honor, I ſhould ſuddainly haue betaken my ſelfe to the defence thereof, by making you diſcerne; not any better affection then before, (for better I could not) yet a more feruent zeale and readie will to proſequute your occaſions. In departing out of the Prouince, the whole yeare of my gouernement being expir'd, on the third of Auguſt

August, when we drew neare to *Sida* by Sea, I heard of this thing by my friends letters. I said presently to *Quintus Servilius*, who was with me, and seem'd not verie glad of these newes, that I would affect you more then euer I did. What should I say more? I will not protest that my loue is growne greater, but I'le boldly affirme, that my desire to manifest it vnto you, is much augmented. For, as the regard of our precedent enmitie, before vrg'd me, to be verie warie how I gaue the least mistrust, of my fained reconciliation vnto you; so this new affinitie, excites me to vse all my best endeuours, that it may not be thought, that vpon this consideration, the tender affection I euer bare you, should in any part be diminished. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Appius Pulcher. Ep. 13.

PRefaging, as it were to my selfe, that in such alike office, I should one day haue need of your fauour; when your gouernment and proceedings in the Prouince, were debated in the Senate, I maintain'd your honour, with my whole power. Yet I must needs say, and that truely, that you haue ren-

dred me more, then euer you receiu'd. How many haue written to me, that not onely with the authoritie of your words, and opinion; for which things of themselues, from so great a man, I ought to haue beene contented; but further, with your endeuour, and counsell, and with your repairing home to my house, and soliciting al my friends, you omitted no office of kindnesse to any particular [in my behalfe]? I esteeme more of these things, then of those, for which these endeuours are vndertaken. For the ornaments of vertue, haue beene obtained by many, without vertue; but such high fauours, from men of that ranke, none certainely but a vertuous man, could at any time obtaine. So that I propound vnto my selfe no other reward of our amitie, but meere friendship; which in her selfe comprehends aboundant felicities; especially in those studies, wherein we mutually take liking. Because I offer my selfe vnto you as an associate in the cause of the Common-wealth, of which, our opinions are not different: and I will daily conuerse with you, in the exercise of those vertues, that both the one, and other of vs loueth. I would to God fortune had so dispos'd, that your kindred might haue bin as great to my friends as mine to yours: and yet I despaire not thereof, for a secret foreknowled-

that my mind giues me: but you need not care for this: the burden is to lie on my shoulders. And I entreat you to beleeue, that by this new affinitie, my affection towards you is not onely not diminished, but it is encreased: though before, it seem'd to be perfect. When I wrote this present letter, I hop't you were Censor, and for this cause, I contriu'd the letter, briefe, and modest, as letters ought to be, that are directed to a master of behauiour.

Farewell.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Servius Sulpitius. Epist. 1.

Aius Trebatius my familiar friend writes vnto me, that you demanded of him where I was; and that you were sorrie that sickness was the cause, you could not come to see me after my returne out of my Province; and that now, if I came neere

Rome, you would be glad to confer with me about both our offices. Oh Seruius, I would to God we could but haue ſpoken together, before the ruines of the Common-wealth: (for we may now truely ſay, ſhe is ruined,) out of queſtion we might haue deuiſed ſome way to vphold her. For I know that both in, and after your Conſulſhip, you affected nothing but peace. Foreſeeing the euill that was to enſue. And though I commended your iudgement, and was of the ſame opinion my ſelfe; yet could I neuer procure the atonement of ciuill diſcords. For I came late; I was alone; and, as it ſeemed, but weakely informed of the cauſe. And finally, I found my forces vnable to alter their ſtubborne mindes, that deſired warre. Now, ſeeing we are out of hope to aſſiſt the Common-wealth, if we may take ſome courſe for the ſafetie of our owne liues, not to maintaine any forme of our auncient ſtate, but to mourne for the Common-wealth, ſo far as any wayes may ſtand with our reputation, I would rather conſult with you then any other perſon in the world whatſoeuer. For I know you rich in the treaſure of all learning, and deepely read in all auncient, and moderne hiſtories. And know, that I had formerly written to you, that your going into the Senate, or rather, into the aſſembly of Senators, would

be

be to ſmall purpoſe, but that I was afraid to offend him, who (as you may conceiue) would haue taken it very ill, that I ſhould diſſwade your reſidence in *Rome*; when he ſo inſtantly requeſted me to doe as your ſelfe did. To whom, when he intreated me, that I would returne into the Senate, I anſwered: that I would ſay as you ſaid, about the peace, or our going into *Spaine*. You ſee on what termes we ſtand: our Empire is deuided: warre is kindled in euerie quarter: *Rome* is abandoned, and expoſ'd to combuſtion: the lawes, iudgement, and finally all good cuſtomes are ſuppreſt. Whereupon, ſo farre I am from hoping after better, that I know not what I may preſume to deſire. But if it ſeeme good to your wiſedome, that we conſult together, though I reſolu'd to remoue further off from *Rome*, then now I am, whoſe very name I cannot heare ſpoken without extreme griefe: yet I will come nearer hand. I haue bidden *Trebatius*, that, if at any time, you would ſend him to ſpeake to me, he refuſe not: this endeuour: the which I pray do: or elſe, you may if you pleaſe ſend ſome one of your owne people, whom you moſt truſt: that it may neither be neceſſarie for you, to come out of *Rome*, nor for me to approach it. I am ſo confident in your vnderſtanding, and foolhardy peraduenture, that ſo

much on mine owne, th[illegible] I assure my selfe, that whatsoeuer wit[illegible] [illegible]t opinion, we shall both conclu[illegible] [illegible], will by all men be approued. Far[illegible] [illegible].

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius, Epist. 2.

ON the nineteenth of [illegible] [illegible]: being at *Cumanum*, I re[illegible] your letters, and after I had pe[illegible] [illegible]hat you wrote, I might perceiue [illegible] [illegible]ate discretion *Philotimus* shewed: [illegible]o being to speake to me in your nam[illegible], about what occurred; he came not himselfe, but sent the letters: the which you said were but briefe, supposing him to bee bearer. Notwithstanding when I had read them, your *Pos*[illegible] *mie*, and sonne *Seruius* ca[illegible] me; and determined, that you [illegible] come to *Cumanum*; entreating [illegible] write vnto you, to that effect. W[illegible] you require me to aduise you: [illegible] more need of councell my selfe, th[illegible] aduise another. And why should [illegible] sume to councell a man of your [illegible]ritie, and wisedome? If we seeke [illegible] our peculiar offices and duties, we [illegible] easily finde them out: but if benefi[illegible] shall hardly finde it. But if we b[illegible] men, we ought to be: that is, if w[illegible]

seeme that onely profitable, which is iust, and honeſt; we muſt needes know what we ſhould doe. In that you write how your ſtate and condition is like mine owne, that is moſt certain in vs, both that when wee held the beſt opinion, we erred alike: for our councels aymed at concord, which being moſt behouefull to *Ceſar*, we likewiſe thought in maintaining peace to haue fauoured him; but how we were deceiued in our iudgement, and what 'tis come vnto, you plainly ſee: and you doe not onely know the preſent, and paſt, but you foreſee thoſe to come. It's an hard caſe we are now put vnto, to doe one of theſe two things: either to approue what is done; or to be preſent thereat, though you approue it not. One of which courſes, in my opinion, is baſe; the other full of daunger. To conclude, I am reſolued, that we muſt depart; but to be thought of after what manner we ſhall order our departure, and whither we ſhall goe. Neuer was there any condition more miſerable, nor any conſideration more difficult: becauſe we cannot diſpoſe of any thing, but that will light vpon ſome great contrariety. If you ſo thinke good, I would aduiſe you doe thus: that if you haue determin'd of any courſe, wherein your iudgement, and mine owne doe not agree, in any wiſe take not the paines

to come; but if you desire first, to consult with me, I'le willingly stay for you: And I shall be glad, if you can conueniently, that you would come out of hand, as is likewise the desire of *Seruius*, and *Postumia*. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 3.

I Daily heare, that you are pensiue; and that, for the publick shipwracke, you mourne extreamely. Whereat though I cannot wonder, but confesse, that I likewise, vndergoe the same affliction: neuertheless, I both grieue beyond measure, that you being a man endowed with such singular wisedome, will not rather reioyce at your owne good, then vexe at another mans hurt. And I, though I graunt not, that any man is more grieu'd at heart, then I am, for the lamentable ouerthrow of our Common-wealth: yet now for many reasons I take comfort, especially in calling to minde, that I neuer fail'd to pay vnto my country, whatsoeuer was due from a good Citizen. For long since, as from an eminent and high tower, I discern'd a far off, the ruine that was comming. And I saw it the better,

better, becauſe you pointed it out vnto me. For though I was in my Prouince a great part of your Conſulſhip, yet ſo remote as I was, I knew your opinion about the preuenting this peſtiferous warre. Beſides I was in *Rome*, at the beginning of your Conſulſhip, when a diſcourſe falling out, vpon all the ciuill warres, you admoniſhed the Senate, to take heed, by the calamities that were paſt: and to thinke how much more intollerable thoſe would be, which oppreſſed the Country in theſe times, ſeeing they had beene ſo cruell, who oppreſſed it heretofore, hauing thereof no former preſident or example: In that men, doe vſually thinke, that they may in all reaſon doe, what they haue example for; nay, and to doe worſe, then their preſident allowes. Remember therefore, they are in extreame miſery, who might haue beene in happy eſtate, if they had followed your authoritie, and counſell. You will ſay: What fruit reapeſt I by this, amidſt ſuch darkeneſſe, and ſo great ruines of the Common wealth? Such is my griefe, I confeſſe, that it's ſcarce-leſſe capable of conſolation: ſo great is the miſſe of all things, and the deſpaire of their recouerie: yet, you ſhould mitigate your ſorrow, with this comfort; that *Ceſar* himſelfe ſo deales with all other Citizens as poſſible, that there

remaines

remaines no other light of ſanctitie, prudence, and reputation, but your perſon. Theſe reaſons, may afford you, wonderfull relaxation. Concerning your being farre off from your friends, you ought the eaſelier to ſupport theſe troubles; being at one inſtant likewiſe, far remou'd from many, and grieuous moleſtations: of which I would write ſomewhat to you, but that I will not in writing certifie you of things, which, in that you ſee them not, I iudge you leſſe vnhappie, then our ſelues, that daily behold them. Hitherto me thinkes, I haue vſed all the arguments of conſolation, that the loue I beare you could put into my minde, to eaſe the burden of your aggreeuances: other comforts remaine within your owne breaſt, the which I know to be great; yea, greater then any that can be found: and I haue euery day, a feeling thereof in my ſelfe, with ſo great benefit of minde, that me-thinkes, I enioy a ſafetie thereby. But I well remember, that you from your infancie, were ſtudiouſlie addicted to all learning, and eſpeciallie, to Philoſophie; which in proſperitie yeeldes vs profit, and contentment; and now being in aduerſitie, wee haue no other comfort but it. I will not bee arrogant, nor preſcribe vnto you, who are endued with ſo great learning, and ſo noble a ſoule, the ſtudie of theſe

Arts,

Arts, which you euer affected from your youngest yeares. Thus much only I will say vnto you, (and I hope you will commend me for it) that I, seeing how the estimation of my Art is declin'd, I meane of eloquence, I haue applied all my endeauours to the studie of Philosophie. And because you see, that your Art also, though it bee excellent and singular, is notwithstanding almost as lightly valued, as ours: I need not labour to put you in minde; that in so boisterouse a storm you retire your selfe also into the same Port; being perswaded, that alreadie, you are thither withdrawne: for it is such refuge, that though it cannot restore our publike losse, yet will it be verie available, in razing out the memoriall thereof. Your sonne *Sorbius* is a wonderfull proficient in all the liberall Artes, and principallie in this, wherein, as I write, my repose consisteth. I wish him so well, that besides your owne, no mans loue can exceed mine towards him. Wherein he returnes me iust exchange. For he loues, and honors me, with an opinion, (as may easily be discerned) that heerein hee performeth, what your owne heart desireth. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 4.

I Accept of your excuse, in hauing written vnto mee sundrie letters of the same tenor, and in the selfe-same words: but I accept it only, in that you write you did so, by reason through negligence, and vntrustines of messengers, letters oftentimes miscarried. Touching that part where you excuse your selfe, by saying, that through penurie of words (for so you terme it) you vse to write many letters, in one and the selfesame forme; I cannot in any wise admit of it. And whereas you giue by waie of a iest, (for so I take it) that I possesse the treasures of the tongue, certainely I am not ignorant, that of words I am not very barren, (for why should I dissemble) but notwithstanding all this, (and in this I hate as little) I easilie, or readilie giue place, to the pregnancie, and elegancie of your writings. Touching the gouernment of *Achaia*; I euer liked of your course, in not refusing such a charge; but after the reading of your last letters, I farre more highly approued it. For all the reasons which you alledge are most iust, and beseeming both your authoritie, and prudence.

Whereas

as you are greeued, becauſe there enſued not that contentment of minde, you look't for, you ſuppoſing, that we liue not ſo ill here at *Rome*: Vndoubtedly you are deceiued. But becauſe the commotion, and confuſion of things is ſuch, and the ruine ſo great, which this moſt wicked warre hath wrought: that euery man deemes himſelfe vnhappie whereſoeuer: therefore you repent you of your owne opinion, and we at home, ſeeme happie men vnto you. But cleane contrarie, wee heere iudge you, not altogether to bee free from moleſtations; but in reſpect of our ſelues, fortunate, or bleſſed. And were it but in this, your condition is farre better then ours; for you may ſecurely write the occaſions of your griefe, which wee cannot doe, without danger: not through any vice of the Conqueror, who cannot poſſible be more clement, but in reſpect of the victorie it ſelfe, which in ciuill warrs, is alwaies inſolent. In one thing wee haue exceeded you, becauſe a little before your ſelfe, we ſaw the grace, which *Cæſar* did to *Marcellus* your Colleague, and withall, in that I beheld, how the matter was carried. For I may truely affirme vnto you, that ſince theſe miſeries, that is, ſince that time that men began to ſtriue for the Empire of *Rome* by armes, there hath paſſed nothing in the

the Senate, with the dignitie of the common-wealth. For *Lucius Piso* making mention of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Caius Marcellus* prostrating himself at *Cæsars* feete, humblie entreating him that he would bee pleased, that his Brother might returne to *Rome*; the Senators rising vp altogether at the same instant, submissely requested the like of him: Then *Cæsar* accusing the austeritie of *Marcus Marcellus*, (or so hee cal'd it) and in honourable tearmes exalting your worth, and wisedome, on a suddaine beyond all expectation, he said, that for all this hee would not forbeare to comfort the Senate. Be no further inquisitive. This seem'd vnto me to glorious a day, that me thought I saw a forme and Image of the Commonwealth raised vp againe from death; whereupon all they, who were demanded before my selfe, hauing giuen thankes to *Cæsar*, besides *Volcatius*; who said, if hee were in *Marcellus* case, hee would neuer returne to *Rome*: when I was sought vnto, I changed my minde: For I resolued, not out of slothfulnesse, but for meere griefe, of lost dignitie, neuer to speake more in the Senate. But this generous part in *Cæsar*, and so friendly an office of the Senate, broke off my resolution; and in many words I gaue thankes to *Cæsar*, which peraduenture may bee a cause, that

that I shall no more enioy that honest repose, that was the only mitigation of our euills. But yet, I hauing begun to speake, that I might not offend *Cæsar*; who if I had beene altogether silent, might peraduenture haue thought, that I held, this Common-wealth no Cōmonwealth; I wil hereafter speak so seldome, as it shall rather bee too little, then too much: and this I'le doe, to satisfie in one, both his will, and mine owne studies. For although from my tender yeares I was well affected to all liberall Sciences, and especially to Philosophie: yet this studie delights mee more euery day then other, out of the maturitie of my yeares, as I suppose, which inclines to wisedome; and through the malignitie of these times, which is so violent, that no other remedie is auaileable enough, to defend our minde from those molestations that enuiron it: to which studie, you write you could not attend, by reason of the multitude of negotiations: which you may well doe, allowing your selfe some time in the night's, now growing somewhat longer. Our *Seruius* honours mee with great respect: and hee breedes my infinite contentment; for besides his learning, I discerne in him singular goodnesse, conioyn'd with valour. He often discourseth with me, of your affaires, asking mee

me the queſtion, whether you muſt remaine ſtill in your Prouince, or depart. Hitherto my opinion is, that we diſpoſe of our ſelues to *Cæſars* will. If you were at *Rome*, beſides your friends, you could finde nothing wherewith to bee delighted; *Cæſar* himſelfe is the beſt of all other conſiderations. But the eſtate of the Common-wealth, is ſuch, that you would rather deſire to heare of it, then ſee it. This I ſpeake againſt mine owne minde; becauſe I deſire to ſee you in *Rome* for my conſolation: but I ſpeake it, becauſe I preferre your benefit before mine owne contentment. Farewell.

Seruius Sulpitius to Cicero. Epiſt. 5.

FOr the death of your daughter *Tullia*, I was as truely ſorrowfull, as behoued me: but that I reputed a common misfortune, and had I been there, I would haue aſſiſted you with all poſſible kindneſſe, and with your owne eies, you ſhould haue read my griefe. Now, though their eſtate be pitiful, & lamentable, that vndertake to comfort others; who either being kinſfolkes, or neere friends, haue more need of conſolation themſelues

themſelues, being no waies able to diſcharge this office, without aboundant teares, in that they are afflicted with the ſame care and griefe: yet will I not forbeare to ſet before your eyes thoſe things, which at this preſent come into my minde: not becauſe I imagine, that you did not diſcouer them, but in that by the vaile of your griefe, they are peraduenture concealed from you. What's the reaſon, that the death of your daughter ſhould ſo afflict you? Remember how Fortune hath hitherto toſſed vs. She hath depriued vs of thoſe goods, which men ought to eſteeme no leſſe deere, then their children; our countrey, our dignities, all honours, and commendable cuſtomes. What greater ſorrow could pierce your heart, through the acceſſe of this diſaſter? or what minde is there, that is not ſo inured to theſe things, that it is ere this time hardned; and that in feeling them, is ſorrowfull? haue you compaſſion of her, becauſe ſhe is dead? Indeed I ſuppoſe, this greeues you: Though neceſſarily you muſt, as wee alſo oftentimes conſider, that they haue beene very fortunate, to whom the heauens were ſo fauourable, as depriuing them of life, they brought vpon them a death without vexation. And why ſhould ſhee deſire longer life? To what end? Vpon what hopes? To

marry

marry with some Gentleman, with whom she might haue liu'd happily? I beleeue, that amongst our young Nobilitie, you might haue made choice of a son in law, correspondent to your owne dignitie: to whose trust, you might securely haue committed your children. Or, because she might haue occasion to reioyce, when shee saw her children in flourishing estate? And such, who, of themselues, might be able to gouerne their fathers inheritance? might attaine successiuely to all honours? might shew courtesie in their friends occasions? Which of these things was not taken away, before it was giuen? Oh, but you'l say, The losse of children goes neere the heart. 'Tis true, it is an euill, but to suffer what we suffer, is far worse. Ile relate a thing vnto you, which giue vnto no small consolation; to try, if it can afford you as much. Returning out of *Asia*, and sailing from *Ægina*, towards *Megara*, I cast mine eye round about. Behinde me lay *Ægina*, before *Megara*, on the right hand *Pirœus*, and on the left *Corinthus*: which were sometimes renowned Cities, but now appeare to euery mans view, demolished, and euen with the ground: And thus I began to consider with my selfe: Doe we then, poore wretched men, so dismay our selues, when any one of vs is slaine, or

dead

dead; When in one only place, ſo many bodies of razed Cities are ſeene lying on the ground? Wilt not thou, ô *Seruius*, acknowledge and remember thy ſelfe, to bee borne mortall? If you thinke good, propound to your ſelfe this other example: Not long ſince, at one inſtant, many honourable men were ſlaine: The Empire was much impayr'd. All the Prouinces were tormented: And doe you, for one ſilly womans breath exptr'd, poure out ſo infinite lamentation? Who, if ſhee were not now dead, within a few yeeres, of neceſſitie ſhee muſt dye; being mortall borne. Alas! baniſh this paſſion from your heart, and rather recall thoſe things to your minde, that are worthie of your perſon: that ſhee liu'd as long time as was requiſite; that ſhe liued in the flouriſhing eſtate of the Common-wealth; that ſhe ſaw her father Prætor, Conſull, and Augure; that ſhee was married to one of the noble'ſt young men in *Rome*; that ſhee taſted all contentments, that poſſibly may bee enioyed in this world; and at laſt, departed this life at the ſame inſtant, when the Common-wealth her ſelfe failed. And therefore neither you, nor ſhee, could complaine of *Fortune*. Beſides you muſt remember, how you are the ſame *Cicero*, that was wont to perſwade, and comfort others. Doe

nce

not therefore imitate ignorant Phyſi-
ans, who in other mens maladies, pro-
feſſe they haue the Art of Phyſicke, but
by no meanes can cure themſelues: ra-
ther haue recourſe to thoſe remedies,
with which you were wont to cure o-
thers misfortunes. There is no greefe
ſo great, which length of time doth not
make leſſe, and extenuate. It becomes
you not to expect this time, and not to
withſtand it by your wiſdome. And if
it bee true, that the ſoule is immortall:
then ſhe queſtionleſſe, out of the loue
ſhe beares to you, and the affection to
the reſt of her friends, would not haue
you commit this errour. Deny not this
fauour therefore to your daughters
ſoule. Deny it not your good
friends, who ſorrow for your greefe.
Nor deny it to your Country, becauſe,
if ſhee ſtood in need of you, ſhee may
vſe your aid and councell. And ſeeing
we are reduced to ſuch a point, that we
muſt alſo haue a reſpect to this; take
heed, leſt others cenſure, that you la-
ment not ſo much for your daughter,
as for another mans victorie, and the
calamities of the Common-wealth. I
am aſham'd to write vnto you of this
more at large, becauſe I would not
ſeeme to be diffident of your wiſdome:
with this breefe record therefore, I will
make an end. We heretofore ſaw, that
you gouern'd prudently in your happy
fortunes;

ornaments; and reaped thereby high commendation. Now, let it appeare vpon this accident, that you know how to demeane your ſelfe alſo in diſaſters, without taking greater greefe then is conuenient: to the end, that of all other vertues, this may not onely ſeeme wanting in you. As for the occurrents of theſe parts, when I heare of the pacification of your minde, I will preſently giue you aduertiſement. Farewell.

Cicero, to Seruius Sulpitius. Epiſt. 6.

I Wiſh, my deere *Seruius*, as you write, that you had beene at *Rome*, when this grieuous accident befell me. For if your letters haue somewhat eaſde my mind, ſo much the more doe I ſuppoſe, that with your preſence you might haue aſſiſted me, both in comforting me, and mutually mourning for the cauſe of my griefe. For firſt you ſet me downe reaſons, that are of force to ſtay my teares; and then your ſelfe alſo, as it were for a kinde of comfort, haue aſſociated your griefe with mine. But yet your *Seruius*, in all the louing offices, that at ſuch time could be ſhewed, did

did manifeſt both in what eſteeme himſelfe held me, and how he thought that you alſo tooke well at his hand, this his affection towards me. Whoſe loue did ſo comfort me, that I know not what greater contentment I could haue deſired; for ioy I cannot teame it. Neither do your words onely cheare me vp, and your fellow feeling, as it were, of my heart griefe; but your authority alſo turnes to my eſpeciall conſolation For me thinks I am aſhamed, I ſhould not tollerate my miſ-fortunes, with that fortitude of minde, as you, being a man of ſingular wiſedome thinke fit I ſhould doe. And yet ſometimes I am ſo ouerwhelmed with ſorrow, that I can ſcarcely ſupport it; wanting thoſe comforts, which others in the like Fortunes faild not of, whoſe example I propound vnto my ſelfe. For both *Quintus Maximus*, who loſt a ſon, that had beene Conſull, and after the ſame dignitie, performed many famous enterpriſes: and *Lucius Paulus*, who in ſeauen dayes, was depriu'd of two: with our *Gallus*, and *Marcus Cato*, who had one died, that was replenifhed with prudence and valour: theſe liued in thoſe times, that the honours which the Common-wealth afforded them, were to them a comfort. But no other comfort was left me, then that which death bereau'd me of. I had loſt thoſe ornaments

ornaments, which you recount, and which I with painefull endeauours had purchased: my minde was not buſied, neither with my friends occations, nor the managings of the Common-wealth: I could not plead any cauſe, nor could I counſell the Senate: it appeared vnto mee, euen as in effect it was, that I had loſt all the fruits of my labours, and fortunes. But on the other ſide, conſidering that this misfortune happened not to mee alone, but extended it ſelfe further to you, and ſome others alſo: I arm'd my minde with patience, and ſo much the more readily, becauſe I knew whither to flye, where to repoſe mee, and where, with ſweet and pleaſant diſcourſe, to expell out of my minde, all clouds of duskie and heauie meditations. But now, this greeuous wound makes me feele thoſe olde ſcars, which I tooke to bee healed. Heretofore, though I were depriued of the Common-wealth, yet I found them at home, which yeelded me comfort. But now, of that ſocietie, which I ſo deerly loued, finding my ſelfe left alone, mee thinkes I haue loſt all thoſe delights, that ſhould haue eaſed my afflictions about the Common-wealth. And thus I haue loſt all, both publique and priuate comfort: which makes me the rather deſire, that you would ſpeedily returne: all the conſolations of letters,

are nothing, in reſpect of thoſe, which our conuerſation and conference will afford me: and hereof I ſhortly looke to receiue comfort. For I heare, your returne is expected. I deſire for many cauſes, to ſee you out of hand, and amongſt the reſt, that we may, before it be too late, conſult, how to paſſe our this time, wherein, the forme of our life muſt bee fram'd, according to the will and pleaſure of one man: who, though he be repleniſhed with wiſdom and courteſie; and, ſo far as I can perceiue, beares towards mee, rather a good minde, then otherwiſe; and a ſingular affection to you: yet herein we muſt be circumſpect, how wee reſolue, and that we ſtir in nothing, but quietly repoſe our ſelues, vnder the ſhadow of his gracious fauour. Farewell."

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epiſt. 7.

THough I will not preſume to reprehend the courſes, which hitherto you haue taken; nor becauſe I am likewiſe of the ſame opinion: but in that I repute you ſo wiſe, that I will not take vpon me to prefer mine own iudgement before yours: yet for our ancient loues ſake,

ſake, and for the infinite good will, you haue borne me, from your child-hood, I could not but impart that vnto you, which I iudge moſt profitable for your life, without any preiudice to your honour, or reputation. I remember full well, you are the man, which in your Conſulſhip performed wonderfull matters: I likewiſe call to minde, that you neuer approu'd, that a ciuill war ſhould bee made in ſuch forme and manner, as it hath beene. Neither did you euer like of *Pompeyes* Armie. And you alwayes fear'd the perils, which ſince haue happned, as alſo you cannot forget, that my ſelfe was euen of the ſame opinion. And therefore, as you would be preſent in the war, but a ſmall time: ſo I vſed all the meanes I could, to keepe from thence, becauſe there was no fighting with counſell, authoritie, or cauſe, which were things wherein we excelled: but the buckling was by force and hand-blowes, wherein we were not equall: and therefore wee were vanquiſhed; and if not vanquiſh't, (for it ſeemes, that a iuſt and honeſt cauſe can neuer be ouercome) at leaſt, wee were diſturbed, & diſcomfited. Wherin, not only your counſel is by euery man to be commended, in that together with the hope of victory, you gaue ouer your deſire of fighting: giuing in this to vnderſtand, that euery wiſe & good Citizen,

as he enters into a ciuill war against his will, so doth he as vnwillingly persecute in the same, till it bee ended. I see that those, who followed not your aduise, are diuided into two sorts: For some of them, did what they could, to renew the war in *Africa*: And others some haue cast themselues at the feet of the Conquerour; as also I my selfe haue done. You haue kept a middle way, reputing peraduenture of the other two waies, the former very imprudent, & the second to be scarse honourable. Questionlesse, most men, yea all in general, both censure, that you did wisely, and many likewise, extoll therein your magnanimity and fortitude. But it may suffice you, that you haue made your selfe known for such a man: especially, seeing you want nothing else, for the recouery of your former estate; but a will in your selfe. For I vnderstand, there is nothing troubles his mind, that's Lord of all, but onely the doubt he is in, that you will not accept of your restitution at his hands. In which it boots not for me to deliuer my opinion, considering, what I haue done my selfe. Notwithstanding, if you were formerly resolued, to liue in perpetuall exile, rather then to behold your Countreyes seruitude: yet you should consider, that where soeuer you are, you shall be euer vnder his power, whom you flye, who although

although here were content, that you ſhould liue abroad in any place in liberty, and quietly: yet you ſhould doe well, to bethinke your ſelfe, whether were better, either to liue at *Rome*, and in your own houſe, or at *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. But his dominion, whom we ſo much feare, being extended ſo far, that there is no part of the world, which it reacheth not vnto; had you not rather continue in your owne houſe, without danger, then abroad, with perill in another mans. For my part, were I to loſe my life, I had rather loſe it in my Countrey, then in ſtrange and forraine parts. What I write vnto you, all that loue you thinke the ſame: who, for your famous & noble vertues, are very many. We alſo ſtand in doubt of your habitations, which we would not haue ſuckt in any wiſe. For, though peraduenture, they can take no hurt of long continuance: (becauſe neither *Cæſar*, who hath in his hands the Common-wealth, nor yet the Common-wealth her ſelfe, would permit it.) Neuerthleſs, I knowing that in *Rome* there be Huckſters, I would not haue them outragiouſly entred, and pilfered. And who theſe are, I dare ſet downe in writing: but that I am aſſured, you know them well enough. Your brother, *Caius Marcellus*, who is vexed with continuall afflictions, with many teares in his eyes, ſues

for your returne. And I feele no leſſe greeſe then he: though the offices her vndergoes to helpe you, are not permitted mee to doe. I hauing ſtood in need my ſelfe of another mans helpe with *Cæſar*, with whom I can doe no more, then what the vanquiſhed, vſually obtaine from the Conquerour: Neuertheleſſe, I forſake not *Marcellus*, either in my councels, or endeauours: your other friends make no vſe of mee. In all occurrents command me. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epiſt. 8.

I dare not aduiſe you, nor offer you any comfort, knowing, you of your ſelfe to be exceeding wiſe, and of great valour. For if it be true, that you ſupport thoſe terrible accidents, which haue happened, with ſuch conſtancie as I heare; I ſhould rather reioyce in your fortitude, then mitigate your ſorrow. If alſo the ſiniſter euents of the Common-wealth excruciate you: I dare not preſume to haue ſo copious a wit, as to thinke I can comfort you; not being able in that kind to helpe my ſelfe. In other offices be aſſured, that I will neuer faile, whenſoeuer your friends

friends requeſt me; to whom I will in all occaſions, giue to vnderſtand, that I am bound to doe for you, not onely whatſoeuer I can doe, but what I cannot doe alſo. This I would requeſt you to accept from me, either as a remembrance, or an opinion; or elſe, that you would beleeue, that my affection towards you vrged me to ſpeake it: which is, to enter into this cogitation, that my ſelfe hath done; that if there be any forme of a Common-wealth, you muſt liue therein; and though you be, both in euery mans iudgement, and in effect an honourable Cittizen; yet the qualitie of the times muſt beare greater ſway: then your peculiar will: nay, though no forme of a Common-wealth ſhould remaine, yet you may think *Rome*, a place fit enough for your exile. For if we affect libertie, what part is not ſubiect to this dominion? if likewiſe you care no more to liue in one place, then another; what ſweeter reſidence is there then a mans owne countrie? But I aſſure you, that *Caſar* cheriſheth all good wits; and embraceth noble, and eſtimable men, ſo farre as may ſtand with the ſtate, and dignity which he holds: but I goe further, then I thought to haue done. Againe I ſay, I will ioyne my whole endeuour, with that of your beſt friends, if they be your friends: if not, I for mine owne part,

in all opportunities, will satisfie whatsoeuer is due, to the auncient amitie hath beene betweene vs. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epist. 9.

THough I wrote vnto you at large before, by *Quintus Mutius*, and explained my opinion to you; yet *Theophilus* your Free-man going thither, whose fidelitie and true loue towards you, is well knowne vnto me, I would not let him passe, without my letters. Once againe therefore I perswade you, to returne into your countrie, in what state so euer it stand. You may well see many things which you would not; but not more, then what euery day comes to your eares: and thinke not, but there may come as much offence vnto you, by the eare, as by the eye: rather, that which we heare, seemes oftentimes far greater then it is in effect. Oh, but you'l tel me that somtimes you must needs say, and doe that, which willingly you would not. First; to yeeld vnto the times, that is, to obey necessitie, hath euer beene reputed singular wisedome: Then; so farre as I can see, this your argument is not true: For, remaining

maning in *Rome*, peraduenture 'tis not lawfull for you, to ſpeak: what you thinke: but you may lawfully conceale it. There is onely one at this preſent, which gouernes; who is not aduiſed by his friends, but followes his owne counſels: and the like would *Pompeius* haue done, if Fortune had permitted him to ſeruice Conqueroor. Shall wee beleeue, that after victorie, he would haue made any reckoning of vs; when, during the vncertainties of the warre, when he ſaw, all men, runne one and the ſelfe ſame fortune, he onely made vſe of the directions of ſome ſhallow fellowes? And if when, you were Conſull, he would not follow, your prudent inſtructions, neither would he directed after our preſcriptions, in the yeare of your brothers Conſulſhip: ſuppoſe you, if he had beene once poſſeſt of the whole common wealth, that he would euer haue lent ſo much as an eare, to our admonitions? Ciuill warres are full of all miſeries; which our predeceſſors neuer ſaw; and [yet] this preſent age, by reiterated experience hath felt them. But there is nothing more lamentable, then victorie it ſelfe: the which, though it fortune to the beſt qualified men, yet it makes them more fierce, and vnbridled: ſo as, though they be not ſuch by nature, yet neceſſitie conſtreines them ſo to be. In that the victor muſt graunt

many things, contrarie to his owne minde, to those by whose meanes, he vanquished. Did you not perceiue as well as I, how cruell likewise Pompeis victorie must needs haue beene? If therefore he had subdued, would you in this case haue forsaken your countrie, because you would not behold some things displeasing to your mind? If you say, you meant to liue at *Rome*, because you would haue enioy'd your substance, and retain'd your dignitie: I will answere, that out of your vertue, you ought to haue contemn'd your owne respects, and to haue no other obiect, but the Common-wealth. Withall, what will the effect of your opinion be? For hitherto, your resolution is not onely commended; but considering the matter, your good Fortune also: your resolution; because necessitie draue you to a ciuill warre, and your wisedome retir'd you from the issue of it: your Fortune; by reason that in an honorable vacancie, you preseru'd the qualitie, and fame of your place, and dignitie. But now, no place ought to be dearer to you, then your countrie; neither should you loue her the worse, for her deformitie, nor depriue her of your comfortable presence, seeing shee is become the widdow of so many, so great personages. Finally, if you haue made knowne the greatnesse of your minde,

minde, in not humbling your ſelfe to the Conquerour; take heed you be not cenſured proud, in refuſing his courteſie. And if we repute him wiſe, that flies farre off, from his countries oppreſſion; ſometimes it is likewiſe eſteem'd but wilfulneſſe, not to affect it: and if we are denied to enioy publicke fortunes, yet let's make much of that, we are permitted to enioy privately. To conclude, I ſay, that if you thinke that you liue there more commodiouſly: yet ought you to conſider, that you reſt not peraduenture in any great ſecuritie. The libertie of Armes is vnlimitable: but in other countries, there is alſo leſſe reſpect of doing iniurie. I ſo deſire your ſafetie, that your brother *Marcellus*, little, or nothing at all ſurmounts me. Haue a reſpect, as is conuenient, to the qualitie of the times, to your wiſdome, to your life, and to your ſubſtance. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus, Epiſt. 10.

THough I had no newes whereof to write, and euerie day expected your letters, or rather indeed your ſelfe: yet was I not willing *Theophilus* ſhould come to you, vvi[illegible] letters.

Determine therefore to come so soon, as you can; and make account, you shall come long looked for; not only by vs, that is, by your friends, but of all men in generall. Sometimes I muse with my selfe, that you delight as much as you can, to prolong your cõming: questiõles I should haue held you excused, if you had no other sence, but that of your eies. But things heard, making as deep an impression, as those that are seene; and being my opinion, that you ought without all delay to repaire to *Rome*; I thought good by this, to instigate you thereunto. And seeing I haue made knowne my minde vnto you, it remaines for you to resolue in such a sort, as best stands with your wisdome. Yet I would desire you to write vnto me, at what time we are to expect you. Farewell.

Marcus Marcellus to Cicero. Epist. 11.

HOW farre your commands preuaile with mee, you might euer vnderstand, but in this present occurrent more then at any other time. For though *Caius Marcellus* my most kinde brother, not only exhorted me, but humble

humblie entreated mee, that I would bee pleaſed to returne to *Rome*: yet could hee neuer perſwade mee, nor worke that effect, which, ſince that, your letters haue done; by which I perceiue how the matter went. Your office of congratulation with mee, ſpringing from a moſt ſincere affection, is to me very acceptable: and it yeelds mee the greater contentment, becauſe amongſt ſo few friends and kinſmen, which ſeriouſly imployed themſelues for my ſafetie, I particularly diſcouer your deſire, and the ſingular affection you beare me. At the firſt I little regarded my returning into that countrie, where men ruled more then laws: but now I am perſwaded, that from ſuch men, or ſuch friends, as you are, no man can liue farre diſtant, either in aduerſe, or fauourable fortunes; wherfore this makes me reioyce in my ſelfe, and I remaine ſo much obleig'd vnto you, that I will deuiſe by all meanes to make you knowe, that you haue beene beneficiall to one, who in his loue vnto you, is no whit inferiour to the beſt of your acquaintance. Farewell.

Seruius

Seruius Sulpitius to Cicero. Epist. 12.

THough I know well, that I shall informe you of lamentable, and fearefull newes, neuertheleffe because fortune and nature exceedes all mens discourse: whatsoeuer it is, I thinke good not to conceale it: On the xxviij. of May, comming by ship from *Epidaurus*, to *Piraeum*, I there found *Marcus Marcellus* our Colleague, and I spent all that day with him. The day following, when I departed from him, with intention to goe into *Baotia*, and to visite the rest of my Prouince; he, as hee told me, was to saile towards *Italie*, by the way of the *Mallea*. The day after I being to leaue *Athens*, about ten a clocke at night, *Postumius* his familiar friend, came, and told mee, that after supper *Publius Magius Chilo*, one of *Marcellus* his domesticall friends, had stabb'd him with a poinyard, and giuen him two wounds, one in the stomacke, another in the head, close vnder one of his eares; but that yet there was hope, that hee might escape it: and that *Magius* after so wicked a fact, slue himselfe: and *Marcellus* sent him to relate vnto me the accident, and entreat me, that I would assemble some Phisitions: the

which

which I preſently did; and about break of day went without all delaie, towards his lodging: when, not far from *Piræum* I met a boy that belonged to *Asidius*, who deliuered me a letter, which inferred, that a little before day *Marcellus* left this life. Thus, a noble gentleman, renowned for great valour, by a baſe fellow, and of meaneſt condition, was lamentably murdered: and, hauing for his honor, and dignitie been pardoned by his enemies, hee met with a [pretended] Friend, that butcher'd him. I would not ſtay till I came to his lodging, where I found none but two free-men, and ſome few ſeruants; for the reſt, they ſaid, were fled diſtracted, becauſe their Maſter was ſlaine, before his owne lodging. I was enforc't to carrie him, into the Citie in my litter, and there I prepared for him as ſolemne a funerall, as in *Athens* I could. The *Athenians* would not grant me a place within the Citie where to burie him: For they excus'd themſelues that they were prohibited by their religion, neither had they granted the like to any before; but they were content he ſhould be buried, in any publique Schoole we beſt liked. And we of many made choice of the moſt noble; which was the ſchoole of the *Academie*: where burying his bodie, we ordained, that the *Athenians*, ſhould

should erect in his memoriall, a marble sepulcher. You see then, how both before and after his death, I did him those offices, whereunto I was tied, both in respect of inward amitie, and by reason I had beene his Colleague in the Consulship. Farewell. From Athens, this last of May.

Cicero to Publius Nigidius Figulus. Epist. 13.

THE reason why I haue not written to you of long time, is first because I had no certaine subiect whereof to write; and secondly, because I could not vse those kinde of letters, which are ordinarie. For Fortune hath so taken from vs all kinde of cheerefull argument; that wee cannot onely not write, but not so much as thinke of any ioyfull matters. There remaines a kinde of writing, that's miserable and lamentable, and comformable to these times: this I want also. For when I should offer you assistance, and comfort, I am able to offer you none. For my selfe ouerwhelmed by the same stormes, am driuen to relie on others. And I lament more often, that I liue in this manner, then I ioy that I liue: for though

though I haue not particularly receiu'd any notorious iniurie by Fortune: and *Ceſar*, without attending my ſupplication, hath conferred vpon mee, many reall fauours: yet haue I inwardly ſuch diſcontentment, that mee thinkes I liue grauouſly in remaining aliue. For many of my familiar friends are by death taken away, and diuers for feare of the victor, are fled into ſundrie countries. And, of all thoſe friends, which ioyned with me, and you, in defence of the Common-wealth, I haue not one that ſurviueth: and I am enforſt to behold the ruine and rapine of their goods: neither do I onely heare, but to my extreame heart griefe I ſee, their ſubſtance ill diſpoſ'd of, by whoſe ayde wee heeretofore extinguiſhed the flames of the Common-wealth. And where wee had before, fauours, authoritie, and great glorie; now wee finde no ſuch matter: true it is, that wee enioy the grace and fauour of *Ceſar* himſelfe: but that can not preuaile, aboue the violent mutation of all things, and of the times. Being therefore deſtitute of whatſoeuer I was accuſtomed vnto by nature, enclination, and vſe; I am diſſatisfied not onely to others, as I vnderſtand, but to my ſelfe alſo. For being borne, to haue alwaies ſomewhat a foot, beſeeming a man; now, I want not onely the meanes of employment, but

but euen to ruminate, how I might helpe any one: And whereas before, I was able to pleasure persons ignoble, yea, and the guiltie; now, to *Tullius Nigidius* my deare friend, who heretofore was so highly honor'd, and who excells all men, both for learning, and pietie; I cannot so much as offer my assistance. It therefore remaines, that I labour to comfort you, and remoue from you with liuely reasons, that griefe which oppresseth your minde. But if any man be of true force to comfort, either you or any other, it is your selfe: whereupon, I will not touch that point, which containes in it learned, and exquisite reasons; But I will leaue it absolutely to your selfe. Obserue you, that, which is requisite for a valiant, and wise man, exacted at your hands by your grauitie, height of spirit, life past, the studies, and Sciences, which you euer prosecuted with singular commendation. I'le deliuer vnto you, what I can know, remaining in *Rome*, and thereunto bending my minde, as I doe. I therefore affirme vnto you, that you shall not long dwell in these molestations, wherein at this present you are involued; but in those which also oppresse vs, I feare, you will euer continue. First of all I conceiue, that hee which beares all the sway, hath a very good opinion of you. This I write not

not without good ground. The leſſe familiar I am with him, the more diligently I diue into his diſpoſition. And therefore be ſecure, that he delaies your reſtitution for no other reaſon, but becauſe hee would haue ſo much the iuſter occaſion, to denie their ſuits with whom hee is diſpleaſed. Beſides, all his friends, I meane thoſe in greateſt opinion with him, ſtand greatly affected to your vertues, whereunto may bee added the peoples fauour vnto you, yea, and of all *Rome* beſides. And moreouer the Common-wealth, which, to tell truth; at this inſtant, is but weake, (but of neceſſitie it muſt recouer it former abilitie) with the ſame ſtrength it ſhall haue, will conſtraine her gouernours, to reſtore you to your countrie. I ſaid in the beginning, that I could not offer you my endeauour, and yet now I'le preſume to offer you it: for I will ſeeke by all ceremoniall obſeruance, to gaine, and binde vnto me *Caſars* friends, who loue me well, and ſpend much time with me; and by all artificiall meanes, I will ſtudie to inſinuate my ſelfe into *Caſars* amitie; which hitherto hath beene denied me, through my ouer reſpectiue nature. In concluſion, take my faithfull promiſe, that I will leaue no waies vnattempted, by which I may thinke to compaſſe our ends: And in this I'le doe much more, then I

dare

dare to write. In all other occurrents command me, for you shall see me exceed the loue of all your other friends and kindred. I haue nothing in the world, which you may not esteeme as well yours as mine owne; But of this I'le dilate no further, being desirous that you should hope rather to helpe your selfe with your owne; as I hope you shall. Nothing remaines, but to exhort, and intreate you, that you would arme your minde against Fortune: and remember not onely those things which you haue learned of other great men, but also those which haue proceeded from your owne studie, and vnderstanding. Which doing, you shall relie on good hopes: and with fortitude ouercome any aduerse accident. But who is better acquainted with these reasons, then your selfe? I will enterprise any thing, whereby I may yeeld you assistance: and I will preserue in memorie the good: which you wrought for me in the vnfortunate time of my banishment. Farewell.

Cicero, to Cneius Plancius. Epist. 14.

I Received from you two letters, deliuered in *Corcyra*: in one of which you

you did congratulate with me, for having vnderſtood, that I ſtill retained my former dignitie. In the other you wiſhed mee happie ſucceſſe of the new marriage. And I affirme vnto you, that I hold my dignitie, if it may bee call'd dignitie for a man to exerne that minde towards the Common-wealth, which all honeſt men ought: but if dignitie conſiſt, in effecting your vpright counſils and ends; or at leaſt in defending freely your opinions; there is not ſo much as the leaſt appearance of dignitie; and 'tis no ſmall matter, if we may gouerne our ſelues ſo, that with patience we may wade through the torrent of euils, which partly threaten, and partlie lie vpon vs; which is very difficult in ſo miſerable a warr, whoſe ends threaten ſlaughter on the one ſide, and ſeruitude on the other. Amidſt which dangers I am much comforted, when I call to minde, that I foreſaw theſe dreadfull calamities, euer ſince the time, that I feared not onely the victory of our enemies, but our owne alſo. For I ſaw, but too plainely, how dangerous that conteſtation would be, which propounded to it ſelfe, the Romane Empire for a reward. And admit they had vanquiſhed, to whom through hope of peace, and no deſire of warre I was linked; yet I well vnderſtood, how bloudie the victorie of enraged, ambitious

ambitious, and insolent men would be: but if they had lost the dy: how many great men, and excellent Citizens would haue lost their liues. Who, when I laboured for peace, and laid open to them the miseries, which ciuil warres produce, they supposed, that my exhortations proceeded rather from feare then prudence. Whereas you reioyce for my new marriage, I know assuredly, that you affect my repose & quiet: but I had neuer taken any new course, in these so lamentable times, but that, at my returne I found mine owne estate, in as bad termes as the Common-wealth: For I was not secure vnder mine owne roofe: my whole house was full of entrappings and snares; I found gins laid euery where for me, euen by those, who for my singular benefits, should rather haue had a tender care, of my goods, and safetie. Whereupon I thought, by the trust of a new affinitie, to secure my selfe, from the perfidious practises of the olde: But enough hath beene said, concerning our affaires, and more peraduenture, then was requisite. As for yours, take a good heart, and feare no particular contrarietie: For ouercome who will, I see not how you runne into any great danger: *Cæsar*, hauing already as far I can conceiue, asswaged his anger towarder you; and the *Pompeians* hauing neuer hated

hated you. *Cæſar* I know, hath receiued you into grace, and *Pompeius* neuer miſſed you ill. For mine owne part, I promiſe you, that wherein ſoeuer I may doe you good, although at this preſent, I ſee, I can pleaſure you but little; yet will I ſtriue, with endeuours and counſell, or at leaſt, with heartie affection and loue, to procure your profit, honour, and ſucceſſe. I beſeech you, aduertiſe me, of what ſoeuer you doe, or intend to doe, with expedition. Farewell.

Cicero to Cneius Plancius. Epiſt. 15.

I Receiued from you a very briefe letter, wherein I was not certified of that, that I deſired to know: and haue vnderſtood that, which before I knew very well. For I was not informed, how conſtantly you ſupport, the common miſeries; I plainly diſcern'd, how much you lou'd me: but this I knew before; if the other had beene knowne vnto me, I had beene furniſhed with matter to write of. But though heretofore by letter I expreſt my mind vnto you; yet at this preſent likewiſe, I thought good to admoniſh you, that you would not make your ſelfe, to be at any worſe point

point then others. We are all in great danger, but the perill is common. The disaster is vniuersall: you must not therefore shake it off, nor request, that, that be done for your selfe alone, which is denied all others. Let vs therefore fall betweene vs retaine that minde, which we euer maintain'd among our selues: whereof, I hope well on your behalfe; and for mine owne, I'le warrant you Farewell.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M.T. CICERO.

Quintus Metellus Celer, sonne of Quintus, Vice-consull, to Cicero. Epist. 1.

IF you be in health, I am very glad. I should neuer haue thought, that you had so little esteemed our mutuall loue, and the amity betweene vs reuiued, that for a word only, you would seeke the ruine of my brother *Metellus*, to whom some respect was due, if not for his owne sake, yet at least for the nobilitie of our

 familie,

familie, & for the singular loue I beare, both to you, and the Common wealth. But now I both see him to be beset with enemies; and shall accompt to be made of my selfe, by him that had good reason to esteeme me. So that I, who haue charge of the Prouince, and Armie, I that am armed for your defence, am extreamely distracted. And because you haue neither borne you as equall, nor as the clemencie of our predecessors required you; no marualle though hereafter you repent you. I did not beleeue, you could haue carried so mutable a minde, towards me, and mine: And yet your iniuries cannot be of so great efficacie, as to separate me from the Common-wealth. Farewell.

Cicero, to Quintus Metellus Celer; sonto Quintus, Vice-Consull. Ep. 2.

IF you and the Armie bee safe, and in health: I am glad. You write vnto me, that for the mutuall loue, and late amity renewed betweene vs, you could neuer haue beleeued, that I should haue held you in so base an esteeme: by which words I know not, what you would infer: But I imagine, that it

might

ght be reported vnto you, how I arguing in the Senate, vsed this speech; That many were greeued, because I had preserued the Common-wealth: and that your neereſt kinſmen, whom you could not well denie, wrought you to fatre, that you ſhould not vrge my commendation in the Senate, as before you were reſolued. In ſaying of which, I further added, that the office of preſeruing the Common-wealth, was equally deuided betwixt vs. For, I had defended *Rome* from domeſticall practices, & from the treaſon of corrupt Citizens, and you, *Italy*, from the armed enemy, and priuie conſpiracies: and that this our ſociety, in ſo great & honourable an enterprize, was broken off, by your kindred: who tooke it ill, that I, who had wonderfully approu'd of you, in matters of ſo great importance, ſhould be in any part, by you recompenced. And declaring in this diſcourſe, with what ioy I attended your praiſe, and approbation; and how fruſtrate I remain'd of that hope; the Senators tooke contentment herein, and began to ſmile; not for what I gaue of you, but becauſe my expectation prou'd vaine and fruſtrate: and becauſe openly, and ſincerely, I reueal'd the deſire I had, to bee commended by you. I cannot therefore in this be ſayd, that I haue not honoured you, manifeſting

what contentment I should take, to heare your testimonie, adde greater grace to my renowned actions. Whereas you speake of mutuall loue, I know not how you vnderstand loue mutuall: but I suppose, that then it is truely mutuall, when the one, and the other party loues, with equall and answerable affection. If I should haue stayd, that to doe you a fauour, I renounced my Prouince; you would rather haue thought mee vaine herein, then otherwise. For the renunciation was made, to giue my selfe satisfaction, and euery day I am better pleased therewith, then other. It is true, that in giuing it vp, I sought to haue it committed to you. I will not mention the offices I did you, before you were drawne by lot: only, be assured of thus much, that my Colleague did nothing in it, without my priuitie. Remember you the rest: with what expedition, so soone as your lot was drawne, I assembled the Senate on the selfe same day; how abound antly I spake in your commendation. Did not you once tell mee your selfe, that I did not onely commend you, but exalted your praise, with the scorne and contempt of your Competitors? Besides, the decree, which past vpon such an election that day from the Senate, will testifie my true loue towards you, so long as 'tis extant. And after you

were

went into the Prouince, I deſire you would call to minde the fauours, that I did you, both in the Senate, and with the people; as alſo the letters I wrote vnto you. And when you haue collected all theſe things, conſider I pray you, whether at your laſt returne to *Rome*, you requited ſo many good offices. Whereas you mention our renued amity, I know not herein your meaning, becauſe you terme that renued, which neuer was altred. Whereas you write, that I haue done ill, hauing by one onely word, procured your brothers ruine; Firſt, be aſſured, that I like wondrous well, this your zeale, and good will, accompanied with ſuch vnfeigned loue and affection to your brother: And then, if in any thing, for the reſpect of the Common-wealth, I haue beene oppoſite to your brother; I requeſt you to pardon me; For, no man can loue the Common-wealth, better then my ſelfe: but if I defended my reputation, from his violent paſſion towards mee; it may ſuffice you, that I neuer complained to you, of the iniury hee did mee: who, becauſe I knew, that he prepared, and diſpoſed the whole power of his Tribuneſhip to my deſtruction: I beſought *Claudia* your wife, and *Muria* your ſiſter, whoſe good opinion towards me, I diſcouered in many things, for the

amities ſake betwixt me and *Pompey*, that they would diuert him from ſo wicked a determination. But hee, notwithſtanding I had been Conſul, & had preſerued the Commonwealth, did me ſuch an iniury, as was neuer offred to any Magiſtrate, of what meane rank ſoeuer; nor to the worſt Citizen. For, at the laſt of December, as peraduenture you haue heard, he prohibited me, in the reſignation of my Conſulſhip, to giue account vnto the people of my proceedings: which iniurie notwithſtanding, at laſt redounded to my great honour. For, hee permitting me no further intimation, then none oth; I ſwore aloud, and the people with a loud voyce, and to my great glory, ſwore likewiſe, that mine oath was moſt true. Hauing receiued this groſſe *diſgrace*; yet the ſame day, I ſent to *Metellus*, thoſe that were friends to vs both; requeſting him to remoue that reſolution, he had vndertaken againſt me; To whom he made anſwer, That it was not in his power: becauſe, ſpeaking to the people, he had formerly implyed, that there was no reaſon, that he ſhould haue authoritie giuen him to ſpeake, who would not grant the ſame to others, but had puniſhed them, without permitting them lawfull plea. Oh, what a great Gentleman, and braue Citizen was this! who, though I had deliuered the

Senate

Senate from death, *Rome* from combustion, and *Italy* from war, thought mee worthy of that punishment, which the Senate, out of the consent of all good men, had inflicted vpon them, who meant to set *Rome* on fire; hew the Magistrates & Senators in peeces; and to haue raisd vp, a most bloudy or cruell war. Vpon this, I opposd my selfe to your brother, who was present. For, the first of Ianuary, I so buckeld with him in the occasions of the Commonwealth, as hee might perceiue, I wanted neither courage, nor constancie. And afterwards on the third of the same moneth, hee hauing conuocated the people, in the beginning of his Oration, he went about to deprauе mee, naming, and threatning me euery third word, with full resolution, vtterly to sinke mee; not by way of Iustice, or equitie, but by bitter violence, and passionate outrage. Whose temeritie, if I had not stoutly withstood; who would not haue thought, that in my Consulship, I shewed resolution, rather out of the benefit of my Fortunes, then either for vertue, or fortitude of mind: If you neuer perceiu'd how ill *Metellus* stood affected to mee; this may bee an euident signe, that he little esteemes you; neuer writing vnto you, of a matter of so great importãce. But if he did impart his minde vnto you, you should thinke

me very milde, and tractable, in that I neuer complain'd therof to you, though I had all the reasons [in the world] to doe it. For, not onely in words, as you write, but with all manner of iniuries, he labour'd to persecute me. Now, obserue my humanitie, if it may be termed humanitie, when a man does not onely suppresse the choler of his mind, but further humbleth himself, to his enemie. I, though your brother had shamefully iniuried me, yet neuer shew'd my selfe to him, otherwise then fauorable. And, whensoeuer his name came in question in the Senate; I alwaies ioyn'd with them in opinion, that proceeded mildly with him. Neither content with this; although hee were mine enemie: yet in that hee was your brother, it did not onely displease mee, but further, I wrought by al my meanes, and power, that the decree enacted against him, might be cancell'd. So, as I opposd not your brother; but I haue resisted your brother, neither was I towards you, mutable, as you write; but so constant, that I haue perseuer'd in louing you, though you gaue me occasion to the contrarie. As also at this present, though you write to mee after a threatning manner, yet will I not complaine. Because I doe not onely pardon, but highly commend your passion, naturall affection intimating

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in this, of what force brotherly loue is. But yet I entreat you, that you will also truely waigh my passion; allowing, that if your friends did bitterly, and with cruelty, persecute me without cause; I ought in this case, not onely, not to giue them place, but make my repaire to you for aid; and make vse of the power, as well of your selfe, as of the whole Armie, vnder you. I euer desir'd to haue you my friend, as likewise, I haue omitted no endeauour, whereby it might appeare, that I was not your friend onely, but your most louing friend. My heart is now, that which it euer was, and so shall continue, so long as you please: and if the hatred that I descruedly beare to your brother, can any whit extenuate the loue betwixt vs; I will hereafter forbeare to hate him, least it be an occasion, that I bee not beloued. Farewell.

Quintus Metellus Nepos, to Cicero. Epist. 3.

YOur manifold courtesies worke so with mee, that I giue no credit to those dishonest reports, which this impo[illegible] men sends vnto me. Neither m[illegible] account of such like [illegible] their leuity: and

freelie taking your selfe in his stead, I accept you for my brother: imagining that he is no more liuing amongst men: Though twice I haue sau'd him, whether hee would or no. Touching my selfe, and the things I haue effected, I will write thereof at large to *Lollius*, not to be burdensome vnto you, with so many letters. You shall know my minde by him, about the state of this Prouince: Let mee intreate you, if it bee possible to continue the same loue, towards me, that you alwaies bare me. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Metellus Nepos Consul. Epist. 4.

THE letters of *Quintus* my brother, & of *Titus Pomponius*, my inward friend, so rais'd my hopes, as I expected aide, no lesse from you, then from your Colleague: Whereupon I wrote vnto you, conformable to the state wherein I stood, giuing you thankes for what you had heretofore done, and requesting you, hereafter neuer to faile mee. After this, my friends not onely wrote vnto me, but many that came hither, reported it by word of mouth, that your affection towards me was alter'd which was the cause, I would presume

no more to write, becauſe I would not bee irkeſome, nor troubleſome vnto you. Now, my brother *Quintus* aduertiſing mee, how exceeding kindelie you ſpake of mee in the Senate, I thought it but my dutie, and moſt requiſite, to thanke you againe for the loue, which ſtill you manifeſt vnto me. But if I ſhall not wrong your curteſie, I would intreate you, that you would preſerue your friends, and me alſo, rather then by their arrogancie, and cruelte, to oppoſe mee: you haue ouercome your ſelfe, in pardoning the Commonwealth your priuate enmities, and will you ſolter other mens [rancors] againſt her? I giue you my faithfull promiſe, that if out of your clemencie you lend me your aide, in all occaſions I will reſt at your commands: but if you permit the Senate, people, and Magiſtrates to be croſſe, in reuoking me out of this vnworthie baniſhment, wherein I was driuen, by wicked violence, not onelie to my owne, but to the ruine of the Commonwelth; remember, that you may hereafter deſire to ſuccour vs both at ſuch a time, when no meanes is left, either for her eſcape, or my ſafetie. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Antonius, some to Marcus Imperator. Ep. 5.

THough I reſolu'd not to write any thing vnto you, but by way of recommending ſome Friend; not becauſe I knew my commendations would take any great place with you, but that they who entreated me, might perceiue, that our friendſhip was no whit impaired; yet when *Titus Pompeius* was comming towards you, who better knowes then any other, what I haue deſired, and effected in your behalfe; and doth beſides long to gratifie you; and beares me ſingular affection: I thought good to write vnto you, eſpecially not being able to ſatisfie *Pompeius* in any other wiſe. If I ſhould ſay, that you were much bound vnto mee, I ſhould not lie; hauing euer procured your benefit, honor, and reputation; whereas your ſelfe can truely teſtifie, that you neuer did mee any fauour: rather you haue ſometimes ſought to hurt mee, for as much as I haue vnderſtood from many: For I le not affirme, that my ſelfe euer found it not to vſe the very ſame word accidentally, with which they ſay, you were wont to picke quarrels with mee. But I meane not to write that vnto you, which

which hath beene reported to me: I'le ſende it for *Pompeius* to deliuer vnto you; who apprehended the ſame diſcontentment which I did. The Senate and people of *Rome*, are witneſſes of the notable offices which I haue performed for your honour: whither you euer recompenſt mee in any part, none knowes better then your ſelfe. How ſoeuer you may command me, let others giue their cenſure: whatſoeuer I did for your ſake, I did it firſt out of mine owne diſpoſition, and then to be reputed conſtant. But now I giue you to vnderſtand, that ſuch an occaſion preſents it ſelfe, that I muſt needes with greater zeale doe my endeauour. And I will bend my ſelfe throughly thereunto, ſo I finde not my paines and trauell loſt; for in this caſe, you your ſelfe would hold me for a foole. *Pompeius* will informe you wherein my helpe is ſo importing, the which *Pompeius*, though I am confident, you will doe any thing for his ſake, neuertheleſſe I commend him to you: And if any of the loue remaine with you, that heeretofore you bare me, I pray you demonſtrate it to me wholly in his perſon; You cannot doe mee a more acceptable office then this. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Sextius, sonne to Lucius Quæstor. Epist. 6.

DEcius the Notarie, came and entreated me, that at this present I would preuent that any man should be allotted to succeed you. I, although I had the best opinion of him, that could bee had of one of his condition: and tooke him for your friend; yet, calling to minde what you wrote vnto me, not many dáies before, I thought it hard to beleeue, that you should haue changed resolution: neither would I stand to his meere word, although I tooke him for a discreete and modest person. But after *Cornelia* your wife spake with *Terentia*, and *Quintus Cornelius* certified me thereof: I was carefull to bee present in the Senate, as oft as it sate. And concerning your desire, to remaine still in the Prouince, I had much a doe to make *Quintus Fusius*, Tribune of the people, and the rest to beleeue it, to whom a little before, as also to mee, you had written the contrarie. The affaires of the Prouinces were deferred till Ianuarie, but notwithstanding, at that time, wee hoped to obtaine our purpose. The kinde office you did me, in writing, that you desire, my

buying

buying of *Craſſus* houſe, might proue fortunlee vnto me: was an occaſion, that not long after, I bought it for an hundred, and fiue thouſand crownes: ſo that I feele ſuch a burden of debt vpon my ſhoulders, that I could wish, to enter into ſome conſpiracie, ſo they would accept of mee. But the hatred they beare me is ſo great, as they offer mee repulſe, and malice me openly, as the cauſe of their ruine: beſides they are not confident, and are afraid, that I lay ſome ſnares for them; not beleeuing, that I can want money, who freed the viſcers, from their violence. In truth, I am repured for that cauſe, a ſufficient man: and there are ſome, that lend freely for ſixe in the hundred. I went to ſee your houſe, and building, which I thought in euery part verie faire. I haue defended *Antonius* in the Senate houſe, with the greateſt ſeuerencie, and care I could; and by my ſpeech and authoritie I haue much drawne the Senate to fauour him: I would not faile him: though for ſome offices paſt, 'tis well knowne, how ill he hath requited me. I pray you, write often to me. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Cneius Pompeius magnus, sonne to Cneius. Ep. 7.

I And all men else, tooke great delight in the letters, which you wrote to the Senate; For you giue so much hope of a secure state, as putting my trust wholly in you, I haue alwaies promised to euery one. But on the contrarie, those your old enemies, who were become your new friends, hearing the newes of your victorie, remain'd amazed, and astonished; seeing themselues frustrated of the hope, they had, to come to the glorie of so noble an enterprize. The letters you wrote vnto me, though they containe but little demonstration, of your loue towards me, were neuerthelesse very deare vnto me. For I neuer reioyce more at any thing, then I doe when I vnderstand, that I haue discharg'd my duties: and, if afterwards any man in effects bee not answerable, I am glad, that I rest superior in courtesie. I make no doubt, but the Common-wealth will reconcile ioyne, and binde vs together; though my affection towards you, which in many respects you may haue deseru'd, were not sufficient to make mee enioy your loue and fauour. And because you may know, what I would haue had you

writ-

written to me, I will tell it you plainely, both as my nature and our Amitie requireth. I haue compaſſed matters of ſuch qualitie, as I firmely beleeued that you would reioyce with me; being bound thereunto, firſt, in reſpect of your countrie, and then in conſideration of our friendſhip. But I imagine you forbeare the doing of ſuch an office, for feare of offending ſome man. Though I aſſure you, ther's none but commends that, which I affected for the ſafetie of my countrie. And when you come, you ſhall vnderſtand, that I bare my ſelfe therein with ſo much iudgement, and greatneſſe of minde, that you will not eſteeme my amitie contemptible; perceiuing by the effects, that as you are far greater, then euer was *Scipio Africanus*, ſo I am not inferior much to *Lelius*. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Licinius Craſſus, ſonne to Marcus. Ep. 8.

I Know that all your friends haue written to you, with what endeuour, and affection, I haue defended, and augmented your dignitie. For I haue trauail'd in ſuch ſort, that they may very well perceiue the deſire I haue to pleaſure you. I haue ſo bandied with the Conſuls,

Consuls, and many Consular personages, as I neuer was so feruent in pleading any thing: and I haue vndertaken to defend your honour, in all occasions, that hence-forward shall present themselues: to pay what I owe to our auncient amitie; as now I doe, and would haue done before, if a certaine qualitie of the times, being opposite to my desire, had not hindred me. And truely I was euer readie in heart, to honour and pleasure you: but it fals out, that some men, enemies, and enuious of others praise, like a pestilence, infecting and corrupting our friendship, haue procured, that for a time, there passed not betwixt vs, any great effects of loue: and to recouer in part, that time, I might well desire, but neuer hope, for so fit an occasion, as at this present is: Fortune affording me a meanes, not onely to shew vnto you, my true and constant loue, but to shew it you, in the greatest height of your felicitie. Wherein my hap hath beene so fauourable, that not onely your familie, but all *Rome* discernes, me to be your verie friend. And now, your wife, amongst other matrones the chiefest; and your obedient, and valorous sonnes, are gouern'd according to my precepts, and instructions; making vse of me in their opportunities: And the Senate, and people of *Rome*, see manifestly, that in

this

this your absence, you haue not a friend, that more zealously procureth your honour then my selfe. I care not to giue you aduertisement, of such things as haue ensued, and daily fall out, for you friends will write to you thereof. For my selfe, be assured, that when I vndertooke to honour and obserue you, I was mooued thereto out of no suddaine desire, nor accidentallie: but so soone as I entred into businesses, I alwayes had this end, to anneere my selfe as much as I could to your friendship. Since which time, I cannot remember, that I haue not daily more and more, obseru'd, and esteem'd you; and that you neither loued, nor accepted of me. And if at some times, no bad effects, but some dislike hath growne betweene vs, this occurring through false suggestions, and of no moment, I would haue the memoriall of that time, so to be rooted out of our memorie, that it may neuer grow againe. For you are, and I desire to be such a man, as I hope our inward friendship, shall be praise-worthie in either of vs, both of vs liuing on the selfe same times of the Common-wealth. You may make that account of me, which best pleaseth you, but yet I thinke you'le value me no lesse, then belongs to my place. Howsoeuer, I promise, and make offer of my selfe, in so much as I shall be able

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to effect any thing for your benefit. And though in this, I should haue many competitors, neuertheleſſe I'le giue that triall of my ſelfe, as they ſhall all remaine vanquiſhed; offering to ſtand to any mans iudgement, eſpecially of *Marcus*, and *Publius* your ſonnes: the which, though they be both, deare to me, yet I am ſomewhat more affected to *Publius*; becauſe not onely at this preſent, but euen from his childhood, he hath alwayes lou'd and reuerenced me as a Father. Suppoſe theſe letters to be inſtead of a league, not of an Epiſtle: and be ſecure, that I will moſt religiouſly obſerue, and performe whatſoeuer now I promiſe you: And I will euer diſcharge the ſame office that I perform'd in your abſence, in defence of your dignitie; firſt becauſe I am your friend, and then, becauſe I would not appeare variable or inconſtant. I will not therefore be longer. Onely I affirme vnto you, that whenſoeuer of my ſelfe I finde I haue abilitie to doe any thing, which may procure you ſatisfaction, benefit, or reputation, I will of mine owne accord doe it: And in what I cannot finde out, if I but vnderſtand it from you, or yours, I will ſo worke, that you ſhall reſt contented, in hauing imparted me. I beſeech you therefore imploy me in any occaſion of yours, how little or great, or indifferent ſoeuer it be:

[illegible] to write to your friends, that they [illegible] my endeuour, aduise, authorise, and [illegible]uour, in publique or priuate [illegible] either iudiciall, or domesticall: of your owne, or of your friends; to the end that my care may diminish as farre as is possible, their desire of your owne presence. Farewell.

Publius Vatinius Imperator, to his friend Cicero. Ep. 9.

IF you be in health, I am pleased, my selfe am in health. If you take vpon you mens defence, as your custome was: *Publius Vatinius*, hauing need of defence, hath recourse to your protection. I hope that you will not refuse me in matters, wherin my honor is touch'd, hauing accepted of me in those which lesse imported. And whom should I rather choose or call vnto in my defence, then him vnder whose protectiō, I haue beene accustomed to ouercome? should I peraduenture feare, that you, who for my safety expos'd your selfe against the violence of mighty persons, are not now able to resist, the bad and wicked practises of some, who are as voide of force, as fraught with [illegible]? wherefore, if you loue me, as you were wont; embrace

embrace me, and prepare your selfe, to defend my reputation against such as these. You know that my fortune, I cannot tell in what manner, easily findes aduersaries, not vpon my demerit: but what auailes that, if it happen by my vnluckie fortune? I pray you, if any man would wrong my reputation, forget not your old customs, and make manifest vnto me your courteous disposition, as euer you haue done, since first I came into this gouernment. I send vnto you a coppie of the letter, which I sent vnto the Senate, by way of aduertisement, of things by me atchieued. 'Tis told me, that a seruant of yours, is run from you, and that now, he is amongst the *Vardes*, whereof you wrote nothing to me; notwithstanding I haue commaunded him to be searcht for, by sea and land; and I'le finde him you out howsocurr, except he be fled into *Dalmatia*: from whence I'le fetch him too, at last. Loue me and Farewell. In the Campe at *Narona*, this xiij. of Iulie.

Publius Vatinius Imperator, to his friend Cicero. Ep. 10.

FOr your *Diouisius*, though I haue sought much, yet hitherto can I not finde the trace of him; and the lesse, because

cause the cold hath here also in such sort increased, that it hath driuen me out of *Damietta*: neuerthelesse, I will so vse the matter, that I will get him at length. I perused, what you wrote vnto me about *Catilina*, Out alas! what is that you demand of me? how happens it, that you always seeke impossibilities at my hand? I would I could doe euery thing for you; and our friend, *Sextus Serulius*; but I must tell you freely, that I wonder much, that you defend such men, and accept of such like causes. This *Catilina* is the bloudiest fellow that liues: how many Gentlemen, how many honest matrones, how many Citizens of *Rome*, hath he slaine, and made slaues? how many Countries hath he destroyed? This brutish creature, a man of no esteeme, was so presumptuous, as to contend with me, and I tooke him in warre: I could wish, to pardon him for your sake, but how shall I answer them, that cry out, and complaine, that he hath taken away their goods, rifled their ships, and murdered their brothers, children, and progenitors. Were I as brasen fac'd as *Appius*, in whose place I was substituted, I could doe no lesse then punish him: yet I'le do what I can, to content you. *Quintus Valerius* your disciple, defends him: if he can peraduenture, satisfie his aduersaries; I would, perhaps, release him. I pray,

afford

affoord me all your helpe, wherein you see me to stand in need. *Cæsar* doth me great wrong, in not moouing the Senate, that I may be graunted my sute, for the happie successe the gods gaue me in this warre of *Dalmatia*: as if I had not performed matters worthie of triumph, much more of obtaining a sute: If he stay while I haue ended the whole warre, I shall be worse entreated then others, who haue serued in the warres for the Common-wealth. There remaines yet, twentie old townes of *Dalmatia*, which haue vnited themselues, with aboue threescore.

AFter my sutes were commenced, I went into *Dalmatia*. Six townes I haue taken by force; and there is this alone remaining, which is very great, taken heretofore by me foure times: For I haue taken, foure towers, foure wals, and all the Castle. From which, the snow, raine, and cold haue driuen me: and through my euill hap, I was enforced to leaue the foresaid towne, the warre being finished. Whereupon I pray you, if need be, to fauour me with *Cæsar*, and to defend me in what shall be requisite; with constant opinion, that you haue not a better friend then my selfe. Farewell. The fut of September, from *Narona*.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Vatinius. Epiſt. 11.

I Wonder not, though you accept ſo well of mine officers, hauing euer knowne you amongſt others, for a moſt thankful man: and I neuer forbare to publiſh it. For I haue not onely receiued thankes from you; but haue beene alſo plentifully requited. Whereupon in all your other occaſions, you ſhall finde mee ready to pleaſure you. Whereas you commend vnto me, *Pompeia*, your wife, a moſt noble Gentlewoman: hauing peruſed your letters, I preſently ſpake with our friend, *Sura*, to tell her in my behalfe, that ſhe ſhould make me acquainted, what ſhee ſtood in need of; for I would willingly pleaſure her. And I promiſe you to doe it, and if it be needfull, I'le goe in perſon to viſit her. Neuertheleſſe, I would that you ſhould write vnto her, that ſhe will eſteeme nothing ſo great, or ſo trifling, that I ſhall thinke either too difficult, or vnbeſeeming me. Whatſoeuer I can doe for you, will ſeeme eaſie, and conformable to my dignitie. If you wiſh mee well, procure that *Dionyſius* may returne. Whatſoeuer you promiſe him, I'le performe: but if he will needs be a knaue, you ſhall lead him priſoner

in triumph. I beſtrew theſe *Dalmatians*, that put you to ſo much trouble. But, as you write, in ſhort time you will bring them in, and they will illuſtrate your victories. For they were euer reputed warlike. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Lucceius, ſonto Quintus. Epiſt. 12.

I Determine freely, to open my minde vnto you by letters, which doe not bluſh; ſeeing in preſence I neuer durſt doe it, through a certaine modeſty, I cannot ſay, but rather a rudeneſſe. I haue a wonderfull deſire, and except I be deceiued, very commendable; that you would be pleaſed to celebrate my name, with the publication of your compoſitions: the which, though many times you told me, you would doe; yet I would haue you pardon me, though I ſolicite you thereunto: For the forme of your writing, which I euer thought would bee excellent, goes beyond my expectation, and hath ſo wonne me, that I am ſurprized with an exceeding deſire, that my acts atchieued, may be written with your pen. Becauſe I doe not only hope, that death it ſelfe ſhall not extinguiſh the memoriall of my name;

name; but further, in life I deſire to enioy that reputation, which may accrew vnto me by your teſtimony; and to taſte that ſweetneſſe, which I ſhall finde, ſeeing my ſelfe to be praiſed, and beloued, by one of your qualitie. And though I know how much you are employed: neuertheleſſe, in that I ſee, you haue now finiſhed the hiſtorie of the *Italian*, and ciuill warre: and you told me you proſected the reſt; I would not omit for mine own ſake, to admonish you, that you would bethink your ſelfe, whether you would connex our proceedings with others; or elſe to doe, as many *Gracians* haue done, *Calliſthenes* the *Troian* warr; *Timeus* that of *Pyrrhus*; and *Polybius* the warre of *Numantia*: all which, diuided the foreſaid warrs; ſo you alſo might ſeparate the ciuill conſpiracie, from the wars externall. I ſee not certainely, that it greatly importe my commendation; yet reſpecting my great deſire, ſurely it imports, that you doe not obſerue the order of times, but that you rather anticipate, & firſt make mention of my actions. And withall, if you employ your wit vpon one ſubiect onely, and about one perſon; me thinkes I foreſee, how much more copious and more adorned, the diſcourſe will proue in euery part. Neither am I ſo barren of vnderſtanding, but that I perceiue, how impudent I am; Firſt, in im-

posing vpon you such a burden (which, in respect of your imployments, you might well refuse:) and then, to importune you, that you would commend me; in that you may thinke peraduenture I deserue it not. But hauing once begun to exceed the bounds of modestie, wee must absolutely lose aside all bashfulnesse. And therefore I request you earnestly, to set forth mine actions, and that with greater lustre, then peraduenture, you iudge to stand with their merit: and that you will not tye your selfe to the lawes of Historie, but to the desert of our friendship: which, I desire, should preuaile further with you in this, then truth. And because heretofore, you wrote, in a certaine Proeme, and indeed ingeniously, that euen as that *Hercules* in *Xenophon*, would not be mou'd a whit at the allurement of pleasures: so no respect of amitie should stir you. Now, for my contentment, I would haue you alter your minde, and in regard of our loue, that you would applie your selfe, to satisfie me in this request. And if (as I desire) you resolue to collect a memoriall of my proceedings, and to comprehend them distinctly in one volume: it would bee a subiect, in my opinion, verie worthie of your eloquence. For, beginning from that time, that the conspiracie grew, and prosequuting euen to that

that [inſtant] when I return'd from baniſhment; you ſhall meet with ſo many accidents worthy of hiſtorie, as compehag them all together, you wil make vp a reaſonable volume. And in this, you may make vſe of the knowledge you haue, of the ciuill alterations, relating partly, the originall of diſcords, partly ſhewing the remedies againſt future miſcheefes: diſcommending withall, things blame-worthy, and praiſing the cómendable, with ſuch reaſons, as you iudge fitteſt. And if you would follow your wonted cuſtom of ſpeaking freely; you may note, many mens perfidious proceedings, plots, & trecheries againſt me. Withall, my diſaſters will miniſter vnto you great variety in writing, carying ſuch a kind of contentment, as will inuite mé to read forward For, nothing is more apt to delight the Readers, then the variety of times, & ſeuerall mutations of Fortune. The which, though in their triall, we found them troubleſom, yet are we not ſorry, to ſee them written. For, the ſecure remembrance of troubles paſt, bringeth contentment & others, that neuer ſuſtain'd any greefe of their owne, reading the moleſtations of other men, without agreeuance, they feele a kind of compaſſion, which repleniſheth the minde, with acceptable delight. Which of vs feeles not, both contentment, and compaſſion,

when he reads the death of that *Epaminondas*, who was slaine before *Mantinea*? where hee commanded, that the weapon which wounded him to death, should then bee taken out of his bodie, when hee heard, that his shield was in safe keeping: and hauing heard this much, contemning the extreme paine of his wound, in full contentment, he finished his daies, with a noble death. Which of vs reads not, with admirable attention, the flight, and returne of *Themistocles*? 'Tis true, that a continued historie seemes much to delight; because it orderly representeth the successe of things past. but a distinct Narration, wherein men may obserue, the variable and doubtfull accidents, of some excellent man, carries with it, both wonder, and expectation; ioy, & sorrow; hope, and feare: and, if the end be remarkable, in reading it, wee attaine to the height of contentment. Wherefore, it will please me the better, if you resolue to distinguish this tale (as I may terme it) of our affaires, and successes, from the continued course of your writings: which containes in it, diuers enterprizes, and many effects, both of counsels, and of the times. Neither will I beleeue, that it should breed any suspition in you, that I goe about to creepe into you, by way of flattery, though I shew so ardent a desire, to bee

by

by you celebrated. For, you are not a man, that's ignorant of your ſelfe. And who reputes them not rather enuious, which admire you not, then thoſe flatterers that doe praiſe you? Neither am I ſo fooliſh, to bee celebrated and eternized by one, who by celebrating mee, may not alſo himſelfe purchaſe a particular renowme for his wit, and learning. That ſo famous a Captaine, *Alexander*, would onely be drawne by *Apelles*, and graued by *Lyſippus*: and hee did it not, becauſe he would win their loue, by the Art of aſſentation; but becauſe hee ſaw, that *Apelles* picture, and the ſculpture of *Lyſippus*, would make their names renowned, and bring to himſelfe alſo, no ſmall reputation. Although thoſe Artificers, by their myſterie, repreſent nothing, but the forme of the bodie, ſhewing vs their corporeall image, whom we neuer ſaw: but whoſoeuer is celebrated for laudable actions, without helpe of images, he liues of himſelfe, and ſhall liue for euer in the memorie of men. And we ſee that *Spartan Ageſilaus* hath no leſſe fame, who neuer would bee either drawne, or graued; then they, that were very carefull herein: For, one little Pamphlet onely of *Xenophons*, written in commendation of that King, hath far ſurmounted all the pictures, and ſtatues, that euer were. And the contentment

of my minde, and the reputation of my name will be the greater, if I bee mentioned in your writings, rather then of any other. Because I shall not onely herein haue your wit fauourable to me, as *Timæus* had that of *Timæus*, and *Themistocles*, that of *Herodotus*; but further, the authoritie of so honourable a person, and so well knowne in the important services of the Commonwealth. So, as it will seeme, that I haue not onely found that shrill trumpet, which *Alexander*, when he came to *Sigeum*, said that *Homer* resounded in honour of *Achilles*; but withall, the serious testimonie of a great, and reputed man. I like that *Hellor* well, whom *Virgil* brings in, who reioyced not so much, for that he was praised, but bee addes, by a praise-worthie man. And, if I obtaine not this fauour from you; that is, if by reason of any businesse of your owne, you shall not haue time herein to content me, (for, in matters possible, I suppose, you would grant my request) I shall peraduenture bee vrged so doe that, which many are wont to reprehend: for I will write of my selfe, after the example, notwithstanding, of many famous men. But you know, that in this part, many respects must be considered. They must write sparingly of themselues, if they haue done any thing worthy of praise, & omit those things,

which

which deſerue blame. Whereunto wee may adde, that the writings purchaſe neither credit, nor authoritie; and finallie diuers diſcommend this manner of writing, ſaying, that in *Greece*, the proclaimers of the Gymnician games, vſed greater modeſtie: who though they haue ſet the crownes on the heads, of the other Conquerors, and with a loude voice, publiſhed their names; yet when themſelues before the games be ended, are crowned, they cauſe another to come to diuulge them: becauſe they will not publiſh their owne victories. I deſire to auoide this taxation, and will ſhunne it, if you grant me my requeſt; and I entreate you heerein to ſatisfie me. And to the end, you may not wonder, why I vſe ſuch earneſt and long ſuite, or entreatie to you for it, you hauing often informed me, that with all diligence, you would compound a worke of my actions: I tell you, as I did in the beginning, that I heerein ſollicite you, for no other reſpect, but becauſe, I would by all meanes, that other men ſhould know mee by your bookes before I die; and that while I liue, I may enioy the fruite of my glorie. If conuenientlie you can, I ſhould bee glad, you would returne me an anſwer. And if you determine, to take in hand this taske, I will make an abſtract, of mine

owne proceedings. But if you put mee off till another time, I will not doe it, but reserue my selfe, while I speake with you thereof. Prosequute in the meane while, the historie you haue begunne, and persiuer in louing me. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Lucceius, sonne to Quintus. Epist. 13.

THough the comfort, which your letters bring me, is most acceptable, because it demonstrates, sincere loue, ioyned with singular prudence: neuertheleſſe I reaped thereby, a farre greater benefit, hauing discern'd with what fortitude you contemne humane things; how well you are arm'd; and furnished, against the cruell assaults of Fortune. And questionleſſe, hee may bee reputed wiser then all others, who is not gouerned, but gouernes Fortune; trusting onlie in himselfe, and of himselfe onely depending. This opinion I was euer of; and though it were well setled, and engrauen in my minde: notwithstanding the violence of vnhappie times, and the perpetuall shakings of aduerſitie, haue somewhat displac'd it, & made it almost to be forgotten. But now by your last letters,

I

ſtie you haue replanted it; and likewiſe, more by thoſe, which to ſuch a purpoſe you did write vnto mee, not long before. And therefore it is needfull that I ſpeake not once alone, but often, and much; and that I aſſure you, that there is no iewell ſo precious, which I hold not baſe, in reſpect of your letters. And though thoſe reaſons, which with an artificiall forme, and in great abundance you haue collected, are of a wonderfull power to comfort; yet nothing hath more comforted me, then the conſtancie, and grauitie of your minde; the which in theſe your letters, I haue perceiued as in a looking glaſſe: and ſo much I prize it, as I am aſham'd, I doe not imitate the ſame. I tell you more, that I hold my ſelfe more reſolute then you, who talkes ſo much to me of fortitude. For you ſeeme to haue ſome hope of better fortune, in that by diuers reaſons you ſeeke to intimate vnto mee, that wee ſhould not eſteeme the Commonwealth ſo weakned, but that ſhee may riſe againe; as we ſee, that one Fencer ouerthrowne by another, oftentimes recouers; therfore no maruaile, though you bee reſolute, relying vpon ſome hopes: but yet I wonder, how you ſhou'd haue any hope remaining. Tell me? What doe you ſee, which is not altogether waſted, and conſumed?

Conſider

Consider all the members of the Commonwealth, which are well knowne vnto you. Surely you cannot finde one which is not batter'd and broken: which things I would rehearse yet further, if I knew them better then you; or if I could relate them without griefe: although according to the precepts you set downe, wee should wholie driue away, and banish all griefe. Whereupon I will support priuate discommodities, as you iudge them; and common, with greater fortitude then your selfe, who exhorts mee to suffer them. For, you are eased by some hope, as you write; but mine is the greater constancie, being supported by no hope at all. And as you friendly aduise and put mee in minde, I will comfort my selfe, with thinking how much I euer loued the Common-wealth, and by reducing those times to memorie, In which I together with your selfe, so greatly assisted her; I hauing done for my countrie, no lesse questionles, then what I ought: to doe: certainelie more, then was expected from any mans counsell, or courage whatsoeuer. Pardon me, if a little I commend my selfe. For, speaking of those things, on which for the ease of my minde you wish me to meditate, my griefe is made much lesser. And to obserue you, so farre as I am able, I will winde my selfe from cares

and

and paſſions, and I will returne to the ſtudie of the Sciences; which in flouriſhing Fortune are an ornament, and in miſerie a comfort; and I will remaine with you, ſo long as either of our ages, or health ſhall permit mee: and if we cannot bee together as wee would, yet the ſimilitude of our ſtudies, will make vs ſuch a connexion of minde, that we ſhall neuer ſeeme to be wholly ſeparated. Farewell.

Lucius Lucceius, ſon of Quintus, to Cicero. Epiſt. 14.

IF you bee in health, I am glad. I remaine as I was wont, and alſo ſomewhat worſe then vſually. I haue many times enquired of you, deſirous to ſee you; and I wondred as ſtill I doe, how you can be ſo long out of Rome. I know not vndoubtedlie the cauſe, that detaines you ſo farre from vs. If you loue ſolitarineſſe, for the better commoditie of writing, as you were wont to do; I am glad, and reprehend not your courſe; knowing that there can bee no greater delight; not onely in theſe miſerable, and vnhappie; but alſo in peaceable, and quiet times; and eſpeciallie to your minde: which being now wearie,

tie, affects repose, after so manie agita-
tions: and being replenished with Sci-
ence, sends abroad dailie, some goodlie
fruite, which pleaseth others, and aug-
ments your owne glorie. But if you
haue giuen ouer your selfe in praie, as
when you were heere, to sorrow and
feares: I am sorrie for your griefe, and
for your affliction. And if you le giue
me leaue to tell you my opinion, I can-
not but reprehend you. Alas! what
meanes this? will you alone, not dis-
cerne, manifest, and apparant things,
who with the pregnancie of your wit,
can discouer the most hidden? will not
you vnderstand, that continuall lamen-
tation helpes nothing? will not you
remember, that calamities are rather
redoubled, which your wisdom would
haue you to expell out of your minde?
But if by waie of exhortation I can
worke nothing with you, I request you
by the loue you beare me, to free your
selfe from these molestations, and re-
turne to liue with vs, and to our com-
mon studies, or else to your owne, for
you studie more then others. I am
distracted with two contrarie things: I
would not be burdensome to you, with
these my admonishments: and I would
perswade you to giue ouer, the resolu-
tion you haue vndertaken. I beseech
you, either in the one to follow my di-
rections, or in the other not to trouble
your selfe. Farewell. Cicero

Cicero to Lucius Lucceius, ſonne to Quintus. Epiſt. 15.

THE abſolute loue you beare mee, appeares in euerie part of the letters which I haſt receiued from you. Of which loue though I was moſt aſſured before now; yet this demonſtration was beyond meaſure acceptable to me; I would ſaie pleaſing, but that I thinke I haue loſt this word for euer: and not for the occaſion you imagine, and in which, vſing moſt ſweet and friendlie words, in effect, you grieuouſlie reprehend me; but becauſe for that deepe wound I cannot finde that cure, which may heale it. Alas! I praie tell mee? can I runne vnto my Friends? Where are they? you know of whom I ſpeake; for wee haue found them common to vs both. Others, you know are dead; and others obdurate in their wil, neuer to come to *Rome*, liue in a remote countrie. I could willingly liue with you, and exceedinglie deſire it: and, 'tis long ſince we knew, and lou'd one another. Our familiaritie is great: our ſtudies alike: what band, or obligation is wanting to vnite vs? may wee then liue together? for my part, I know no impediment: but hitherto, wee haue not ſo done, though we be neighbours

about *Tuſculanum*, and *Puteoli*: what ſhould I ſay in *Rome*? Where the *Forum* being common, neighbourhood little importeth. But our age, I know not through what wicked accident, is light vpon times of ſuch diſpoſition, that when we ſhould taſte of all contentment, wee are aſſum'd euen to liue. For what refuge had I left, being ſtript of all publike, and priuate good, together with all comfort? onely bookes: wherein, becauſe I can doe nothing elſe, I exerciſe my ſelfe continually: but 'tis a great matter, that they alſo denie mee their help, and me thinkes they exclude, me out of the Port of repoſe, and they reprehend me bitterlie, becauſe I ſtill remaine in this life. Which is no other then theſe preſent miſeries, greater then euer were any. And do you wonder then, that I liue remote from that Cittie, where I finde no contentment from mine owne houſe? and where it is neceſſarie to beare a great hatred to the times, to men, to publike places, of meeting, and to the Senate? Whereupon I entertaine my ſelfe with reading, and ſpend therein all my time; not to finde any medicine, that might abſolutely cure me; but to beguile onely that griefe, which lies heauie vpon me. And if we had had this aduertiſment, as we had it not; thorough the continuall feares, that held vs in ſuſpence

ſpence

ſpence: We had been alwaies togeather; neither ſhould your vnhealthfulneſſe grieue me, nor ſhould my heart ſorrow offend you. And therfore let's vſe all the meanes wee can, to liue together; ſeeing we cãot deuiſe any courſe, that will ſort better with vs. Within theſe few daies therefore, I will ſee you. Farewell.

Cicero to Tiron. Epiſt. 16.

THough no man is leſſe able to comfort you, then my ſelfe; hauing taken your troubles ſo to hart, that I my ſelfe need conſolation. Neuertheleſſe my griefe being not altogether ſo implacable as yours: and ſeeing you in ſo terrible an agonie: I thought it an office correſpondent to our amitie, and to the loue I beare you, no longer to deſer writing to you, but to adminiſter you ſome phiſicke, which may at leaſt diminiſh your griefe, though not abſolutelie cure it. And that conſolation is ordinarie, and well knowne to euery one, of vvhich vvee ought continually to reaſon, and debate: that vvee beare in minde, that vve are men borne vnder this lavv, that our life muſt lie open to all the blowes of Fortune. To which

law,

Law, we must not seeke to oppose our selues, in refusing that condition of life, wherein we were borne; rather with patience support those accidents, which humane wisedome cannot preuent: comforting our selues in calling to minde, that nothing happens to vs, that hath not befallen manie others. And though this may yeeld thee cõfort, yet I'le propound a thing to thee, that shall bee of greater force, then this or any other consolations, which haue bin euer practised, or written by the wisest men. I say therefore that considering the miserable estate of our citie, and the wickednesse of these times, you will perceiue, that they are truely happie, who haue had no children: and they lesse vnhappie, who haue now lost them, then if they had lost them, when the Common-wealth flourished. It's true, that if thy great losse grieueth thee, in respect of the damage receiued; I see no course to diuert absolutely your griefe. But if naturall affection moue thee, to lament their miseries, that are dead: not to alledge now, what I haue often read, and heard vpon this argument: that there is no euill in death, after which if the soule liueth, it may rather be termed an immortalitie then a death: and if it die together with the bodie, we must not suppose that there is any miserie, because no sense: leauing I say, this

part

part aside, I will onely intimate vnto you one reason, which is very true: That such a danger is approaching to the Common-wealth, that euerie man should be glad to auoid with death. For what receptacle, shall honestie, bounty, vertue, laudable customes, good Arts, and finally libertie it selfe, and safetie, now finde? Questionlesse there is neuer a young man or childe, of whose death I haue heard, in this, of all others, most cruell, and pestiferous yeare, which seemes not to me by the gift of the eternall Gods, to haue beene released from these miseries, and from this so bad a condition of life? So that if I could beate into your minde this opinion; that they whom you haue lost met with no euill, it would in a great part diminish your afflictions. For so you should come to retune onely that griefe, which you feele not for their death, but for your owne losse. And surely it befits not the grauitie, and wisdome, which since your childhood, you haue alwaies manifested, to despaire for the losse of them, that feele nothing. Remember how you haue liued hitherto, with so great moderation of minde, as it is necessarie for you to perseuere in the same constancie. And by wisedome and discourse, we must anticipate that in our selues, that at length time will bring vs: which by the

the remedie of yeares, healeth euerie greene wound. For if there were neuer so base a woman, which in the losse of children, did not at last cease lamenting: surely we are bound to draw that from our prudence, which continuance of daies will bring vs; and not to expect the medicine of time, which reason first propounds vnto vs. If these letters take effect, I shall thinke that I haue obtain'd my greatest desire: If they worke nothing at all, yet shall I iudge, that I haue done the office, of that friend, which I haue euer beene, and promise during life to be vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Sextius. Epist. 17.

I Wrote not heretofore vnto you, not because I was forgetfull of our amitie, or to breake off my vsuall custome: but because for a time I, together with the Common-wealth, found my selfe oppressed with a grieuous ruine; and beside, your hard, and lamentable accident, so afflicted me, as it minister'd occasion to me, of not writing to you. But now, supposing, that I had too long neglected this office; and the memorie of worth, & greatnesse of mind, wherewith

wherewith I know you to be endowed, vrging me thereunto: I thought good to breake of ſilence, with a firme opinion, that I ſhall commit no error. You know, *Publius Sextius*, that when you were accuſed, being far off from *Rome*, I defended you: and afterwards, the ſame perill hanging ouer your perſon, as did ouer *Milo*, I neglected no endeauour for your ſafetie: and laſt of all, ſo ſoone as I was returned, notwithſtanding your cauſe, was carried otherwiſe, then I would haue aduiſ'd, if I had beene preſent; yet I fail'd not in affording you any help, that lay in my power. In which time, not onely your enemie, but ſome others which pretended to be your friends, taking opportunitie of the dearth, ſought to diſgrace you with the people: and ſo farre they wrought, that ioyning thereunto, the partialitie of Iudges, and the iniquitie of many others, they were of power ſufficient, to ſuppreſſe the truth, and your iuſt cauſe. Afterwards, vpon any occurrents whatſoeuer, I neuer was wanting to your ſonne *Publius*, neither in endeuour, counſell, labour, or in fauour, or teſtimonie. Wherefore hauing diligently, and religiouſly obſerued all the offices of friendſhip, I would not likewiſe omit, to exhort, and entreat you, that you will remember, that you are a man, and a man of valour: which

is;

is; that you will prudently support this common, and doubtfull accident: common, because none of vs can auoide it; doubtfull, because no man knowes, whether it will be of little, or long continuance. Defend your selfe bravely from griefe, and oppose Fortune; reuolving in your minde, that both in our Cittie, and in other Commonwealths, many valiant, and innocent men, haue beene vniustly sent into banishment. Let me also tell you this: and would to God, I might not speake true; That you are depriued of such a Countrie, which can procure no contentment to a wise man. Concerning your sonne, if I should write nothing, I feare that I might seeme ingratefull towards his vertue: but if I should tell you, all that I iudge of him, I feare I shall renue in you that desire, and griefe, which you were wont to feele for the priuation of so worthie a sonne. But neuertheles you shall doe exceeding wisely, to thinke, that his loue, his valour, and his industrie remaine alwaies with you: selfe: those things being no lesse our owne, that we embrace with our mind, then the same, that we behold with our eyes. His high valour therefore, and the inexplicable loue he beares you, ought to giue you great consolation. And you ought to receiue no smal comfort, considering that we and many others, so

much

much eſteeme you, for the rare qualities of your minde: & that this aduerſe Fortune abates no whit, of our loue to you; or of our iudgement concerning you. Whereunto you may adde another reaſon; that as you haue not deſerued this exile; ſo you ſhould not much grieue therefore. For, wiſe men, when they are priuie to their innocencie, are neuer diſturbed for any accident, that can happen to them. I, for the memorie I retaine of our auncient friendſhip, and for the vertue which ſhineth in your ſonne, and for the obſeruance he ſhewes me, will be moſt readie to yeeld you helpe, and comfort. If it happen that you write to me of any thing, I will ſo handle the matter, that you ſhall perceiue, your writing was not friuolous. Farewell.

Cicero to Titus Fabius. Ep. 18.

THough I my ſelfe, who deſire to comfort you, want another mans comfort; nothing for manie yeares hauing ſo much pierced my heart, as now your trouble doth: notwithſtanding I doe not onely exhort, but for our amitie intreat you, that you will ſtrengthen your ſelfe againſt diſaſters; carrying in minde, with what conditions all men are borne, and in what times,

we

we were brought forth. Your owne valour hath giuen you more then Fortune tooke from you: hauing obtained that, which seldome strange, or ignoble citizens are wont; and lost that, which Fortune hath taken away from many of greatest nobilitie. Besides I see, that Tribunals of iudgement, and commendable customes of our countrie will be so altred; that happie is he, that with least grieuous paine, is from such a Common-wealth departed. But you hauing both goods, and children, and vs, together with others, conioyned vnto you in the nearest of loue, being to make election, to liue with vs, and with all your friends; and of so many iudgements there being onely one, which is reprehended, as that which by one onely, and doubtfull sentence, may be thought to be yeelded to the power of one: for all these reasons alledged, this hard fortune should not seeme grieuous to you. My affection towards you, and your children, euen as you desire, and as it ought to be, so shall it euer continue. Farewell.

Cicero to Ruffus. Ep. 19.

I Did euer beleeue, that you loued me from your heart. But I am euery day more

more confirmed in this beliefe: and I know that euidently, which ſometimes you wrote vnto me; that your affection, would appeare ſo much greater to me, then it did in the Prouince, by how much the better it may be diſcerned, that it proceeded from iudgement, and not from obligation. Although my opinion is, that you cannot doe more then that, which you did in the Prouince, to demonſtrate your loue towards me. I receiued a few daies ſince your letters, which were moſt acceptable to me; for you writ, that although you expected my comming with great deſire, notwithſtanding becauſe matters went forward, otherwiſe, then you ſuppoſed, you reioyced at the courſe I tooke. Now, I haue receiued theſe other, which gaue me exceeding contentment, becauſe I vnderſtand, you are of the ſame opinion, that all good and valiant men ought to be of; that nothing is profitable, but that which is honeſt and iuſt. And beſides this; In that you promiſe to follow me, whither ſo euer I goe, which is the moſt acceptable thing you can doe for me, and (if I be not deceiu'd) moſt honourable for your ſelfe. Till now, I neuer acquainted you, with my intention by writing; not becauſe I would conceale my ſelfe from you, but in that communicating my aduiſe vnto you, it was but

a putting you in mind of the office of that good Cittizen, whereof you make profession; and an inuiting you, to run both my perill, and fortune. But considering that I see, with how much loue, and courtesie you offer your selfe vnto me: I willingly accept of your good minde; but without any binding you, to keepe promise with me. If you doe what you make shew of; I shall remaine greatly bound to you therefore: If you doe not, I will excuse you. And of these two elections, I suppose, that the first hath pleased you for my sake, and th'other for feare. For now, we truely debate of a most important matter. That which is honest, is plainely discerned. That, that is profitable is hidden from vs. Yet if we be the men we should be; that is, worthie of our studies, and of our profession; we need not doubt, but 'tis better to choose, that which is honest, then that, that is profitable. And if you be of this opinion, come to me presently. But if you thinke, you cannot presently come thither, whither honestie calls vs: I will aduertise you in what soeuer is requisite, and in conclusion, I say vnto you, that what course soeuer you take, I will be your friend; but if you be the man I desire, your best friend. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Rufus. Ep. 20.

HOwſoeuer it had ſtood with me, I would haue met you, if you had come whither you appointed: Wherefore, though you remain'd behind, becauſe you would not put me to any inconuenience: notwithſtanding I aſſure you, that, had you ſent for me, I would not haue reſpected mine owne commoditie, to giue you ſatisfaction. To the other parts of your letters, I could more abſolutely anſwere, if *Marcus Tullius*, my Notarie were here: who I am ſure about caſting vp the accompts, (for the reſt I know not what to ſay) hath done nothing with anie end, to doe you therein preiudice, or diſhonor. And though the auncient order, and cuſtome were obſerued at this daie: Yet be aſſured, that in reſpect of our friendſhip, I would neuer haue giuen vp the accompts without firſt comparing them, with your ſelfe. But it being requiſite, by *Cæſars* Lawe, to leaue a coppie of them in the Prouince, and to carrie afterwards the originall to *Rome*: I haue done the ſame in the Prouince, which I would haue done at *Rome* alſo, if the former cuſtome had continued. Wherein I was ſo confident in you, that I would not be the

man, that would be with you, at the drawing of the accompts: but left the charge thereof to my Notarie, appointing him expreſly, that he ſhould frame euery thing to your minde. I neither doe nor euer will repent me, of hauing that confidence in you, which I made ſhew of: but me thinkes it's ſtrange, that you entred into a iealouſie of my Notarie; you hauing likewiſe left order, that your brother *Marcus Marius* ſhould peruſe the accompts, which were made in my abſence; neither had I any other hand in them, but that after they were finiſht, I read them; your brother hauing formerly both ſeene, and approued them. If this were honour: I could not more honour you: If it were confidence: I was more confident in you, then almoſt in my ſelfe. If it were requiſite in ſuch a buſineſſe to haue regard to your benefit, and praiſe, as it was fit to haue: I had no man more apt, nor diſcreet for ſuch a buſineſſe then my Notarie. And though I haue left in *Apamea*, and *Laodicea*, a coppie of the accounts; it was for no other end, but to obſerue the Law, which commands, that they ſhould be left in two Cities within the Prouince. Whereupon to this part, I anſwer, that though I had many iuſt occaſions, for which I could not vſe ſuch delaie, in giuing vp my accounts in

Rome:

Rome: Neuertheleſſe, I would haue ſtayed for you, had I not thought they could not haue beene reexamined after they were regiſtred in the Prouince. And as for *Voluſius*, I am informed by vnderſtanding men, and eſpecially by *Caius Camillus* my verie good friend, and moſt expert in ſuch affaires; that we could not change the courſe ſet downe, nor tranſferre *Valerius* debt, vpon the perſon of *Voluſius*; becauſe they that ſtood bound for *Valerius*, had beene neither more nor leſſe obliged to payment. And the principall debt, was not as you write, 600. crownes but 570. For, about the ſomme which came ſhort of 900, we had receiued no aſſignations, in the name of *Valerius*. But certainely you ſeeme to repute me, both diſcourteous, and negligent; yea, (but I reſpect it not) and verie indiſcreet. Diſcourteous, in that you imagine a Legate, and an officer of mine, were diſcharged, not for mine owne, but for my Notaries benefit; eſpecially, when they were not to bee bound, to this inconuenience. Negligent; you ſuppoſing, that I neuer ſought to bee acquainted with a matter, which did import my office ſo neerely, as it might proue preiudiciall to me: and that my Notarie, had ſet downe that, which he thought good, without ſpeaking one word to me: alleaging, that if I had

thought thereon, I would haue proceeded more circumſpectly. And I ſay vnto you, that I thought ſufficiently of it, and I minded to haue eaſed *Valeſius*, of ſo waightie a ſomme. And on the other ſide, I haue found out a way, that *Titus Marius*, and others, which put in their ſecuritie for *Valerius*, ſhould not be in any danger to paie it: taking ſuch a courſe therein, that no man ſound himſelfe gricued, nay, all in generall highly commended mee for it. And I muſt tell you more: My Notarie onely, tooke it not well. But I thought it the part of an honeſt man, hauing reſeru'd to the people, what was belonging to them, to preuent the particular loſſe of ſo many good friends, and Cittizens. As for the monies raiſed out of the Prouince, you know, that by the aduiſe of *Cutius Pompeius*, they were laid vp in the *Lycæum*. And I as a thing done by mine owne Order conſented thereunto. *Pompeius* afterwards ſent, and tooke them away, euen as *Sextus* tooke yours, which you laid vp: But this imports not you. I may well grieue, that I had not the foreſight to make a note; by which it might haue appear'd, that you left thoſe ſommes there, with my approbation: but that there are extant, the Senats decree, and both our letters. From hence it is manifeſt, that thoſe monies were deliuered

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to *Publius Sextius*: & I, ſeeing the matter ſo cleare, as no errour could enſue: I tooke no great care to make ſuch a note: but now I wiſh, for your ſatisfaction, that I had made it. I am of your opinion, about giuing in of the accompts, which you are to make: Neither in this, ſhall your, and my accompts differ any thing: For you ſhall adde, that there you left thoſe ſommes by my Order; which I neuer put in. Neither haue I any reaſon to denie you this fauour: and though I had, yet to pleaſure you, I would not denie it. As for the accompt of 2700 crownes, you cannot complaine; for it was ſet down as you pleaſed, or to ſpeake more truely, as it pleas'd your brother. I would willingly amend, if I could that which I left vndone, in giuing vp my accompts. But I muſt bee circumſpect, that herein I cõmit no error, the tearm ſet downe by the Senate being paſt. But ſurely, you haue no reaſon to be ſo angry, for I could not otherwiſe behaue my ſelfe: although in this, I refer mee to their iudgements, that vnderſtand it better then I doe. This I aſſure you, that I'le faile you in nothing, not onely wherein I ſee you deepely intereſted, but wherein ſoeuer I may doe you a pleaſure. As for thoſe that haue done good ſeruice to the Common-wealth; know, that I haue giuen no teſtimony,

except it bee of the Tribunes, of the Souldiers, of the Prefects, and my Domestickes; wherein I erred, supposing, that I might at my pleasure, have presented their flames: but afterwards I was aduertised, how 'twas necessarie, to present them within thirtie daies, after the giuing in of the accompts. Out of doubt, I am verie sorrie, that I left not this care to you, seeing you are so ambitious of it. For of my part, there is no ambition at all. But there remaine the Centurions names, to bee presented, and the Camerades of the militarie Tribunes: For, in these, the Law tyes mee not to a prefixed time. Now it resteth, that I returne you answer, about the three thousand crownes, whereof I remember you wrote vnto mee from *Myrina*, obiecting to me an error, which grew by your fault, and not mine. For, if any deserue reprehension; It is your brother *Mindius*, and *Tullie* my Notary, that should bee reprehended. But that errour being now past recalling; (For, the monies being dispos'd of, I was departed out of the Prouince;) I dot certainely thinke, that according to the inclination of my mind, and according to the hope of monies, which I then had, I wrote back vnto you, as friendly as I could But mee thinkes, it is not reasonable, that I should bee bound to yeeld that vnto you now, by way of obligation,

ligation, which then in courteſie I propounded. Neither, though you write vnto me, of the ſayd three thouſand Ducats, did I receiue your letter with that diſcontentment, as Debtors in theſe times receiue letters, from their Creditors. You muſt withall conſider, that in *Epho ſus*, I hauing left in the hands of the Toll-Maſters, three ſcore ſix thouſand Crownes, which I had lawfully gotten in my Prouince, *Pompey* tooke it all. Whereof, whether I complaine, or not, queſtionleſſe, your loſſe being onely three thouſand Crownes, you may endure it with the greater patience; imagining with your ſelfe, that the Senate allowed you not ſo great proviſions, as indeede it gaue you; or, that my ſelfe gaue you not ſo much, as I did. For, if you lent mee thoſe three thouſand Crownes, yet I am ſo confident in your good nature, and in the loue you beare me, that you would not now force me to ſell ſomthing of mine owne, to haue them againe: for otherwiſe, I haue no meanes to reſtore you them. But all that I haue written, eſteeme it to bee written by way of merriment: And the like doe I, by that you haue written to mee. Although, when *Teſtius* returnes out of the Countrey, I will not forget to ſend him to you, if you thinke it bee requiſite. I deſire in any wiſe,

that you would rend this letter. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Meſſimus. Epiſt. 21.

I Haue read your letters with contentment, by which I vnderſtood, that you greatly deſire to ſee mee: Which I imagined, though you had not written it. Neither is my deſire in this, inferior to your owne. And ſo let my thoughts obtaine their wiſhed ends, as I heartily deſire to be with you. For, when our Countrey did more abound, then now it doth, with men of valour, and true Citizens, and the number of my friends was greater; yet was there none, with whom I was more willing to conuerſe, then with your ſelfe, and but few, with whom ſo willingly; but now, ſome being dead, other ſome in remote Countries, and others not bearing that mind towards mee, they were wont to doe; I ſhould verily thinke one day better ſpent with you, then all the time I conſume with many of thoſe, with whom I conuerſe out of neceſſitie. And I aſſure you, that ſolitarineſſe would bee much more acceptable to me, (which, notwithſtanding, is not granted mee) then

then their entertainements, that daily frequent my houſe; except it be of one, or two, at the moſt. Therefore I retire my ſelfe, as I would wiſh you alſo, to our pleaſing ſtudies: and withall, I comfort my ſelfe with the memoriall of my intentions, thinking to my ſelfe, that I neuer had reſpect, (as I ſuppoſe you conceiue) to priuate benefit, but to publique ſafetie. And if hee, whom you could neuer loue, becauſe you loued me, had not borne me enuie; hee, and with him all other good men, had been happy. I would neuer conſent, that the violence of any particular man ſhould bee ſo powerfull, as to ſuppreſſe common libertie. And after I ſaw thoſe armes, which I euer feared would bee able to doe more, then the conſent of good Citizens, who, according to my directions, and examples, vndertooke to defend the Common-wealth: I was of opinion, that diſcords were rather to be compounded, though vpon vnequall termes, ſo it were with ſecuritie, then to fight againſt thoſe, who were ſtronger then our ſelues. But ſhortly wee'l confer, both of this, and many other things. And I remaine now in *Rome*, for no other end, but before my departure, to know the ſucceſſe of the war, that is now on foot in *Africa*. For, I am of conſtant beleefe, that we ſhal ſhortly ſee an end thereof. And I am of opinion,

nion, it imports me, I know not what, to delay my departure: that I may ioyne with my friends, to take some course, according to the newes, we shall receiue. Although I cannot tell you, what it is, that should so import mee; matters being growne to that passe, as ouercome who will, the victorie will be the same, though equitie, stand more with the one, then the other part. And yet notwithstanding, now, that I am out of all hope, I beare a more contented minde, then when wee were betwixt hope, and feare. And your last letters but one, encreased my confidence: In that by them I vnderstood, that to support iniuries, your singular humanitie, much encouraged you, and much also your learning. I'le not bee sparing to tell you the truth: At first, I tooke you to bee rather of a soft disposition, then otherwise; as for the most part, all we are, to whom the chaine of seruitude seemes too heauie, being inured to liue nobly, in a happie and free Citie. But as in good fortune, wee bare our selues moderately, so ought wee to resist this constantly, which is the worst that could haue happened: That among so many euils, we may enioy this little benefit; that whereas in happie times; it was our dutie to contemne death, in which is felt no miserie; now, being plunged in so many tribulations,

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we ought not ſo much to contemne, as to deſire it. I requeſt you, for the loues take, that you beare mee, to embrace this quiet: and firmely to beleeue, that beſides offence, and ſin, from which you haue beene hitherto, and euer will bee exempted, there can nothing light vpon a man, how terrible ſoeuer, which ſhould diſmay him. I will preſently come to you, if I ſee there bee any occaſion. And if it be requiſite, to change reſolution, I will forthwith aduertiſe you. But I beſeech you, being ſo crazie, hazard not to trauell, out of a deſire to ſee mee, before you haue my aduice therein. Let mee requeſt you, to loue me ſtill, as you doe; and to regard your health, alacritie, and contentment.

Farewell.

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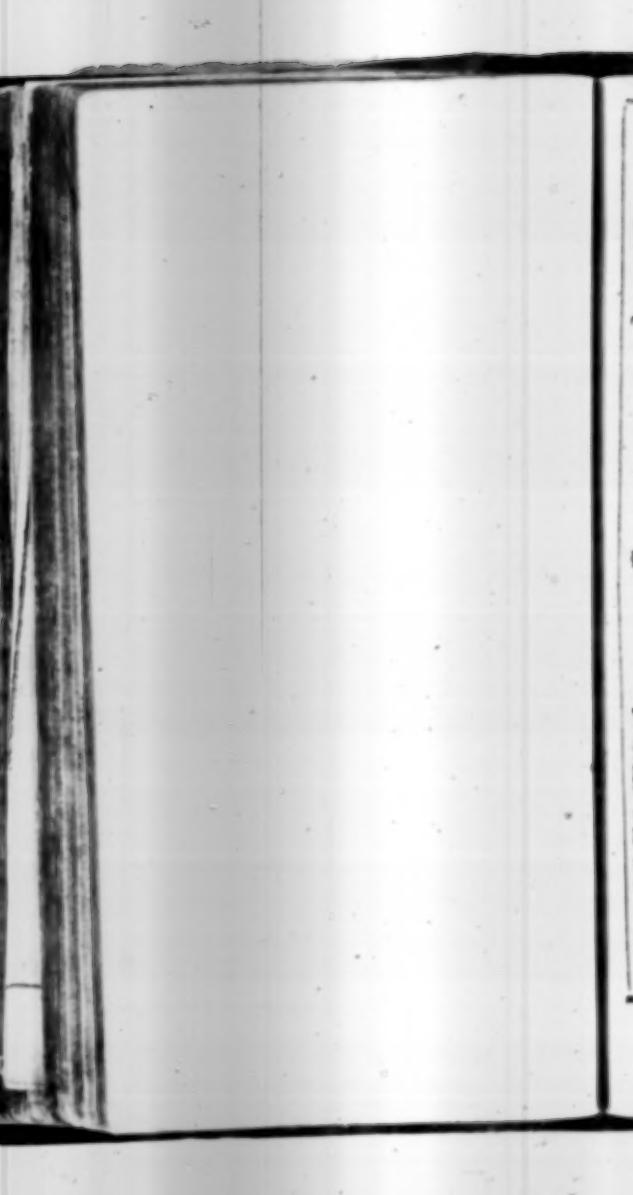

THE SIXT BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Aulus Torquatus. Epist. 1.

THough there be such a confusion of all things, that euery one is discontented with his fortunes, and that there's no man, that would not rather be any where, then where he is: neuertheleſſe, I make no doubt, but that in theſe times, it greeues euery honeſt man, rather to bee in *Rome*, then any where elſe. For, though there is great affliction felt in all places, for the great

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losse, both publike and particular, neuertheleſſe, the ens encreaſe greeſe, when they are conſtrained to beſiold that, which others heare; neither doe they euer ſuffer vs to remoue our thoughts from miſeries. Whereupon, though of neceſſitie, ſeeing your ſelfe depriu'd of many things, you muſt needs be affected with great greefe: yet free your minde, from being greeu'd, becauſe you are not at *Rome*; the which, as I heare, vexeth and troubleth you. For, though it may touch you neerely, that you are ſeparated from your friends, and your owne fortunes; yet they ſtand in their vſuall ſtate, nor would they be greatly bettered, by your being preſent. Neither ſhould you, when you remember your friends, deſire a particular fortune, or refuſe that which is common. And, whenſoeuer it happens, ô *Torquatus*, that you truely conſider with your ſelfe; you ſhall not need to yeeld, either to deſperation, or feare. For *Caſar*, who hi herto, hath beene more vniuſt to you, then your dignitie requir'd, hath giuen euident teſtimonie, that he wiſhes you no more ill. And thinke not, though he be greater then wee, that hee is any whit more ſecure; the end of all warres being doubtfull. For the one victorie I cannot perceiue, that you are in any ſuch danger, that is not as well euerie

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mans ruine as yours. And for the other, I know you no waies ſtand in feare. It remaines that the generall perill of the Common-wealth, muſt needs peirce your heart; the which I turne to a kinde of conſolation. And though learned men, preſcribe many medicines, for this ſo growen a diſeaſe; yet I feare, there is no other true comfort to be found, then that, which is applied from the fortitude of a mans minde. For if to liue well, and happily, it ſufficeth that a man haue a cleare conſcience, and doe all things conformable to Iuſtice: I thinke we cannot properly terme him vnhappie, who is priuie to his owne heart, that his ſecreteſt thoughts had neuer other obiect, then honeſtie For I cannot imagine, that we left our country, our children, and our fortunes, for any hope of reward: but therein we thought, that we diſcharg'd a certaine iuſt, pious, and requiſite office, for the Common-wealth, and to our owne honor; not being ſo fooliſh, that we ſhould repute victorie certaine. Whereupon if the ſame enſued, which formerly wee ſuppoſed might happen, when we did enter into the enterprize: we muſt not abandon our ſelues, as if ſomthing had hapned, we thought would neuer haue come to paſſe. Let vs therefore beleeue (as in truth we may) that thoſe things are neuer blam'd

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in vs, which proceed from Fortune, and not from our selues: and being exempted from this blame, we ought patiently to vndergoe those disasters, vnto which, the life of man, is subiect. Out of which reasons I conclude, that there is no man so sunke in miserie, but that vertue is of power, to preserue him. But let the lot fall to whom it will, of euery side you haue hopes, if any hope remaine to publicke affaires. And here I remember, how you were wont, to reprehend my despaire; and to encourage me to that warre, whereunto you saw me going against my will. At which time I neuer condemn'd our reasons, but our course. For I saw, that we too late opposed those armes, which had been much strengthened by our selues. Wherefore I gaue counsell, that such a warre was to be auoided, wherein force preuailed aboue counsell; and violence, aboue reason. And when I said, that, that would ensue which did; I presaged not what would come to passe: but onely feared least those miseries should happen, which I saw were likely to fall out: especially, that if I should haue giuen my censure of one, of two ends, I would surely haue promised that, which was most certaine. For we were superior in those things, which are not vsed in fighting; but inferior in the experience of armes, and resolution of

souldiers.

ſouldiers. Now, aſſume you, I pray ye, that courage, which then you thought I was to take. All the fore-mentioned I haue vvritten, becauſe your *Philargyrus* diſcourſing before with me, and mou'd as I thinke, out of loyall affection, he told me, how ſometimes you would be tranſported with griefe, which you ſhould by all meanes bridle: being aſſured, that if the Common wealth returne to her former eſtate, you may certainely hope, that you ſhall liue as honorably in the ſame, as any way is conuenient: and if ſhe remaine deſolate and oppreſſed, you ſhall haue no worſe conditions therein then the reſt. And this time, wherein vvee all continue doubtfull, and daunted, ought hereupon to ſeeme vnto you leſſe grieuous, becauſe you are in that Citie, vvhere vertue grew, and was borne; vvhich teacheth vs, how to diſpoſe, and order our liues. Then haue you *Seruilius Sulpitius*, whom you alwayes loued deerely, whoſe louing and ſage exhortations, you cannot want: and if vve had followed his authoritie and counſell, vve ſhould neuer haue loſt vvith armes in hand; but we ſhould willingly haue yeelded, without comming to them. I haue ſpoken too much, vvhere peraduenture 'tvvas not requiſite; that which moſt of all imports, I vvill tell you briefly. There is no man, to whom I

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am more bound then to you. The ruine of this warre hath depriu'd me of those friends, to vvhom I vvas deeply obliged, as you can testifie. I know that at this instant, I beare no svvay. But because no man is so afflicted by misfortunes, but that he may, if he will be onely attentiue to one thing, vvorke some effect: I assure you, I will imploy for you and your children, my counsell, endeuour, and affection of heart, vvherein I will neuer be vvanting vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to Aulus Torquatus. Epist. 2.

IF I vvrite seldomer to you, then I vvont, 'tis not because I am forgetfull of you, but onely in that for the most part, I feele my selfe vnhealthfull; though at this instant, I am reasonable vvell; and in that I am not in *Rome*, vvhere I may vnderstand, whither any goe thither or not: vvhereupon be assured, that I keepe you in memorie, and loue you better then euer I did; and I haue no lesse care of yours, then of mine owne occasions. If your matters hitherto, haue not obtained that good issue, which men wish't and expected, vndoubtedly,

vndoubtedly, you haue no reason, to grieue much thereat, considering the wicked condition of these present times. For one of these two things must needes happen; eyther that the Common wealth shall alwayes be troubled with armes; & that hauing laid downe armes, she may once againe recouer breath: or else that she must absolutely perish. If armes preuaile, you need not feare, either those that take you to fauor, or others whom you haue assisted. If armes be laid aside by accord, or giuen ouer by wearines, or shal be violently by the victors, taken out of the hand of the vãquish'r; in which of these kinds soeuer the Cittie doe respire; you shall returne to your place, and withall you shall enioy your Fortunes: But if euery thing come to ruine, and such an end happen, as *Marcus Antonius*, a very wise man feared euer since that time, that he foresaw the future discords; miserable, and most vnhappie doubtlesse is the consolation, which I meane to giue you in this case; especially to such a man, and such a cittizen, and neuerthelesse very necessarie: that no man must grieue for that which all others endure. What veriue may be in these few words (for I will not, for some respect, speake any further) if you shall but consider, as questionless you doe: you may, without my letters conceiue, that these tur-

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bulent seasons, may once cleare vp againe: but, in what state soeuer the Common-wealth stand, you need not be afraid: and if she be absolutely defaced, in that you would not sustaine her, though you might, it is but reason, that with all patience, we should comport such an accident; especially being innocent therein. But no more at this present. I should be very glad, if you would write vnto me, what you doe, and where you will be: to the end I may know whither to write, and whither to come. Farewell.

Cicero to Aulus Torquatus. Epist. 3.

IN the last letters, I was somewhat long, not that there was any need, but to testifie the loue, which I beare you. For your valour is so solide of it selfe, that no exhortation is necessary to sustaine it: neither am I in a state, to comfort another, being depriu'd of all consolation. Wherefore at this present, I must be briefe: for if then it was not requisite to write at large; much lesse is it now: And if it were then necessary; let that which I haue written suffice; the rather because nothing new hath since occurred.

occurred. For though we haue newes euery day, the which peraduenture you heare alſo: yet all ſort to that end, which I diſcerne as well by my vnderſtanding, as the things that we behold with our eyes. And yet I ſee nothing, the which I know not vndoubtedly that you likewiſe obſerue. For though no man can preſage, the euent of the battaile: yet me thinkes I ſee it: and if I ſee it not, neuertheleſſe, in that of neceſſitie one or other muſt vanquiſh, I conceiue what victorie will come to, as well in the one, as the other. And let fortune bend to which ſide ſhe will, I perceiue ſuch a ſcourge thereon depending, that a man ought almoſt to ſeeke death to auoide it, with which ſome ſuppoſe to daunt vs. For a life depriued of Honor is no life: and death though it bring an end to a happie life, was neuer by wiſemen reputed a miſerie. But you are in that Cittie, where the walls themſelues, can tell you theſe things, and that more aboundantly, and with greater eloquence. I aſſure you, though other mens miſeries are but of ſmall conſolation, that you are in no greater danger, then any of thoſe whoſoeuer, which either forſooke the war, or of others that renewed it: Theſe fight, and thoſe ſtand doubtfull, who ſhall remaine victor: But this conſolation is of no great moment; behold an other

other farre greater; the which I know you will applie to your selfe; euen as I also doe. Nothing while I liue can afflict me, being innocent of all offences: and if I liue not, how can I feele any griefe? But I call to minde, that I returne anew, (as they say) to bring coales to Newcastle. I haue, and euer will haue, the greatest care I can, of you, of yours, and your interests. Farewell.

Cicero to Aulus Torquatus. Epist. 4.

THere is no newes at all; and if there were, I know your Friends certifie you thereof: but of the future though it be hard to speake: neuertheless a man may by imagination sometimes come neere it, when the matter is such, that a man may forecast the issue. At this time it seemes onely probable, that the warre will not long continue: though some are of contrarie opinion. I thinke that by this time some effect hath ensued: not that I know it certainely, but because wee may easily conceiue as much. First, euery man may expect the victorie; and of all battailes, the end is ambiguous. Then, the Armie both of one and other side is so great,

great, and ſo reſolu'd to fight, as it is no great wonder though either of them vanquiſh. That opinion is euery day confirmed, that although the occaſions of the warre bee different, yet betweene their victories there will bee no great difference. One ſide wee know, by experience: on the other part, if *Ceſar* vanquiſh, there is no man who doth not forecaſt, how great feare there is like to be; both becauſe it is prouoked, and in that it will haue armes in hand. And in relating this to you, if you think that I augment your griefe, whereas I ſhould mitigate it with ſome conſolation: I confeſſe, that I finde no comfort in the common calamities, beſides one; the which if you could embrace, were very great, and ſuch as I euerie day make vſe of: and this it is. That a man, when hee hath wrought all the good hee is able, ought not to bee diſmaied for any contrarietie, that may happen, not hauing deſeated it. Therefore, wee hauing alwaies aduiſed for the benefit of the Common-wealth, and being rather the blame of Fortune, then of our counſels, that things haue ſucceeded ill: and in a word; for ſo much as did belong vnto vs, we hauing neuer beene deficient; we ought to endure that patiently which hath happened. But yet I will not bee perſwaded, that I am able to comfort you, in theſe

common miseries, wherein a greater wit then mine is required to giue it; and singular vertue, to support it. Neuertheleſſe, euery one may eaſie ſhew you, how in particular, you haue no occaſion to complaine. For although *Caſar* hath beene more ſlacke in releaſing you from trouble, then we ſuppoſed: yet I know he carries a good affection to you. For concerning others, I doe not beleeue you expect my opinion. It remaines, that you grieue, becauſe for ſo long time, you are far from your friends. This is certainely a great diſcontent: you being ſeparated from the ſweeteſt, and moſt pleaſing children in the world. But as before I wrote vnto you, it is now a time, when euery man eſteemes his eſtate very vnhappie, & rather deſires to be in any other place, then where he is. I for my part repute my ſelfe moſt vnfortunate, for being in *Rome*; not onely becauſe in all euils, it is more terrible to behold, then to heare: but in that being heere, I ſee my ſelfe expoſed to all thoſe accidents, which may happen on a ſuddaine. Although to my ſelfe, who deuiſe alwaies to comfort you, the knowledge of letters, to which I haue euer beene addicted, hath not afforded ſo great conſolation, as the length of time. You may remember how much I haue beene grieued. Wherein the firſt com-

fort

ſort is, that I ſaw more then others; when I deſired peace, although the conditions were vnequall. And though I preſume not to haue preſaged out of my vnderſtanding, but in that fortune was pleaſed to make me prognoſticate that which enſued: yet I am delighted with this vaine praiſe of wiſdome. I finde another conſolation, which is common to vs both: that if I were now ſummon'd to the laſt period of life, I would not goe vnwilling: for I would thinke by death, to bring my afflictions to an end; and I ſhould depart from that Commonwealth, wherein it auailes me not to liue. Beſides this: I am now old: and I thinke I haue ſpent my yeares ſo well, that in one reſpect, I ſhould die with comfort; and in another, I ſhould not take my ſelfe to be iniured, though I be forced to paſſe that period; whether nature her ſelfe hath almoſt conducted mee. Finally, there hath died in this warre ſuch a perſonage, and ſo many valiant men haue therein left their liues; that if wee were conſtrained to die, me thinkes it were indiſcretion to refuſe it. For my part, I propound vnto my ſelfe, all accidents: and there is no euill ſo great, which I take not to bee neere at hand. But yet I feare not; the vexation being greater, which is cauſed by feare, then is the thing it ſelfe which we feare, wherein

there is not onely, no griefe, but wee shall finde, the last period of sorrow. But I'le goe no further: and peradventure I haue said more then was requisite. But, not any delight of many words, but meere good will, drawes my letters out too long. It displeas'd me that *Sextius* went from *Athens*; who because hee was your familiar friend, and one replenished with bountie, and wisedome, should I know, haue euer beene neere about you, and haue giuen you great comfort. My desire is, that as you ought, and your cullorers, you would relie on your firme resolution. I will with all diligence, and care procure that, which I shall thinke to be beneficiall for you, and what may profitable concerne, either your selfe, or yours. In doing whereof, I shall imitate your loue towards me: but neuer arriue to [your] desert. Farewell.

Cicero to Aulus Cecina. Epist. 5.

WHensoeuer I see your sonne (and I see him euery daie) I offer, and promise him, my endeuour, and diligence; without exception, to-ther

ther of labour, employment, or time: but my authoritie, and fauor; with this exception: wherein I am able, or in what I can. Your booke I haue, and doe reade, and keepe moſt diligently. your goods, and ſtate, cannot ſit neerer my heart then they doe: and euery day I conceiue more hope, ſeeing many to labour faithfully therein: as I know certainely your ſonne writes vnto you: who hath himſelfe alſo the ſame hope. But for theſe things, which may bee foreſeene by vnderſtanding, I preſume not to diſcerne further, then I perſwade my ſelfe, that you ſee, and conceiue. Yet neuertheleſſe, becauſe it may bee, that being dazeled with griefe, you may not ſo cleerely diſcerne, I thought good to write vnto you my opinion. The nature of things preſent, and the courſe of times is ſuch, that this fortune cannot long ſtand with you, or with others: neither in a cauſe ſo iuſt, and vpon ſo good Citizens ſo cruell an iniurie continue. To that hope therfore, which in particular I haue of your ſelfe, not onlie for your valor, and dignitie; (for theſe ornaments are in many others) whereunto are added your owne proper qualities, that is, an eleuated wit, and ſingular vertue: Wherof *Caſar*, makes an high eſteeme: And you could not haue ſtayed long in this fortune, if he had not thought himſelfe

offended, by those worthie parts, for which you are to him most deare. But the prouocation of his minde, is euery daie mittigated, and groweth more calme. And I vnderstand from them, that conuerse hourely with him, that the opinion of your wit, will commend you greatly to his fauour. First of all therefore, see, that you be of an high, and resolute spirit; For you were borne of such a father, bred; and instructed after such a sort, as 'tis requisite for you to doe it. And then bee of constant hopes, for the reasons aboue mentioned. And liue assured, that you shall command me vpon any of your owne, or your childrens occasions: euen as our ancient friendship, and my vsuall custome towards friends, and the many benefits that I haue receiued from you requireth. Farewell:

Cicero to Aulus Cecina. Epist. 6.

I Know not how you remaine satisfied at my hands; in that I haue not written vnto you, as I stood bound; & well by our friendship, and many interchangeable offices; as because we were both of one, and the same Faction.

Questi-

Questionlesse, both long since, and many times, I would haue written to you, but that expecting dailie better euents, I desired rather to reioyce with you, then comfort you. Euen as shortly I hope to doe; which will minister me occasion to write againe vnto you. Now, though I am inform'd and hope, that you contest with Fortune, out of a resolute minde: yet I'le see, whether with these letters, I can adde vnto your forces. I know I am not fit to doe it: but that Authoritie which deriues from great loue, ought to operate very much. Neither will I attempt to comfort you, as one afflicted, and depriued of all hopes of safetie: but as a person, of whose safetie, I promise my selfe neither more nor lesse, then you heeretofore were wont to promise your selfe of mine. I remember when I was expelled by them, who thought they could not ruine the Common-wealth, except I; were first suppresst, that manie of my friends, who came out of *Asia*, where you were to see mee, told mee, how you affirmed, that I should be presently, restor'd, and with infinite honor. If you, through a certaine knowledge of *Tuscan* discipline, which you had learned from your Father, who was a noble, and honest Gentleman, tooke not your markes amisse: No more should my prognostication bee

falſe, being grounded vpon that, which many wiſe men haue written, and I haue read, as your ſelfe knowes, with exact diligence. Beſides the apprehenſion I may haue therein, through my great experience in publike affaires, and for that which I haue obſerued in my ſelfe; to which kinde of prognoſtication I giue ſo much the greater credit, becauſe in preſent things, ſo obſcure, and troubleſome, it neuer deceiu'd me. I would ſpeake of thoſe things which I haue preſaged, but that I will not ſeeme to haue now feyned that which is come to paſſe. Yet many can teſtifie, how in the beginning I aduiſed *Pompey*, not to ioyne with *Cæſar*: and afterwards that hee ſhould not ſeparate himſelfe from him, perceiuing very clearely, that ioyning with him, the authority of the Senate was much impaired; and being ſeparated, a ciuill warre would grow. I was a great friend to *Cæſar*, and I loued and honoured *Pompey*: but as my counſell was loyall to *Pompey*, ſo both to one, and other it was profitable. Many other things paſſed, which I foreſawe. Becauſe I would not that *Cæſar*, to whom I was much bound, ſhould know, that if *Pompey* had obſerued my directions, he ſhould haue beene in high ſtate, and honoured of all the Citizens; but yet hee ſhould not haue had ſuch a power, as now he hath.

hath. I perſwaded *Pompeius* to goe into *Spaine*. If he had gone thither, the ciuill warre had not enſued. I ſought not to obtaine, that *Caſar* being out of *Rome*, might ſtand for the Conſulſhip: but when the people (*Pompeius* the Conſull himſelfe, vrging it with great importunitie) had granted it him: I ſaid 'twas good to ſatisfie him therein. And diſcerning that this was the ſeede of ciuill diſcords, with many reaſons, I laboured to extinguiſh it; reprehending them which affected not peace: the which, though it were accompanied with vnequall conditions, yet I preferred it before warre, which on our behalfe was moſt iuſt. *Pompeius* knew I ſpake truth: but there were ſome ſo blinde, that to enrich themſelues, and effect their deſires, holding victorie ſecure in that *Pompeius* was their Captaine, they ſaw not the benefit of my Councell. They came to armes: I ſtirred not: they went out of *Italy*, I ſtaid as long as I could. In briefe, the care of my honor, wrought more in me, then the feare of life. I would not leaue *Pompeius*, becauſe he had not forſaken mee in my neceſſities: therefore to ſhunne infamie, like that *Amphiaraus* in the Fables, I expos'd my ſelfe, to manifeſt ruine. In which warre no aduerſitie fell out, which I had not formerly denounced. Seeing therefore

you may perceiue the truth of my reasons, you are bound to beleeue mee, as men vse to beleeue Augures, and Astrologers, when they haue once spoken truth. Neither, doe I now goe after dreames, as the Augures are wont to doe, nor doe I marke how the birds flie, nor hearken I how they sing, nor minde how they eate: but I obserue other signes: which if they be not more certaine then those, yet they are more easie to comprehend, and consequently, not so fallible. And my Prognostication is grounded vpon two reasons. On the one side I consider *Cæsars* nature: on the other, that of the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* is benigne and clement, iust as he is disciphered in that booke, where you complaine of him. Besides, he loues noble spirits, such as yours is: and finally, he will be ouercome, with many mens entreaties: seeing, that they are not mou'd out of vaine ambition, but out of office, and charitie. The which all *Tuscanie* doing, 'tis to be thought, shee will be heard. Now, what's the reason, that hitherto, these things haue done little good? For he thinkes, that granting your returne, with whom, it seemes, he hath some cause to be angry; he could not afterwards deny it many others. Oh, you'le say, what may I hope for then? if he be angry with me? he conceiues, that he

may

may extract his praiſes from the ſame fountaine, by whoſe drops, hee was formerly made wet, or daſhed. Finally, he is a man of great wit, and prudent diſcourſe. He ſee'th plainely, that he cannot long keepe you out of your Countrie, you being in *Tuſcanie*, which is no baſe part of *Italie*, but amongſt others, the moſt noble: and equall to any in *Rome*, of the more honourable ſort of citizens of your age, for wit, favour, and iudgement. He will not that hereafter you ſhould acknowledge this benefit rather from the time, then now from him. I haue ſpoken of *Caſar*: Now I'le ſpeake of the nature of the ciuill warres. There is no man ſuch an enemy to that enterpriſe, which *Pompeius*, with great courage, but ſmall preparations vndertooke, that can ſay, that we haue eyther beene bad citizens, or bad men. Wherein I am wont to admire the grauitie, iuſtice, and wiſedome of *Caſar*: He neuer ſpeakes but honorably of *Pompeius*: Oh, but he hath perform'd againſt him, many terribly actions. The blame is not *Caſars*, but of armes, and of the victory. Doe but marke vs: how hath he embraced vs? He made *Caſſius* his Legate; He hath giuen the gouernment of *Fraunce* to *Brutus*, and to *Sulpicius* that of *Grecia*: he reſtor'd *Marcellus*, againſt whom, he was wonderfully incenſt, with as great honor, as could be

wiſht.

wisht. What can I therefore inferre? Take the world what forme it will, the nature of things, and of ciuill warres, will neuer permit, but that in one, and the selfe same cause, all may haue the same condition: and that good men, and good cittizens, that are innocent, may returne into that Cittie, whereinto so many guiltie banished men are returned. This is my prognostication: of which if I made any doubt, I would rather vse that consolation, with which you being a valiant man, as you are, I might easily suppose to comfort you: That if you had taken vp armes, for the Common-wealth, (for so you then thought) with certaine hope of victorie, you should not haue beene much to be commended; but had you imagined, it might so come to passe, that we should be vanquish't, the end of warre being vncertaine: it would haue beene a thing most vnbefeeming you, not to haue beene constant in aduerse fortune; as you would haue beene discreet, and moderate in prosperous. I would discourse yet farther; how much it would refresh you, to call to mind, that your deeds tended to a good end; And how delightfull your studies would be vnto you in aduersities. I could rip vp vnto you, the fearefull accidents, not onely of auncient, but also of moderne Captaines, that haue beene in this war, with

with you. For other mens examples, reducing that law to memorie, whereunto all men, are constrained to obey, extenuate our griefe. Besides this, I would aduertise you, in how great an hauk and confusion of things we liue: in that we should lesse grieue to be depriu'd of our countrie, when it is in ill state, then when it is well: but I would not haue you thinke of this reason. For out of hand, as I hope, nay, rather as I plainely discerne, we shall see you, in honor, and safetie. In the meane while, although I haue at many other times performed this office: neuertheless, because *Cæsar*, and his friends do shew me euery day better countenance, I more confidently promise you my paines, my endeuour, my loue, and my labour. And be assured, that what authoritie or fauour soeuer I doe obtaine, I'le employ it all for your benefit: as formerly I offer'd to your sonne, the true image, no lesse of your minde then of your body, a very well demean'd young man, and exceeding constant in your aduersitie. Looke to maintaine your selfe, not onely with fortitude of minde, but also with hope, which you may haue abundantly. Farewell.

Aulus

Aulus Cecina to Cicero. Ep. 7.

I Vnderstand, that my sonne hath not let my booke be seene, doubting (and not without cause) lest he might foolishly erre to our prejudice: considering that, the same which was written, with a sincere meaning, may bee wrested to a contrary sense. And therefore if you haue not had it, ascribe the blame to feare, and to the qualitie of our state, worthie doubtlesse of compassion. This my misfortune which still continues, grew by writing: and in this I know my selfe, more vnfortunate then others. For when a writing is vncorrected, by cancelling the error, there is remedie: and when one is a foole, fame giues him due chastisement. But my error is amended by banishment: the sum of which offence is; that being armed I spake ill of my aduersary. According to my opinion, there is none of vs, which prayed not for victorie: and which desired not also, when he sacrificed vpon any other cause, that *Cæsar* might be suddenly discomforted: If himselfe thinke not so; he is truely happie: if he know and conceiue as much; why is he angry with me, for hauing written somewhat, that he would not haue [to be written], he hauing par-

doned

doned others, who ſent vp their prayers to the gods for his ruine. But to returne to the purpoſe, the reaſon you had not the booke was this; becauſe I haue written of you, but yet ſparingly, and with reſpect; deſire ſpurring me forward, but feare keeping me backe: whereas, it were requiſite, that he that wrote of ſuch an argument ſhould not onely be free from all reſpects, but be of wit alſo, and of a valiant, and reſolute minde.' Tis thought there is a freedome to reprehend other mens vices: and yet it muſt be done with modeſty. A man cannot commend himſelfe too much, leaſt he ſeeme arrogant. It is therefore onely lawfull to commend another man. And if you praiſe not a man, as much as he deſerues, of neceſſitie, you are to be reprehended, eyther of ignorance, or enuie. But I thinke I did you a pleaſure in not commending you ſo much as you deſerued; For when one cannot doe a thing ſufficiently, 'tis good to giue it ouer, or at leaſt to touch it but ſlightly. Neuertheleſſe I haue vſed moderation: for many things I haue extenuated; many I haue cleane taken away, and many alſo I haue not ſet downe. Euen as, therefore, of a Ladder, if you take away ſome ſteps, cut off other ſome, and leaue others in all caſe, you would make it that no man could aſcend thereon: So he that writes any

thing

thing with restraint, what contentment can he giue the reader? And when I but name *Cæsar*, I feele my selfe tremble; not for feare of punishment, but of his iudgement, because I doe not entirely know his nature. How thinke you, that my minde may stand, when it reuolues with it selfe, reasoning almost after this manner? This word will please him: of this other, I am doubtfull: and if I change it, who knows, whether it may not be worse? Besides this, if I commend one; what know I, whether I shall offend him? and if I offend him, will he not take it in anger? I wrote against him during the warre: and then he was angry with me: What will he do now, that I am vanquished, and banished? You also augment my feare, who, in your booke of the perfect Orator, minding to defend your selfe from detractors, you make *Brutus* your shield, and you seeke a companion, to excuse your selfe the better. If you, doe this, who were wont to assist euery one with your high eloquence: What opinion should I conceiue of my selfe, who for so many years, vsed to haue recourse to you, for my defence; and now finde my selfe in case, to bee defended of all men? If therefore it happen, that the mind, in this imagination be peraduenture transported with any vaine feare; and that this blind suspition tor-

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ments it; in that a man muſt not write to ſatisfie his owne iudgement, but in ſuch a ſort, as he eſteemes may pleaſe others: how difficult it is to doe anie good thing, if you haue not found it by reaſon, Nature hauing giuen you a ſingular wit, apt for euery great enterpriſe; we now find it. Neuertheleſſe, I enioyn'd my ſonne, that he ſhould read the booke to you, without leauing it in your hands: except you would promiſe to correct it; that is, wholly to change it. Touching the going into *Aſia*, though great neceſſitie vrged me, yet I haue followed your aduiſe. About my returne, 'tis ſuperfluous to entreat you: you ſee the time is come, wherein it muſt be dilated of. It is needles my *Cicero*, for you to haue any regard to my ſonne [herein,] his age, too much affection, and feare, take from him thoſe aduertiſements, which in that reſpect, are requiſite. 'Tis fit that you take vpon you, all this enterpriſe. I haue placed all my hope in you. You abſolutely know, out of your wiſedome, what things will delight him, and with what, one may reconcile his faueur. It is requiſite that from you, all things ſhould haue their beginning, and all be finiſhed by your hand. You are of great power about him, and in great reſpect amongſt all his followers. If you'le diſpoſe your ſelfe to beleeue, that you muſt

must not onely take vpon you the charge imposed, though this were indeed too much; but that the whole burden is yours: you may easily obtaine whatsoeuer is desired. And if this securitie which I intrude vpon you, make me seeme either too foolish in my miserie, or presumptuous in my friendship: let your vsuall loue, and kindnesse, excuse me both in the one, and other, which ordinarily is so great, that now at length your friends in their occasions, doe not hope, but command you. I pray, let not the booke my sonne giues you, be seene, except you first so correct it, that it may not preiudice me. Farewell.

Cicero to Aulus Cecina.
Epist. 8.

HAuing vnderstood by *Largus*, who is your kinde Affectionate: how on the Calends of Ianuary, your safe conduct was expired: I spake with *Balbus*, and *Oppius*, knowing that euerie thing was well done, which was acted by them in *Cæsars* absence: and I earnestly entreated, both the one and the other, that they would grant mee, that you might remaine in *Sicilia* at your pleasure:

pleasure: who being wont, either to promise mee willingly, whensoeuer I demanded any thing of them, that stood not against their mindes; or else to denie me, and tell mee the reasons, why they did so: at that instant they gaue me no absolute answer: but yet the selfe same day, they returned to me, and granted me, that you should continue in *Sicilia*, as long as you would: for they would so vse the matter, that *Cæsar* should bee content. Now you haue vnderstood what they permit you: I thinke good to make knowne to you my opinion. This being done, I receiued your letters: wherein you consult with mee, whether you should stay in *Sicilia*, or goe into *Asia*, to set in order some businesses of yours. I took not this your intention, to confront with *Largus* words. He spake to mee in such a sort, as it seemed you might no longer abide in *Sicilia*: and you write, as if you might continue there. But whether the one or the other bee true, my opinion is, that you should not stir from thence. You shall bee neere to *Rome*; and having opportunitie of often writing, and sending messengers, you may the better solicite your returne. The which, if it may be obtained, after the same manner you desire and hope; or else vpon any conditions whatsoeuer; you may forthwith come. Therfore

fore I would not wish you, to depart from thence, in ante wise. I will commend you to my friends, *Titius Furfanus*, *Posthumius*, and his Legates, when they come, for they were al at *Mutina*. They are men of great bountie, and much affected to those of your qualitie, and my verie inward acquaintance. Wherin soeuer I see that I may do you good, I will doe my endeuour, without being required thereunto. And what I of my selfe vnderstand not: if it be told me, I'le exceed ante mans labour, or diligence therin, whatsoeuer. And though I meane to speak so effectually with *Furfanus*, that letters shall not be very needfull: yet some friends of yours thinking good, that I should write a word vnto him, for you to deliuer: I desired herein to content them. The copie you shall see, here vnder written. Farewell.

Cicero to Titius Furfanus Vice-Consull. Epist. 9.

BEtween me and *Aulus Cecina*, there hath euer been so great familiaritie and friendship, that none can possibly bee greater. For his father, a valorous Gentle-man, was my especiall friend, and himselfe I alwaies loued from his infancie,

aſſancie, becauſe hee gaue wonderfull hopes, of ſingular bountie and eloquence. And not only through amitie, but through a ſimilitude of ſtudies, we conuerſed ſo domeſtically together, that no man was more familiar with me, then he. It is not requiſite, that I write further: you ſee how many occaſions lead me, to aſſiſt him, in whatſoeuer my power extends vnto. And, becauſe I haue ſeene it manifeſtly, by diuers ſignes, that you greeue much, to ſee good men in theſe hard fortunes, and the Common-wealth in ſo miſerable an eſtate. Onely I requeſt you, that the ſame deſire you formerly had, to helpe *Caius*, may ſo encreaſe, as that it may equall the loue you beare to y ſelfe. You cannot doe mee a greater pleaſure. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 10.

AS there is no man better knowes, then my ſelfe, how much you loue me: ſo am I a teſtimonie to my ſelfe, of the loue which I beare to you. For, I euer greatly greeu'd, for the counſell you followed (if it were counſell, and not rather deſtinie) to perſeuer in

in a ciuill war: and now not seeing you so readily, restored into your former estate, as is conuenient: I am therewith no lesse troubled, then you with my disgraces, were heretofore tormented. *Postumulenus*, and *Sextius*, know it: our *Atticus* knowes it; with whom I haue many times discoursed thereof at large: and *Theudas* your Free-man; to whom, not long since, I imparted the inward affection of my minde: and to euerie one of these, I haue said many times; that wherein soeuer I could, I should bee glad to bee emploied by you, and your children; to whom I would haue you write, that they make vse of my endeauours, counsell, goods, or person: for all these things being in my power, shall neuer be wanting to them. If in authority and fauour, I could preuaile so far, as I should preuaile in that Commonwealth, of whom I haue so well deserued: you should also be the man, you were wont to be; that is, worthy of the highest place of honor whatsoeuer; and in your owne order, vndoubtedly reputed aboue all others. But because in the selfe same time, and for the uery same occasion euery one of vs is fallen from high to low estate: I promise you those things, which, before I told you, beeing as yet mine: and moreouer, those, which me thinks I do yet reserue, as reliques of my former dignitie.

dignitie. Becauſe *Cæſar* himſelfe, as in many things I diſcerne, rather loueth me then otherwiſe: and almoſt all his familiar friends, whom I haue heretofore pleaſured in matters of importãce, obſerue, and honor me with all reſpect. Therefore if I may in any wiſe, pleaſure you in your ſubſtance, that is, for your return, on which euerie thing depends: & euerie date, by reaſon of their words, I am in more hope: I will labour, and vſe therein all diligence, without being requeſted. It boots not to deſcend vnto particulars. What may bee done with ſingular affection, and great loue, that I promiſe you. But it imports mee much, that al your friends ſ ould know thus much; to the end they may bee aſſured, that *Cicero* will neuer faile *Trebatius*, in whatſoeuer hee is able; and that they may thinke, there is nothing ſo difficult, but that in the effecting it for you, I ſhall hold my ſelfe fortunate. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 11.

I Would many times haue written to you, if I had had matter to write; For, when friends are in ſuch a ſtate, as you now

now are; one should not write vnto them, but to comfort them, and to promise ayde, and benefit. To offer you comfort, seem'd not necessarie, vnderstanding by many, how resolutely, and wisely you support the iniurie of the times; and how much the sincerity of your owne operations, and counsels doe comfort you. And if you doe this, you reape great fruite from vertuous studies; wherewith I know, you were euer delighted: and I earnestly exhort you, so to do. Besides this, though you are aboundant in examples, as hauing turn'd ouer all ancient, and moderne historie: yet, I haue more experience in the affaires of the world, then I would; as I haue lesse in studies, then I desire; vpon my credit, I promise you, that the hard estate wherin you now stand, & the wrongs done you, will quickely haue an end. For first hee, who can doe what hee will, becomes in my iudgement euery day more reasonable, and discends further into the nature of all things: besides the cause is so iust, that it necessarily, together with the Common-wealth, which cannot alwaies languish, will rise vp againe, and resume vigor: and euery date wee finde, more benignant, and fauour then wee hop't for. Which things, because they many times depend, vpon a very little occasion of the

times.

times, wee will obserue all moments, and by as many meanes as is offered, seeke to helpe, and further you. Whereupon I hope, it will be more easie euery day, about the matter I formerly mentioned, to write vnto you, and promise you helpe. and I will doe it more willingly with effects, then words. Beseeche, that you will finde more friends, then any banished man hath, or euer had, so far as I discerne: and yet you'le bee beloued of none, more then of my selfe. Carrie an inuincible, and resolued minde, which lies onely in your owne power. Things that remaine in the gouernment of Fortune, shall bee swayed by the times, and ruled by our directions. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epist. 12.

BEfore this time, I onely lou'd *Dolabella*, but was no waies bound vnto him; because I neuer had any occasion to vse him; and he stood obliged to me, because in his dangers, I neuer failed him. Now, hauing procur'd you, the restitution, euen as I desired; rid of your substance, and then also of your country; he hath so interessed

himselfe in me, that there is no man, to whom I hold my selfe more tied then to him. Wherein I reioyce with you after such a manner, as I would not haue you thanke me, but rather to bee ioyfull with me: your thanking of me being superfluous, and your reioycing most iust. Now, that your vertue and dignitie, haue opened vnto you the waie, to returne among your friends: like that wise, and magnanimious Gentleman, you are, you must forget what you haue lost, and remember what you haue recouered. You shall liue with your allies: you shall liue with your Friends. There is no comparison, betwixt the losse of goods, and the purchase of honour you haue made. Neither should your goods bee deere vnto you, the Common-wealth being in so miserable an estate. Our friend *Vestorius* writes vnto me, that you giue mee infinite thankes. I take it exceeding well, that you diuulge my benefit, and that among the rest our *Syro* knowes it. For those things which I doe, I would haue them pleasing to all wise men. I desire to see you out of hand. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Ampius Balbus.
Epist. 13.

I reioyce with you, my *Balbus*, and vpon iust occasion: neither am I so foolish, to feede you with vaine hope: least mocked thereby, you dare hope no more, after better fortune. I pleaded your cause with greater freedome, then my state required. For being enflamed, with honest charitie, and moued by that loue, which was euer common betwixt vs, though my fauours were but rake, yet I haue compassed the end of ur desire. Whatsoeuer concernes your returne, and safetie, all hath beene ranified, confirmed, ratified, and esta-lished: I haue seene the effect: I haue procured it: I haue personallie interpo-ed my selfe therein. For all *Cæsar* friends conuerse much with me, and so ell they like of my amitie, that next to im, they hold none more deare. Wherein I haue beene carefull according to the qualitie of the times pre-ent. *Pansa*, *Hirtius*, *Balbus*, *Oppius*, *Matius*, and *Postumius*, wish mee all ood. And if I had made this triall f my selfe, I should haue beene well ontented, that I had effected so much, these times. Which came to passe ecause I proceeded not with respect,

as it seemes these present times require. And retaining old friendship with them, I haue preuailed for your good. But your good friend *Pansa*, desirous to doe me all kindenesse; being of no lesse authoritie, then fauour about *Cæsar*, was he that fauoured me most aboue others. *Titius Cimber* also bare himselfe as well, as I could haue wish'd. But that which most imports, is, That *Cæsar* willingly giues eare to them, that petition him, not through ambition, but for some iust, and due respect. And because *Cimbers* suites were of this nature, they haue sped better for you, then they would haue done for any bodie else. We haue not yet obtained the Patent, because some men are so malicious vnto vs, as they would feed with despight, that you, had obtained leaue to returne, whom they terme the Trumpet of the ciuill warre: minding thereby, to make shew, that they tooke no pleasure, that a warre chanced. Wherefore I thought good, to procure secretly, and to keepe the matter hushed. But by that time you shall receiue these, I make no doubt but the letters will be dispatched. And *Pansa*, who is not a man of vaine words, hath promis'd me, giuing me his faith, that within few dayes he will giue me the Patent. Neuertheles, I thought good to write thus much to you, that you might be

ſome cauſe, to cheere vp your ſelfe: the words of *Appius* your wife, and the teares of *Ampia* your daughter, making me thinke, that you are not of ſo good comfort, as your letters demonſtrate. And they beleeue, that themſelues, not being with you, you will be much more affaded with penſiue cogitations. And therefore, to rid you of all griefe, that might ceaze on your minde, I iudge no remedie could be better, then to giue you full notice of your deliuerie: which is moſt certaine. You know, that before, when I wrote vnto you, I onely comforted you, as an inuincible, and wiſe man, but I gaue you no certaine hope of returning into your countrie, till the heate of this warre were quenched. Remember your letters, wherein you ſhewed a great minde, & ſtoute, and conſtant to endure all accidents. Which ſeem'd no wonder to me, when I call'd to minde, that from a youth, you did negotiate in the Common-wealth; and it fell out that you had all your Magiſtracies, in the greateſt dangers of the ſame: and you entred into this warre, not onely with an intention to be happie, if you prou'd victor, but to bee wiſe, though you were vanquiſh'd. Beſides, ſpending all your ſtudies, in celebrating the worthie acts of valiant men: you muſt conſider, that you ought to do nothing, in which

you should shew your selfe, vnlike to them. But these instructions were rather to bee vsed, if you were in those miseries, from which you are now free'd. But now, resolue onely to tolerate with vs these [inconueniences] which at this instant oppresse vs: to which if I found any medicine, I would also giue it vnto you. But there's no other refuge, then learning and studies, wherein we haue alwaies exercis'd our selues: the which in prosperous Fortunes yeelded vs onely contentment, but now, with contentment, they giue vs life also. But to returne to the beginning, be assur'd, that your restitution is obtained. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Ligarius. Epist. 14.

THough in these your molestations, it was my part, to write vnto you sometimes, to comfort you, and to giue you assistance: neuertheleſſe, I did it not hitherto, supposing that I could not either with words mitigate, or in any other maner extenuate your griefe. But seeing I conceiue great hope, that within a short time, you may compasse your returne into your country: I could not

not, but ſignifie vnto you, my opinion and deſire. Firſt therefore I will write, that which I diſcerne, and ſee clearely; that *Cæſar* will not be ſo bitter to you, as he hath beene hitherto: becauſe not onely the matter it ſelfe, the times, and the opinions of men; but, as I perceiue, his owne nature alſo, doth euery day, more and more mollifie him. This hope I conceiue, for all men, but for your perſon, I may haue it farre greater, being ſecured thereof, by his neareſt fauorites: to whom ſince newes firſt came out of *Africa*, I haue not ceaſed to ſue, together with your brothers: who are ſo carefull to procure your returne, as I conſtantly beleeue, that *Cæſar* ſeeing their valour, and ſingular affection towards you, will graunt what they would: and if the matter ſuffer ſome longer delay, then we could wiſh; it is, becauſe we cannot haue audience from him, being exceedingly buſied, in that hee muſt giue anſwere to ſo many demaunds. And moreouer, being prouoked againſt them, that haue renued the warre in *Africa*, it ſeemes he hath a purpoſe to punish them longeſt, from whom he hath receiued longeſt trouble. And yet againſt theſe men alſo he growes euery day more pacified. Whereupon I promiſe you, (and keepe in minde what I ſay) that you ſhall not continue in theſe

perplexities any long time. Thus much touching my opinion. My loue I had rather should be manifest vnto you, by effects, then by words. And were I able to doe as much as by right I should, in that common-wealth, of whom I haue so well deserued as you suppose: you should not remaine in so miserable an estate. But the same occasions haue depriued me both of power & fauour, which were vnto you the cause of your afflictions. Neuertheleſſe, looke what the shaddow of my former dignities can compasse; what I am able to performe, with that little authoritie that remaines vnto me, with my studie, with my counsell, with my endeuour, with my fauour, and with my affection; I will not faile to apply it wholly to your benefit. Be of an inuincible spirit, as euer you haue beene: First, for the reasons aboue mentioned: and then, because you haue alwayes both counselled, and wrought so well for the Common-wealth, that now, you may not onely hope, for better fortune: but if you did meet with it quite contrarie, yet knowing that your counsels and actions haue alwaies beene laudable, you ought to support it, with valour, and constancie. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Quintus Ligarius. Epiſt. 15.

ASSVRE your ſelfe, that I ſtriue with all labour, induſtrie, and affection, to obtaine your returne into your countrie: For beſides, that I euer bare you ſingular affection, the great pitie, and feruent loue, which your brethren ſhew towards you; to whom I am growne as friendly as to your ſelfe; permits not, that I ſhould omit any kinde of office, or diligence, or let ſlip any occaſion, to helpe you. But what I haue wrought & compaſſed for you, I had rather you ſhould vnderſtand by their letters, then mine owne. I will only write vnto you, what hopes I haue of your ſafetie, or rather, what I ſtedfaſtly beleeue, and am ſure of. If euer there were a man timorous, in great and dangerous affaires, and that alwayes rather feares contrary euents, then hopes for proſperous, I am the man: and if this be a defect, I muſt confeſſe I haue it. Neuertheleſſe you ſhall vnderſtand, that the laſt of February, betimes in the morning, I going to ſpeake with *Ceſar*: and before I could be admitted in, hauing ſuffered all indignitie, and protractiõ, your brethren being proſtrate at *Ceſars* feete, and with them your kinſmen,

men, I spake whatsoeuer I thought fitting for your purpose: and not onely by *Cæsars* answere, which truely, was fauourable, and courteous, but by his eyes, his countenance, and many other signes, which I could better discerne, then set downe in writing, I tooke such a conceit, as I esteeme your returne most certaine. Be of good cheere therefore, and seeing you wisely supported, the more tempestuous times; beare these also chearefully, that begin to be more temperate. Yet beleeue not, that I will abate a whit of my vsuall diligence: rather I'le follow your matters, as if they stood vpon the worst termes: and not onely to *Cæsar*, but to all his friends also, whom I know very louing vnto me, I will, as hitherto I haue done, preferre earnest supplications, for your safetie. Farewell.

Cicero to Basilius. Ep. 16.

I Congratulate with you: I reioyce with my selfe: I loue you; I protest your affaires: I desire to be certified of your loue to me; and of the newes of your selfe, and of those quarters. Farewell.

Bithynius

Bithynicus to Cicero. Ep. 17.

IF there were not betweene vs in particular many iuſt, and worthie occaſions of friendſhip, I would rip the beginnings thereof, euen from our Fathers: which I will leaue to them to do, who haue not with good offices preſerued paternall amitie. And therefore I'le content my ſelfe, with our friendſhip: which animateth me to entreat you, that you would aſſiſt me, in my abſence, wherein ſoeuer need ſhall require: if you ſtand not in doubt, that I will forget your courteſie. Farewell.

Cicero to Bithynicus. Ep. 18.

FOR many reſpects, I deſire once more to ſee the Common-wealth in better eſtate: but eſpecially that I might be comforted, by that, which you promiſe me: in that you write, if this ſhould come to paſſe, you will be euer with me. It contents me, that you carry ſuch a mind, and the ſame, our inward friendſhip requires; and that opinion, which was ſometimes held of me, by that moſt rare man your father. For I will not deny, but that they, to whom Fortune hath giuen much pow-

er,

er, by the greatneſſe of benefits, may intimate themſelues with you, more then I am able: but beleeue not, that any can loue you aboue my ſelfe. Therefore I ſhall be glad, that you preſerue the memorie of our friendſhip, and affect alſo to augment it. Farewell.

Cicero to Lepta. Ep. 19.

HAuing ſeene, what you wrote in one of yours, that I receiued from your *Seleucus*, I preſently ſent a note to *Balbus*, that hee would let mee know what the Law was [in that poynt.] He anſwered mee, that it forbad, that any one, which was at that preſent Præco, ſhould be made Decurio: but not one that had beene ſo in former times. So that, let theſe our friends bee of good comfort. For indeed, it were too hard a caſe; That whereas in *Rome*, the Senatorian dignitie, was conferred euen vpon the Haruſpices: one might not in a free incorporation, be a Decurio, that in former times had borne office of Præco: There is no newes out of *Spaine*, but take this for certaine, that *Pompeius* hath a great armie. For *Caſar* himſelfe ſent me a copie of a letter, of *Trebatius*, which relates, that he hath eleuen

ten Legions. Beſides this, *Meſſalla* wrote to *Quintus Salaſſus*, how *Pompius* put to death, in the ſight of the Armie, *Quintus Curtius*, his brother, becauſe he had accorded with ſome *Spaniards*, if *Pompius* went to a certaine towne, whither hee reſolued to goe, about the precuſion of corne; to carrie him priſoner to *Ceſar*. Whereas, you write vnto me, of the ſecuritie you put in for *Pompius*: if *Balbus*, who promiſed in your companie, and is a man diligent enough, in matter of his owne benefit, hee returned out of the Countrey, I will not ceaſe to ſpeake to him thereof, to bring the matter to an end: whereof hee ſeemed to conceiue great hope. I am exceeding glad, that my booke of *The perfect Orator*, ſo pleaſeth you. Certainely, I perſwade my ſelfe, that I haue employed therein, all the iudgement I haue, about the Art of an Orator. And if it be ſuch, as you write it ſeemes vnto you, there is ſome matter in mee alſo: if otherwiſe, I deny not, but ſo much may bee taken from the opinion of my iudgement, as is in that booke defective. I would haue our *Lepta* begin to bee delighted, with ſuch like compoſitions. For, although he hath not yet that iudgement, which yeeres will bring vpon him; yet will it no bee without great benefit, if he inure his eares to ſuch like accents. I am not

yet

yet gone out of *Rome*, because my daughter lay in. Now, though she be, as I hope, in good state, yet will I not depart, till I haue receiued of *Dolabella*, the first pension. And to confesse vnto you the truth, I delight no more to goe abroad, as I was wont; I tooke pleasure to visit my Farmes, and to separate my selfe from occupations: now, I haue a house in *Rome*, which in beautie, is inferiour to none of my country buildings; and I am as free from employments, as if I were in the most solitarie place of this world: and I may studie as much as I will, for no man hinders me: therefore I thinke to see you sooner here, then you mee there. Procure that our [young] *Lepta*, may get *Hesiodus* without booke, and let him haue euer in his mouth.

The hill where vertue hath her residence,
Is of a steepe, laborious ascent,
The Gods would haue it so; & 'tis but sense,
That we should sweat, to get so rare content.

Cicero to Lepta. Ep. 20.

IT likes mee well, that *Manlo* hath done this duties; I euer approued of his wine of *Falernum*, for entertainment, so there were house-roome enough,

nough, to lodge my companie. For other matters, the place contents mee very well, but yet I will not forbeare to come to *Petrinum*, becauſe both the village, and the ſeat, is ſo pleaſant, that both one, and other inuites men, not onely to lodge, but to remaine there alwaies. Whereas you write vnto mee, that I ſhould procure you to haue the charge, of ſome of thoſe feſtiuities, which are to be celebrated in the countries: I haue talked theroſ, with *Oppius*: for I ſaw not *Balbus*, ſince your departure, being ſo troubled with a paine in his feet, that he comes not abroad. But you ſhould doe much more wiſely, not to ſeeke theſe employments; for you cannot by this, colour your deſignes: *Ceſars* friends being multiplied in ſuch aboundance, that hee rather leaues ſome, then lets any new ones take place; eſpecially if hee bring nothing but endeauour. wherein he will think, that hee hath done you a fauour, yea, though hee ſhould know, that you did not receiue it. Neuertheleſſe, wee'l ſee what hope there is: for if there be none, I would aduiſe you rather, to eſtrange your thoughts from it, then to haue a deſire thereof. I thinke to ſtay ſome daies in *Aſtura*, till *Ceſar* comes thither. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Toranius. Ep. 21.

HAuing written vnto you, three dayes since, by the seruants of *Curius Plancius*, I will now bee short: and, whereas before I comforted; now Ile aduertise you. I thinke you cannot doe better, then stay where you are, till you bee certaine what you are to doe. For besides, that you shall auoyd the danger, you might incur, by sayling in the winter, so many daies, thorow a tempestuous sea: and besides that, when you shall heare certain newes, you may depart at your own pleasure: you haue no cause, to be so desirous to goe meet *Cæsar*: and moreouer, I am affraid of many things, whereof I reasoned with our friend *Chilo*: and to bring many words within a small compasse: during these emls, you could not bee in a more conuenient place, hauing opportunitie to turne your selfe, whither soeuer necessity cals you. And, if he come hither, you shall haue time to meet him. And, if any thing hinder him, or prolong his comming (as many accidents may fall out) you shall be in a place, where you may vnderstand all newes. Thus think I, and I aduise you not to do otherwise. For the rest, be assured, as many times I haue written for your comfort, that in your

your caſe, you neede to feare nothing, beſides the common ruine of the whole Cite; which though it bee greeuous to tolerate, yet we haue liu'd in ſuch manner, and are of that age, as wee ought valiantly to beare all aduerſities, which may happen, without our fault. All your friends are here in health, & with hearty affection, they deſire, loue, and reuerence you. Looke vnto the preſeruation of your health, and ſtir not from thence, to no purpoſe.

Cicero to Toranius.
Epiſt. 22.

ALthough 'tis thought, that the end of this peſtiferous warre is now at hand, or that ſome effect hath enſued; yet I cannot, but daily thinke, how you alone, in ſo great an armie, ſhould be of the ſame opinion I am: And that wee onely, ſaw what ill was in that warre; wherein, all hope of peace excluded, the victorie it ſelfe muſt needs be terrible, which brought death, if you were vanquiſhed; if Victor, the yoke of ſeruitude. Whereupon I, whom thoſe valiant and wiſe men, the Domitij, and Lentuli, then ſaid was timorous (as indeed

deed I was; for I fear'd what came to passe) doe now feare nothing, and am prepared against euerie accident. when I supposed, that some part of the losses, which afterwards wee sustained, might haue beene preuented; then I grieued, that they prouided not for the same. But now, euerie thing being ruinated, no councell auailing vs, there remaines no other remedie, but with patience to support all euents: especially death; being the last period of humane miseries. And I knowing, that I haue laboured to maintaine the dignitie of the Commen-wealth, so long as I could; and able to do no more; I haue endeuoured at least, the preseruation of her safety. This I haue written, not to vse speech of my selfe, but to giue you occasion to think theron; you euer hauing wished, & aduised the same, that I did. For 'tis a singular comfort, when a man cals to mind, that though the contrary hapned, neuertheless, that he alwayes perswaded that, which reason & conscience did read vnto him. And I would to God, that we might once see the Common-wealth, in some state; and that enioying each other, we may compare our afflictions together, which we then suffered, when we were reputed timorous, because we foretold those things which haue ensued. As for your affaires, be assured, that you haue no cau'e,

cause, to feare any other thing, but the generall ruine of the Common-wealth. Of me constantly beleeue, that wherein I may be assisting to you, your safetie, and to your children; I will euer be readie, with the greatest care, and diligence possible. Farewell.

Cicero to Domitius.
Ep. 23.

IF I haue not written to you, since your comming into *Italie*; the reason onely was, because I could promise you nothing; being in so miserable an estate: neither could I aduise you, my selfe wanting councell: and in so grieuous tribulations, I found no manner of comfort to giue you. And though matters are not now a whit bettered, but stand in worser termes then before: yet I tooke occasion rather to write without matter, then not to write at all. Though you were one of those, that sought to labour more for the Common-wealth, then their power would permit: neuertheless, in what I could, I would exhort you, to liue with those

those conditions, which may be granted you. But, having imparted thereto your resolute, and commendable councell, which Fortune will haue to be the bounds of our contentions: I pray, and conjure you, by our entire, and auncient amitie, and by that great loue we beare one another, that for my comfort, your Fathers, your mothers, your wiues, and all your progenies, to whom you are, and euer were most deare; to preserue your selfe; and to haue a care of that which may turne to the good of your estate, and of those that depend on you. Now is the time to reduce to action, the documents which with long studie you haue learn'd out of the writings of wise men. In doing of which, you shall support, though not willingly, at least with patience, the desire of those friends you haue lost. I know not mine owne worth: nay, I conceiue my worth to be but small; but neuertheleſſe I promise you, that I will as effectually labour that, which I thinke may stand with your safetie, and dignitie, as you with singular industrie and loue, euer prosequuted my occasions. And this my good will, I haue manifested to your most louing mother, a woman of great bountie, and goodneſſe. If you commit any thing to me; I will doe

what

whatſoeuer I may imagine, ſtands to your liking. And alſo if you write not vnto me; I vvill notwithſtanding with all care, and diligence doe, what-ſoeuer I ſee may redound to your benefit.

Farewell.

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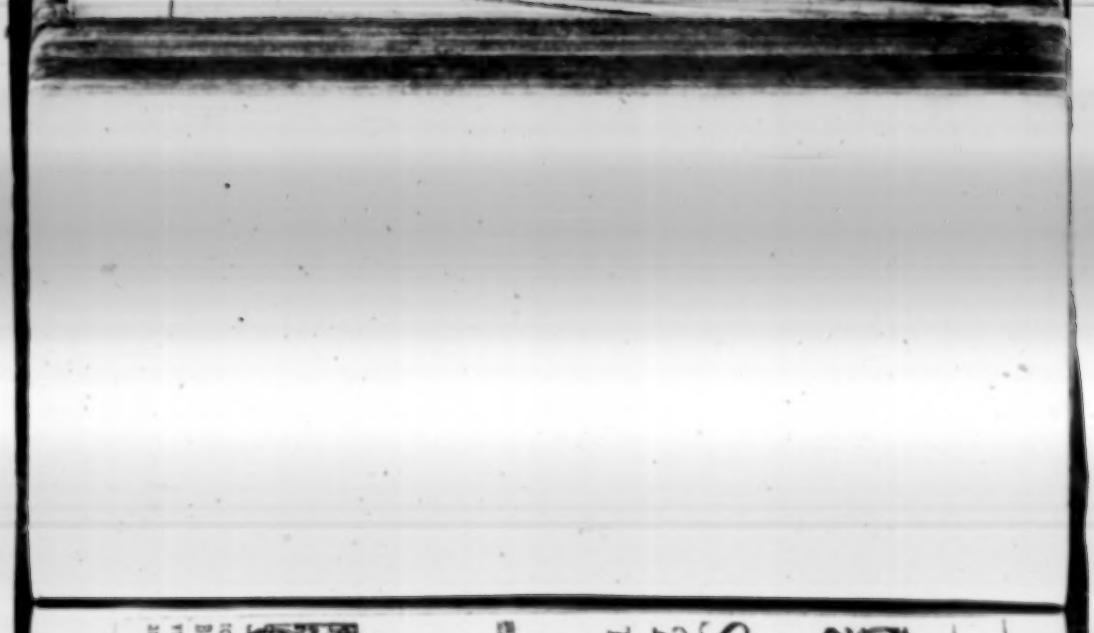

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Marcus Marius. Epist. 1.

IF any bodily griefe, or your vsuall indisposition hath detain'd you, from comming to the publike sports; I ascribe it rather to Fortune, then to your wisedome. But if you reputed these things vaine, which by others haue beene admired; and beir- ble, yet vvould not come: the

the one, and other please me well; both that you are healthfull of bodie; and that you had so prudent a minde, in contemning those things, which others admire vvithout cause; so that, you haue reaped the fruit of your vacancie, vvhich you might wonderfully enioy, remaining as it were alone, in that Paradise. Neither doe I therefore doubt, but you spend all the morning, in reading, and studying in that roome of yours, from whence you may discerne, *Stabianum*, & *Sciarum*. At which time, they that left you there, being drovvse, beheld amongst the multitude, those, vvhich represented Comedies. The other houres of the day, you after spent in those pleasures, that for your recreation you made choice of: vvheras vve, vvere vr'gd, to heare the Comedies, vvhich *Publius Mæcius* forsooth approued of. In truth, if you desire, I should tell you; I must needs say, the sports vvere as honourable set forth as might be, but not to your liking: vvhereof I iudge according to mine ovvne inclination. First, for greater honour to the Festiuitie; they return'd to the Stage, vvho, I thought, for their reputations sake, had left it. Then our *Æsope*, who so much delights you, bare himselfe so ill, as he should haue done euery man a fauour, not to haue gone forward in his part; for hauing begunne to sweare,

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his voyce fail'd him in that [very] place, *If I commit any deceit wittingly.* I need not deſcribe the reſt vnto you, you knowing how the other players are. Neither need I to tell you that they had not the pleaſing, or gratefull ſpeeches of ordinary players. For the pomp tooke away the pleaſure; and I am moſt ſure, you will be very glad you ſaw it not. For, to ſee 600. Mules in [the Tragedie of] *Clytemneſtra*; or three thouſand ſtanding cups in a *Troians horſe*; or ſundrie armed ſhowes of horſe, and foot, in a battaile; what delight yeelds it? the vulgar admire theſe things, but they would no waies haue contented you. If in thoſe dayes you made your *Proteges* ſet read vnto you, ſo he read not my Orations, vndoubtedly you found farre ſweeter recreation, then any of vs. For as for the *Grecian*, or *Oſtian* ſports, I thinke you neuer deſir'd to ſee them, in that you may ſee the *Oſtian*, in our Senate; and the *Grecian* you ſo deteſt, that you accuſtome not to goe to your countrie Farme by the Greeke way. And why ſhould I imagine, that you deſire to ſee the Champions, when you would neuer ſee the Fencers? wherein *Pompius* himſelfe confeſſeth, that he hath meerely loſt his time, and charge, in exerciſing them. Beſides this: For fiue whole dayes, I dense not but there were euery day two magnifi-

cent baytings; but what pleasure can an vnderstanding man take, when by a forcible and strong beast a weake man is torne in peeces; or when a goodlie beast, is with a speare goared through, from one side to the other? These things if they were worthie of sight, thou hast seene them more then once: and we that haue beene there before, saw nothing new or strange. The last day, was of the Elephants: who, strooke the people into great wonder, but gaue no delight; rather a compassion: and men in some sort thought, that, that kinde beast, did participate of humane nature. But because you may not imagine, but that in those dayes, I was not onely happie, but free: I will not forget to aduertise you, how at the same time, when the Comedies were represented, I was like to breake with the games, I tooke in defending the cause of *Galla Cantrina*, your familiar friend. And if the people fauour'd me, as highly as they did *Æsope* before God, I would leaue the art willingly, and liue with you, and our equals. For if this kind of life, did not please me, then, when both my yeares, and ambition, excited me to follow it; and when I was not bound to defend any, but such as I thought well of; neither was I bound to defend whom I would not, now I am so weary of it, that I can follow it no more. For

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I expect no fruit of my labours; and ſometimes I am enforced, to defend ſuch an one, as hath done me an iniurie, at their entreaties, that haue benefited me. Wherefore, I daily caſt about, how I may one day liue, after mine owne humour: and I cannot expreſſe vnto you, how praiſe worthie I hold your reſolution; and how I am ſatisfied to ſee you liue ſo retired. And I giue the leſſe, for your comming ſo ſeldome to ſee vs, for if you were at Rome, neither could I enioy your ſweete converſation, nor you make vſe of mine, be it what it will be, by reaſon of my troubleſome negotiations: from which (I can but eaſe my ſelfe, (for I ſeeke not to be altogether free'd,) I haue a mind not onely to teach others, but your ſelfe alſo; who for ſo many years, haue ſtudied nothing elſe, what that life is, which may truely be call'd a life. Attend you as you doe, to maintaine, and preſerue your ſelfe, in this your weake conſtitution: to the end that we may viſite our countrie houſes together, and at eaſe, range vp and downe, here and there, in our Letters. I haue beene longer then I vſe to be; not through the aboundance of my time, but out of loue: you hauing halfe inuited me in a certaine Epiſtle, to write ſomewhat, which might make you not repent, that you were not at the ſports. Wherein if I

haue giuen you satisfaction, I am glad: if not, I will be of good hope, that at other time you will come to see them, and visite vs; not expecting, that my letters should herein giue you full contentment. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marius. Epist. 2.

I Will diligently performe what you enioyne me: but certainly you were verie circumspect to commit the enterprise to one, who for his owne interest, desires, that the thing may be sold very deare: but you shew'd wit in limiting me the price, for which, I was to buy it. For if you had referr'd your selfe to me; as my loue is towards you, I would haue enioyn'd my coheires to haue giuen you satisfaction therein. But now I know what you will spend, I will vnderhand send a person, that shall offer neare your price: that there be no sale made vnder the price you offer: But no more resting. I will obserue you with that diligence, which I ought. As for *Burra*, I am sure, you receiue great contentment; but you reioyce too coldly with me; supposing, as you write, that by reason of his ignobilitie I esteeme the

the mirth the lesse, Be assured, that I was more ioyfull at this sentence, then when *Clodius* was slaine. First, because I loue rather to ouercome with reason, then with armes: then, because it is pleasing to me, to ouercome rather with the gloree, then ruine of my friend. And aboue all, it lik'd mee, that good Citizens haue manifested so great affection to me, though they perceiued in opposition, the preualent practises, and infinite desire of *Pompeius*, a man so honorable, and potent. Last of all, which could scarcelie seeme probable, I wish't worse to this man, then to *Clodius* himselfe: For so *Clodius*, in opposing him, I had done an iniurie: and to this defending him, a benefit: and *Clodius* aimed at an high enterprize, seeing all the Commonwealth was to runne the same Fortune with me; neither did hee moue of himselfe, but through their assistance, who, I being safe, could not be safe themselues. But this foolish creature, for his recreation, went about to molest me: and made some that enuied me, beleeue, that hee would alwaies be galling of me. I pray therefore reioyce exceedinglie. A great victorie is obteined. There were neuer more resolued Citizens then they, who durst attempt to condemne him, against *Pompeius* power, who had chosen them for his iudges; which they

would neuer haue come, if they had not beene touched at the heart, with my passion. Wee are so incombred heere, with aboundance of Iudges, and new lawes; that euerie day wee pray that some suspension follow not, to the end that, as soons as may be, wee may see you. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marini. Epist. 3.

WHEN I consider, (as many times I doe) on the common miseries, wherein for so manie yeares wee haue liued; and for any thing I see, are like still to liue; I call to minde that time, when we were last together. Nay, I remember the day it selfe: For on the xiii. of May, in the yeere, when *Lentulus* and *Marcellus* were Consuls; I comming in the euening into *Pompeianum*, you came presently vnto me, with a minde much troubled; And the griefe did arise partly from thinking on my office; and in part also for my danger. If I remained in *Italie*, you doubted least I should faile in my office: and if I went to the ciuill war; you feared I should runne into some imminent perill. At which time you might

might perceiue me alſo, ſo diſturb'd, and depriued of all counſell, that I knew not how to elect the beſt. Neuertheleſſe, I choſe rather to yeelde to the feare of infamie, then to reſpect mine owne ſafetie. Which afterwards I grieued at; not ſo much for feare of danger, as for the many defects I found there, whither I was gone. Firſt, the Armie was but little and weake: then, except the Captaine, and ſome few others, (I ſpeake of the cheefeſt) the reſt were in the warre it ſelfe ſo rauenous, and in words ſo contumelious, that the victorie it ſelfe aſtoniſht mee. I may further adde, that the honourableſt Citizens, of our parts, were much charged with debt, What ſhould I ſay more? There was nothing elſe good; but the occaſion of the enterpriſe. Which hauing obſerued, I diſpairing of victorie, firſt began to counſell peace, as alwaies my cuſtome was. Then Pompeius being very farre from this opinion, I began to [illegible] him, to draw the warre out at length. Whereunto ſometimes hee conſented, and ſaid he would doe it; and would peraduenture haue ſo done, if after a certaine encounter, he had not growen too confident in the force of his ſouldiers: neither afterwards, did that man, ſo highly euer eſteemed, any thing beſeeming a good Captaine.

With a new Armie, raised in diuerse places, hee ioyned battaile, with tough and lustie souldiers. Whereupon remaining vanquished, and hauing lost, euen his lodging Tents, alone reproachfully, hee betooke himselfe to flight. And this was my end of the warre: it appearing vnlikely to mee, that being so broken, wee could rest victors, in that wee were not equall, when we were most entire. I departed from that warre, wherein it was necessarie, either by fighting to die; or to light vpon some treacheries; or fall into the hands of the vanquisher; or haue recourse to King *Iuba*; or to bee retir'd into voluntarie banishment; or else make choice to kill my selfe. Certainely nothing else could thereon ensue; being neither willing, nor daring, to put thy selfe into the Conquerours hands. But of all the foresaid discommodities, there was none more tollerable then exile; especiallie to him that is innocent; when no further infamie concurr'd therein: and when you are depriu'd of that Cittie, where you can behold nothing without griefe. I made choice to liue amongst my friends, (if one may say, that any man hath now right in any thing) & yet I was plea'd, to be with my friends. I prognosticated what did afterwards ensue. I came home, not with hope to remaine there very

very contented; but ſo there were any forme of a Common-wealth, to be reſident as it were in my countrie: if there were not; to liue as it were in banishment. Me thought I had no occaſion, to offer my ſelfe death; yet many, to deſire it. For we commonly ſay, that a man ſhould no longer eſteeme his life, when hee is no more the ſame man hee was. But notwithſtanding to be guilteſſe, is a great extenuation of affliction: eſpecially hauing two things for my ſuſtentation, the knowledge of the moſt commended arts; and the glorie atchiued by my worth; the one of which cannot be taken away from mee in life; nor the other after death. I haue beene troubleſome to you, with this ſo tedious a diſcourſe; but knowing you to be moſt louing to me, and the Commonwealth, I meant abſolutely to lay open my minde vnto you: firſt to ſhew you, how I neuer would condiſcend, that the power of one Citizen ſhould be greater, then of the whole Commonwealth. But after that through ſome mans fault the forces of one particular man ſo encreaſed, that there was no meanes to reſiſt him, I affected peace: and the Armie being loſt, and that Captaine in whom our hopes did liue; my deſire was, that all the reſt, ſhould haue giuen ouer the warre; but not obtaining this my ſelfe alone left it:

and now if this be a Citie, I make account to be a citizen; if it bee not, I suppose my selfe to bee an exile, in a place, where I remaine in no worse condition, then if I were in *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. I desir'd rather to haue discoursed of these things with you face to face; but because I saw, I should not so soone finde opportunitie, I thought good now to write them: to the end that if you chance to bee in any place, where any speake sinisterly of me, you may know how to defend me. For there are some, who, though my death would no waies aduantage the Commonwealth; yet they thinke it a great sinne, that I decline. And these men, I am certaine, thinke the number of them that were slaine in this warre, to be very small: who if they had followed my aduise, though with vniust peace, yet with honour, they might haue liued. For they should haue beene inferior in armes onely, but not in equitie. Here is a longer Epistle then peraduenture you desired; and I shall beleeue you take it so, except you write me another longer. If I can dispatch some businesses of mine owne, I hope shortly I shall see you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Marcus Marius. Epiſt. 4.

THE xiiii. [of this preſent] I came into *Cumanum* with our *Libo*: I thinke preſently to goe to *Pompeianum*, but I'le firſt let you know of it. I deſire, that you ſhould be alwaies healthfull; but more queſtionleſſe while wee are together. For you ſee we ſhall ſhortly meet. Wherefore if you determined to applie any remedie to the gowte, deferre it while another time. Be carefull therefore of your health, and expect me within two, or three daies. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cæſar Imperator. Epiſt. 5.

BEhold, how ſecure I am, that your minde is no waies different from mine, not onely in my owne occaſions, but alſo in thoſe of my friends. I thought to haue brought *Caius Trebatius* in my company, whither ſoeuer I went, with an intent to do him all the honour and fauours, that poſſiblie I could: But ſeeing *Pompeius* iourney growes much

longer

longer then I supposed: and in that I may easily, for a certaine suspition that you are priuie to, either stay, or at least prolong my departure: see what securitie I repose in you: I haue begun to resolue that *Trebatius* shall attend for that from you, which hee hoped for from me: and I haue promised him no lesse, in your good affection, then I was wont to assure him of mine owne. But there hath happened a wonderfull accident, as it were to assure mee, that my conceite was not vaine; and to secure me of your fauour. For our friend *Balbus*, being in my house; and I speaking affectionately to him, of the foresaid *Trebatius*, a letter of yours was brought me, in the end of which you wrote thus: I will make *Marcus Varius*, whom you commend vnto mee, either king of *Gall*, or *Lepta's* Ambassabour. If you please, send mee another, that may for your sake, be honoured. I and *Balbus* blisse our selues, that this should happen at such a time, as it seemed not fallen out by chance, but euen sent from heauen. Behold therefore, I send vnto you *Trebatius*; and so much the more willinglie, because besides mine owne desire you inuite me to send him also. I entreat you my *Cæsar*, to embrace him with that humanitie, which is so incident to your owne nature, and to conferre those benefits vpon him alone

alone, which for my ſake, you would procure any friend of mine. And this I aſſure you in his behalfe, not with my old manner of ſpeech, whereat writing to you, of *Milo*, you worthily laughed: but after the *Roman* manner, as diſcreet men ſpeake; that there is no man, that in bountie, valour, or modeſtie, goes beyond him; whereunto may bee added, for the greater ornament of his other qualities, a ſingular memorie, and perfect knowledge of that, which appertaines to the gouernment of Cities. I doe not require you, to make him a Praefect, or a Tribune, or to giue him any other dignitie, onely I deſire, that you would loue him, and vouchſafe him your accuſtomed courteſie. And yet, I ſhall not take it ill, if you pleaſe to aduance him, with ſuch like titles of glory. And finally, ridding him, as they ſay, out of mine owne hands, I put him into yours, ſo famous for victorie, and promiſe obſerued. But it may be, I vſe more ceremonies in this, then your courteous diſpoſition comporteth: But for thoſe, I doubt not, but wee ſhall finde a fitter opportunitie hereafter. Be carefull of your health; and continue the loue you beare me. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Trebatius. Epist. 6.

INeuer write to *Cæsar*, nor *Balbus*, but I recommend you; and that not with cold, but with such feruent words, as they giue great notice of the loue, which I professe vnto you. But I pray you, shake off these fantasies, and that same humour of returning to a Citie life: and with care, and resolution, striue to obtaine that you hoped for, vpon your departure. And wee your friends will as readily pardon this, as those noble and rich Matrones pardoned *Medea*, that inhabited in the high Castle of *Corinthus*: whom, with her white hand, she made beleeue, that they ought not to reprehend her, because she liu'd remote from her Countrey.

For in the lands of strangers,
Haue risen many rangers,
And haue their Countries publique good procured.
Many in their owne cottage,
Possest with drowzie dotage,
Haue their whole life without renowne endured.

Among which, questionlesse, you had beene one, if we by violence, had not driuen you from hence. But another time,

one. I'le write more at large. Now, you that haue ſtudied to open other mens eyes, open ſo your owne, that you be not deceiued by the Charretiers of *Britannia*. And, ſeeing I haue begun to enter into that paſſage of *Medea*, reſerue this alwaies in your minde; That *hee's not wiſe, that's not wiſe for his owne profit.* Looke to your health.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 7.

I Forget not to recommend you: but I would faine heare from you ſomething, about the effects thereof. I haue great hope in *Balbus*; to whom I often write effectually of you. I wonder much, that when I receiue letters from my brother, you write not to mee. I vnderſtand, that in *Britannia*, there's neither gold, nor ſiluer: if it bee ſo, I would wiſh you out of hand, to take a charriot, and returne preſently to vs: but in caſe, that without *Britannia*, we may compaſſe our intention, ſeeke to thruſt in, amongſt *Cæſars* Familiars. Wherein my brother, and *Balbus*, will greatly aſſiſt you; but aſſuredly, more your owne modeſtie, and deſerts. You ſeruе one, who, beſides many meanes that

that he hath to preferre you, is by nature most liberall. You are of an age verie apt to serue him. And by mee, most assuredly, you are recommended with all efficacie: so that you needde to feare but one thing, [which is] that you neglect not your selfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epist. 8.

CÆSAR hath written very friendly vnto me, how you haue yet no great familiaritie with him, in regard of his great employments; but that without faile, you shal haue hereafter. And I returned answer vnto him, how acceptable euerie fauour and courtesie that he did for you, would be vnto me. But in your letters, I obserue too great haste; and I cannot conceiue, why you refused the benefit of the Tribuneship, especially in that you should haue beene free from the trouble of executing it. I will expostulate thereof, with *Varrro*, and *Manilius*, but not with *Cornelius* because, confessing, that you were instructed by him, you cannot commit an error without some imputation to himselfe. I pray, make vse of this opportunitie and occasion, for you will

will neuer finde a better. Concerning that you write vnto mee, about that Doctor *Prætianus*, I ceaſe not to remember you to him. And hee in like manner writes to mee, that you haue occaſion to bee beholding to him. I would faine know wherein: and I look that you ſhould write often to mee out of *Britannia*. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 9.

THeſe many daies I know not what you doe; for you write nothing to me, nor for theſe two moneths haue I written to you. Seeing you were not with my brother *Quintus*, I knew not whether, nor by whom to write, I deſire to know, where you are, and where you meane to winter. I could bee glad it were with *Cæſar*: but I durſt not write to him thereof, knowing how diſcontented hee is now: but I haue written of it to *Balbus*. See you bee not forgetfull of your ſelfe, and returne a little the later, to returne the richer: you need not make haſte to come hither, eſpecially *Vacerra* being dead. But you want no counſell. I would faine know, what reſolution you haue vndertaken.

Cæſar

Cneius Octauius, or whether it be *Cneius Cornelius*, your familiar friend, borne of a noble family, of which no man hath notice; knowing that I am your friend, inuites mee often to supper with him. But hitherto hee could neuer bring mee thither; and yet I accept of his good will. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epist. 10.

I Haue read your letters, by which I vnderstood, how our *Caesar* is of opinion, that in the knowledge of the Lawes you are very profound. You haue cause to reioyce, that you are gotten into a Country, where it is thought you know somewhat. And if you had also gone into *Britannia*, vndoubtedly, in that so great an Iland, you would not haue met with your equall. But neuertheleſſe (I may well laugh, seeing you inuite me to it) I beare you a kinde of enuie, that you were called by him, to whose friendſhip, not through any pride in himſelfe, but by reaſon of his many negotiations, others cannot attaine. But in theſe letters, you write nothing to me of your affaires, which certainely touch me, as neerely as mine

omne. I am afraid, lest this winter, you be frozen, and therefore I wish you, to keepe alwayes a good fire. *Mutius*, and *Manilius* concur with me in this opinion, as they that know, that you are not very well furnished with clothes: though I heare, that you in those parts, meet with them that set you on heat. Through which aduertisement, I feared much your occasions. But you are much more circumspect in the Art of war, then in pleading. For, though you can swim excellent well, yet you were not willing to swim in the Ocean, nor to see the Charretiers of *Britannia*: although, when you were at *Rome*, you neuer fail'd to goe see them run, and manage horses. How effectually I haue written to *Cæsar* in your behalfe, your selfe knowes: how often, I know. It is true, that for this many daies, I discharg'd not this office; onely because I would not seeme, to distrust in his infinite courtesie, and of the singular affection that he beares me; notwithstanding, in these last that I wrot, I thought to renue your recommendation to him. And I would bee glad to know, what I haue wrought, and withall of your estate, and all your designes. And therefore I desire to know, what you doe, what you expect, and how long you thinke, to liue from vs: and bee assured, that I cannot endure your absence

fence, if I perceiue not, that it is for your good. For otherwise, we are both the foolishest men in the world: I, because I seeke not to draw you to *Rome*; you, because you come not away flying. One meeting that we haue together, whether it bee about graue, or trifling matters; is certainly more worth then, not onely our enemies, but the very *Edui* our brethren. And therefore let me know all, as soone as you can: For, *by comfort, counsell, or effect, I'le further you.* Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 11.

IF you were not a'readie departed from *Rome*, you would now certainly haue a desire to leaue it. For in so many *Interregnum's*, who hath need of a Lawyer? I would aduise all Doctors, to demand two Aduocateships of euery *Interrex*. Doe you not thinke that I am a great proficient in your Law termes? But tell me, what doe you? how goe matters? for I see, that you beginne to iest. These signes are better, then the Statues of my *Tusculanum*, the which we also cal signes. But I desire to know, what this imports. You write, that *Cæsar* takes your Councell: I would be gladder,

gladder, that he tooke counsell of himselfe, to doe you some good. And if he doe it, or that you hope he will doe it, beare with this warre, and leaue it not. For I, with the hope of your benefit, will moderate my desire of seeing you. But if you see no way, to enrich your selfe there, returne to *Rome*: For here, either you shall at one time or other get somewhat; or if not, one discourse betwixt vs, will questionlesse bee worth more, then all the *Samarobrinæ* that are in the world. Besides, if you returne presently: you shall minister no great matter of rumour, or talke; but if you continue long abroad, without anie profit, I am much afraid, not onely of *Laberius*, but of *Valerius* also our companion; For, in a Comedie, the person of a Doctor of *Britannia* may fitly bee represented. Doe you laugh? I laugh not; but, of a most important matter, as my vse is, I write iestingly vnto you. But now to lay aside all ieasts, I most lowsly entreat you, if by the meanes of my letters, you be honored, as you deserue, that you will curbe the desire of being with vs, and seeke to augment your reputation, and benefit. But if matters goe ill forward, returne hither. But be certaine, that with your own worth, and with those offices I performe, in recommending you most effectuallie, you shall obtaine the end of all your desires. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 12.

I Could not imagine the cause, why you gaue ouer writing to me. But my friend *Paulus* tells me, that you are become an *Epicurean*. Oh! what an honorable warre? what would you haue done, if I had sent you to *Tarentum*, and not to *Samarobrina*? I neuer liked you since, you commended the life whereunto *Titius* also my familiar acquaintance, meant to applie himselfe. But how will you defend ciuill equitie, doing euery thing for your owne interest, and nothing for your citizens? what will that part of the law benefit you, which commands, that amongst good men, promise be kept? how can he be a good man, that does nothing for any man, but himselfe? how will you shew, that, that which is common ought to be deuided: if they which onely respect their owne delight, will haue nothing common? How would you haue men sweare by *Ioue*, if you thinke that *Ioue* cannot be angrie, with any bodie? And how shall the people of the *Vbieans* doe, if you be of opinion, that a man must take no care of publicke things? I am therefore verie sorrie, if it be true, that you are entred into the schoole of *Epicurus*: but if you counterfeit, to humor

Paulus,

Pauſe, for your profit; I excuſe you: ſo you will ſometimes write, what you doe, and what you would haue me doe, or procure for you. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 13.

HOw come you to conceiue, that I ſhould be ſo vnreaſonable, as to be angrie with you, becauſe you ſeemed ſo ſtable, and deſirous to returne to *Rome*; and that for this cauſe, I forbare long time to write vnto you? It's true, that the griefe and diſcontentment of your minde, which I perceiued in your firſt letters, troubled mee verie much. But I omitted to write vnto you, for no other cauſe, but becauſe I knew not where you were, and yet you complaine, and accept not of my excuſe. Alas! I pray tell me my *Trebatius*, is it money that makes you ſo preſumptuous? or is it becauſe *Cæſar*, ſo great a Captaine employes you? I would I might die, if I doe not thinke, (ſuch is your vaine-glorie) that you had rather be employed by *Cæſar*, then to bee gilded ouer with gold. But be it the one and the other; who will ſupport your pride, beſides my ſelfe, who am a man apt to endure euery thing? But to returne to my purpoſe, I am very glad, that

that you remaine there so willingly: and as your former discontentment was grieuous to me, so now I am delighted, to see you contented. Oncie I am in doubt, that your Art, will helpe you but little. For I vnderstood, that there,

No man decides his cause by law:
But being crost begins to draw.

And you are not a man, to maintaine quarells: nay, I know you to bee so modest, that your aduersaries cannot put in this plea against you, that you with armed power, were the first to assaile them. But that I may giue you some item also, of those that are not in your bookes, I aduise you to take heed of the *Treuiri*. I heare that they are cruell. I had rather they were rich: But another time peraduenture, I shall haue more leisure to iest. I pray write vnto mee diligently, how al matters are carried there: the iij. of March. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Epist. 14.

CHrysippus Pettius, free-man to Cyrus the Architect, made me thinke that you had not yet forgotten me. For hee saluted me in your name, you are

,,owne very coy, that you vouchsafe not to write to me, who am so neere a friend vnto you. And if you can write no more: there will bee found but few hereafter, whom you are like to ouerthrow in their suites. But if you haue forgotten me, I will endeauour to come vnto you, before I be cleane razed out of your memorie. If also, the feare of the sommer debilitate you; deuise some excuse, as you did, about *Brutus*. The foresaid *Chrysippus* told me, to my singular contentment, that you are one of *Cæsars* intimates, but certainely it would like me better, and more reason there is, that I should haue daily information of your proceedings, by your owne letters. To which desire questionlesse you had neuer giuen cause, if with as great care, you had learn'd the lawes of amitie, as you did those that belong to pleading. But all this I speake by way of ieſt; as you are wont to doe, and I too sometimes I beare you vnfeined affection, and I desire; yea, verily I beleeue, that you do the same. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 15.

HOw hard a matter 'tis to contein them that loue; this may teach you. Firſt you made me diſpaire, in that you would not remaine where you are. And now I no leſſe deſpaire, in that you write, that you continue there willingly. Then, I was vexte, becauſe you were not contented to be recommended by my letters; now, I am diſpleas'd, becauſe you liue contented, being ſeparated from me. But yet I had rather ſuffer the want of my preſent deſire, then not to behold you in that ſtate, I hope to ſee you in. I cannot vtter, how glad I am, that you are entred into amitie, with *Caius Matius*, a courteous and learned man. Vſe all meanes poſſible, to endeare him to you. Vndoubtedly in this Prouince, you cannot make a greater purchaſe. See you looke vnto your health. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 16.

IN the Tragedie entituled *the Troiane Horſe*; it's written as you know towards the end. *The Troianes wil be*

gins too late: But you, little one, delayed not long to get wit. In the beginning you wrote letters to mee full of complaints rather foolish, then otherwise. Afterwards you were not very fond to see *Britannia*, for which, I cannot blame you; and now, I see you whollie addicted, to the winter residences: and you thinke not to stir a foote. You must be wise euery way; [for] this is the course to improue you. If I did vse to sup abroad, I would haue satisfied *Cneius Octauius* in his desire. But I could not forbeare, hee inuiting me so often, to aske him, who he was? Not to test: he is an honest man: I would you had taken him along with you. Let me vnderstand by all meanes what you doe, and whether you meane to come into *Italie* this winter. *Balbus* writes to me of a certaintie, that you'le become a rich man. I will not now examine, whether hee spake after the *Romane* phrase, that you were to haue money enough, or else according to the *Stoicks*, who affirme, that all they are rich, which enjoy heauen, and earth. As many as come from thence, auerre, that you are so haughtie, as you see me to answer, to a demand made: Neuertheless you haue reason to reioyce; in that it is generally knowne, that at *Samarobrina*, there is not a learneder man in the laws, then your selfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epist. 17.

I Haue giuen my brother thankes, as you wrote [I should:] and now finally I may commend you; seeing at last your determinations are firme, and stable. In the first moneths you touch'd me much to anger: and sometimes (I'll tell it yee, with your patience) you appeared very mutable, in desiring to returne to *Rome*; sometimes to counterfeit; otherwhiles timerous, in those commands that are imposed vpon soldiers; and often, which was not wont to be your fashion, selfe-presumption, and impudent: For you would presently returne, full of mone; as if you had gone to *Cæsar*, with a bill of exchange, and not with a letter of recommendation. And you remembred not how they that went to *Alexandria*, with letters of exchange to recouer their debts, haue not yet receiued so much as one Harrington. If I had aimed at mine owne profit, I would vndoubtedly haue desired to keepe yee about me: for your conuersation yeelded me no small contentment; and your counsell, and endeauours, were verie beneficiall. But knowing the trust you repos'd in me, and the affection

you

you bare me, euen from your younger yeares; I had euer a minde, not onlie to preſerue your eſtate, but to encreaſe both your honor, and profit. Wherefore, when I had an opinion to goe into my Prouince, you may remember what place I offered you, without being entreated. But after I changed my reſolution, perceiuing how *Cæſar* held me in good eſteeme, and loued me affectionatelie: and knowing his wonderfull courteſie and rare conſtancie; I ſent you to him; and recommended you, with the greateſt efficacie, poſſible. And he hath often written to me, that for my ſake he will ſhew you all fauors. Euen as to your ſelfe alſo, both in words, and effects, he hath manifeſted. Hauing therefore light vpon ſuch a man: if you thinke I either know any thing, or wish you well, neglect him not: and if any thing perad-uenture offend you; ſuppoſing, that either through his great occupations, or that he is not able, he doth not ſo ſodainely remunerate your ſeruice: beare a while, and expect the end; which will yeeld you, honor, and contentment. And take my ſecurtie for the time. It boots not that I ſpend more words in perſwading you; onlie I giue you this aduiſe, that neither, to purchaſe abſolutelie the loue of ſo honourable a man, and ſo liberall, nor to ſettle you in a

Prouince of worthie employments, ſhall you euer light vpon the like occaſion. Beſides, your bodilie vigor, can neuer be better. And (as you vſe to write in your bookes.) So thought *Quintus Cornelius*, I am verie glad you went not into *Britannia*; both becauſe you ſuffered not the diſcommodities [of ſuch a iourney,] and in that you haue not to relate vnto me thoſe euents. I praie write vnto mee, where you meane to keepe your winter, and with what hope, and condition. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius. Ep. 18.

I Receiued at one inſtant ſome letters of yours, that were written at diuerſe times: Euery thing pleaſed me: that you prepare your ſelfe for this warre; and that you are a worthie fellow. And though at the firſt you ſeemed to me ſomewhat vnconſtant; yet I thought not, that this proceeded from a wauering minde, but from an ardent deſire to be with me. Giue not ouer therefore, ſo promiſing a beginning; paſſe thorough this warlike employment with an inuincible minde. Aſſure you, you'le gaine much thereby. I'le renue your commendation: but when the time

ſhall

ſhall be ſitting. Build vpon this, that you cannot deſire more then my ſelfe, that your preſent abſence may be very beneficiall. And in teſtimonie thereof, conceiuing that your lawes doe not helpe you much, I ſent you ſome few dayes ſince, a letter in *Greeke*, by vvhich you might be ayded. I pray write vnto me, of the ſucceſſe of the warres of *Gallia*. For I giue credit, to euery fooliſh and idle fellowes reports. But as I ſaid, all that you wrote pleaſed me; onely I maruailed, that you wrote againſt all common vſe; many letters with your owne hand, of one, and the ſame tenor. For, as for writing to me, vpon raſed paper, like your frugaliſme, and I commend you for it: But I am a conſidering, what it might be that was firſt written there; vvhich you vvould rather cancell, then vvrite out: valeſſe peraduenture, they were your law cares. For I cannot be perſwaded, that you would raze out my letters, to inſert your owne. Was it happily your meaning to let me know, that your employments, were vnfruitfull, and that you get not ſo much, as may buy you paper? This is your owne fault, who carryed with you ſhameſullneſſe, and would not leaue it behind you here with vs. I'le commend you to *Baldus*, when he comes thither, after the *Romane* manner, that is, with all efficacie:

and if you receiue not my letters so saddainely, doe not wonder. For I will be abroad all the moneth of Aprill. I write this in *Pontianus*, staying a while, in the Farme, of *Marcus Æmilius Philemo*: From whence I was wont, to heare the noise of my Clients, who by your meanes, committed themselues to my care. For 'twas confidently told me, that a multitude of frogs were assembled together in *Velabro*, to come and visite me. Farewell. The 29. of Aprill, from *Pontianus*.

THough your letter which *Lucius Arruntius* deliuer'd me, was very innocent; because it contein'd nothing, that might not securely haue beene read in the hearing of the people: yet I rent it, as well because of *Lucius Arruntius* words; who said, that he receiu'd from you the like commission; as because in the end of the selfe same letter you put me in minde to doe so: but no more of this. I maruaile that you neuer since wrote vnto me; especially so great newes hauing occured. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 19.

SEE, whether I loue you: (though certainely vpon iuſt occaſion: for, I doe not goe beyond you in loue) for being now farre off, I could not withhold that from you, which in *Rome* I would not grant, nor ſo much as promiſe you: wherefore, ſo ſoone as I departed from *Velia*, I began a ſhip-boord, to compoſe the Topicks of *Ariſtotle*: and the fight of that Citie, becauſe it was ſo affected to you, made mee haue a deſire vnto it. I ſent you the booke from *Regium*, in which you ſhall ſee, that I haue entreated of that matter, as plainely as poſſible I could: but it ſome things ſeeme obſcure vnto you: you muſt imagine, that no ſcience can bee learn'd out of writing, without an Interpretor; and without ſome exerciſe: and not to goe far from the matter; your Lawes, thinke you they can bee learn'd out of bookes onely? which, though they be many; neuertheleſſe, they require a teacher, and expoſition. Though, if you read my booke attentiuely, and often, I will not ſay, you ſhall reape all the fruit that you deſire; but at leaſt, you ſhall vnderſtand the matter of your ſuite. And, if you will

haue also the places, from whence you draw your arguments, when any question is propounded, to come readily to minde; exercise is necessarie: wherin I will helpe you, if I returne safe, and finde things safe at *Rome*: Farewell, the xxviij of Iuly, from *Regium*.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epist. 20.

SInce I knew the affection that the Catie of *Velia* beares you; I thought her more worthie of my loue: though she louts not you onely, whom belou'd of euerie one; but also your *Rufa*, who is as much desired, as if her were one of vs. But I thinke you were wise, in causing him to come to your building. For, though *Velia* is of no lesse estéeme then *Luperal*, nevertheless, I had rather you would make a building in *Rome*, then anie where else. But for all this, if you'l follow my counsell, as you were wont, you shall not sell your fathers possessions, which you haue here; (I speake this, because the *Velienses* something doubted thereof) Neither shall you leaue *Helates* an excellent riuer; nor forsake the house, sometimes of *Papirius*: though it haue

a prou-

a groue, where euen ſtrangers are wont to reſt themſelues. Notwithſtanding, if you cut it, you will haue a goodly proſpect. But it may bee verie commodious for you, eſpecially in theſe times; firſt, to haue their Citie for a receptacle, to whom you are deere; then your owne houſe, and your farmes alſo; eſpecially in a remote, healthfull, and pleaſant place. And, I thinke, my *Trebatius*, it will alſo be fit for me. But regard your health, and haue a care of my matters, expecting me, by the Gods helpe, before Autumne. I haue cauſed *Sextus Fabius*, to giue me his Maſter *Nicias* booke, wherein hee treateth of eating well. O ſweet Phyſician! how willingly I learne theſe precepts: I marueil our *Baſſus* neuer ſpake word to me of this booke. It ſeems he ſpake to you. The winde riſeth, haue a care of your health. From *Velia*, the xx^th. of Iulie.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 21.

After I had informed you of the cauſe of *Selon*; hee came to mee: and I telling him that you were of opinion, that promiſe without preiudice to his right, might bee made in this forme:

I

If *Quintus Cepio* the *Praetor*, hath giuen me poſſeſſion of the goods of *Turpilia*. He anſwered me, that hee vnderſtood from *Seruius Sulpitius*, that a will is nothing worth, if it be made by him, that hath no power to teſtate. Adding, that *Offilius* affirm'd the ſame; but that of this, he could not talke with you: and hee prayed mee to commend his cauſe vnto you. Be aſſured, that beſides you, I haue not a greater friend then he: neither know I a better man. Therefore it would pleaſe me verie well, and I much entreat you, that you would finde him out. But doe it, if you loue me, out of hand. Farewell.

Cicero to Trebatius.
Epiſt. 22.

YEſter-night, at the Table, you laught at me, becauſe I ſaid, it was a doubtful caſe, whether an heire might in right, challenge a theft, which was committed before his time. Whereupon, though I return'd late home, and full of wine; neuertheleſſe, I noted the place, where the ſaid caſe is written; and I ſend it you: becauſe you might know, that *Sextus Ælius*, *Marcus Manilius*, and *Marcus Brutus*, are of a contrarie opinion

on: and yet I agree to *Scæuola's* opinion, and yours. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Fabius Gallus. Epiſt. 23.

I Had not beene long come from *Arpinum*, when your letters were deliuered me: and by the ſame meſſenger, I receiu'd one from *Axius*: wherin he courteouſly promiſed mee, that at his comming, I ſhould become his debtor, for what time I would. Imagine a little, that you are my ſelfe. Doe you thinke it ſtands, either with your modeſtie, or mine; firſt, that I demand a day of paiment; and that afterwards, I ſhould require it for aboue a yeere? but all had beene well, if you had brought thoſe things, which I deſir'd, and for ſuch a ſum as I would. And neuertheleſs with that, you write you haue bought, I ſhall not only be content, but take alſo great pleaſure therin: knowing euidently, that you haue vs'd not only diligence about it, but alſo loue: and that you haue not bought a thing, which you thought not fit for me. But haue firſt ſatisfied your owne iudgement, the which in euerie thing I haue alwaies reputed excellent. Yet I would

not

not haue *Demosthenes* change his minde: Because you haue not bought a thing to my liking. You haue, not knowing my manner, bought these foure, or fiue statues, at so great a price, as I would not giue it for all the statues that can be found. Besides, you parallell these statues, with the *Muses* of *Marcius*. What comparison is there? First, I would neuer haue so high priz'd the *Muses* themselues: and all the *Muses* would haue beene contented with this my iudgement. Neuertheless, they would haue well beseem'd my Librarie, as a conuenient ornament for our studies. But the statua's of *Bacchus*, how they like me! Oh they are faire! I know it too well: and I haue seene them often; but if they had pleas'd me, I would haue giuen you speciall commission [to buy them:] For, I vse to buy those statues, the which after the manner, as is accustomed in schooles; may adorne my roome, in the *Palestra*. But the statua of *Mars*, how can that like me, who euer procur'd, and perswaded peace? I am glad there was neuer a statua of *Saturnus*. For it, and that of *Mars*, I should haue thought, would haue indebted me. I rather would, that there had been one of *Mercurius*: because I thinke, *Auianus* would haue come to a more reasonable price. Whereas you write, that you would haue that *Trapezophoros*,

et

or Statua, which ſupporte the table; if you like it, I'le giue it you: but if you be chang'd, I'le keepe it my ſelfe. With the money, certainely, which you haue ſpent vpon theſe ſtatues, I could farre more willingly haue bought a lodging at *Terracina*, not to bee alwaies troubling my friends, by lying in their houſe. But I ſee the fault is in my free-man, to whom I ſpecified the things I would haue: and likewiſe in *Iunius*; who, as I ſuppoſe you know, is abſolutely for *Amanus*. I haue begun in a gallerie of my *Tuſculanum*, certaine ſitting rooms, the which I would adorne with faire pictures. For, if any ſuch like things delight me, picture pleaſeth me. But yet if theſe ſtatues muſt lye vpon my hands, certefie mee where they are, when I muſt ſend for them; and how to conuey them along. For, if *Damaſippus* will not haue them, wee ſhall finde ſome other *Damaſippus*, though I ſhould loſe ſomewhat therein. As for the houſe, when I receiued your other letters, I was vpon my departure: and therfore I left the care to my daughter; and ſpake alſo thereof to your *Nocia*, who, as you know, is a friend to *Caſſius*. But when I was returned, before I could read theſe your laſt, I demanded of my daughter, if ſhe had done nothing in it: ſhee anſwered me, that ſhe had ſpoken therof to *Licinia*, *Caſſius* ſiſter, with whom I ſuppoſe,

suppose, he conueiseth not much. And thee said, that thee durst not part with that house, without *Deians* her husbands knowledge, who is gone into *Spaine*. It likes me well to see, that you make so great account of conuersing, & liuing with me; first that you would take that house, wherein you shall not onely dwell neere me, but as it were with me; besides, because you haue so great a desire to come to it; which notwithstanding, let me not liue, if it be greater then mine. Wherefore I will vse all the meanes I can therein, perceiuing how much it importes both the one, and other of vs. If I can do any thing you shall vnderstand of it. Write backe to me of euery thing: and comfort me if you please, when you will come. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Fabius Gallus. Ep. 24.

WHether soeuer I turne my selfe, I see manifest signes of the loue you beare me: which was the occasion, that you were displeased about *Tigellius*. I thanke you therefore for your good will: but I'le deliuer you the case briefly. *Caesar* (if I be not deceiu'd) was wont to say, *I sleepe not to euery man*: So, I trust not euery bodie.

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But what ſeruice is this? Heretofore, when I was in great eſteeme, I was not ſo much obſerued, and reuerenced of euery bodie, as I am at this preſent, by all *Cæſars* friends, except onely by this man. Whereof me thinkes I make great ſe, in that I cannot tolerate ſuch an one; more peſtilent, then his countrie it ſelfe. And I thinke he tooke this hard conceit againſt me, becauſe himſelfe could haue lik't well of the praiſes, which *Cæſius Latinus* beſtowes vpon me, after the manner of *Hippomaches*. But ſee, wherefore he is in choller with me; I vndertooke to defend the cauſe of *Thamea*, out of a deſire to doe him a fauour: for he conuerſed with me verie familiarlie: Now, he came to me, & told me, that the Iudge would heare his cauſe, preſently on that day, when I was to ſit in counſell about *Publius Sextius*. I anſwer'd him, that I was deſirous to pleaſure him; but that it was not poſſible: and vpon any other daie, when he thought good, I would not faile him. He, knowing that he had a Nephew, which play'd ſweetly, and ſung very well, departed from me, ſo farre as I could perceiue, halfe angrie. You may ſee the nature then, of theſe *Sarda*: they are like thoſe which are ſold in the open market place, one worſe, then another. You haue heard my reaſons, and the ſume of this *Salacon*. Send

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to me your *Cato*, I desire to read it. It's a shame for vs both, that I haue not yet read it. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Fabius Gallus. Ep. 25.

GRieue not that I rent your letter; for I haue kept it; and you may haue it, when you will. I thanke you for aduertising me; and I pray you to aduertise me continually: For you seeme to feare, that if we haue other superior, then this man, our ioy, may change into mourning. But doe you not see, that the Master comes, sooner then we thought? we must lay downe the pensill: to the end that the praises giuen by vs to *Cato*, turne not to our preiudice. Be assured my *Gallus*, that, that part of your letter, could not haue beene set downe more to the purpose; where you say, other things are transitorie. Heare this in secret: keepe it to your selfe: tell it not to *Appella* your freeman: no man writes after this manner, but we two. I doe not say, well, or ill; suffice it, that no man writes as we doe: prosequute then your style, and neuer giue it ouer. For 'tis that, which teacheth vs to speake well: and I beginne to spend therein also a part of the night. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Gallus. Ep. 26.

HAuing now beene ten dayes grieuously ſicke of the collick, and not being able to perſvvade them, that would haue employed me, that I vvas ill; hauing no feauer. I ſlept avvaie to *Tuſculanum*: vvhere finding my ſelfe verie vvearie of that infirmitie, eſpecially hauing continued two dayes without taſting a drop of water, or any thing elſe: I thought that you ſhould rather haue a care of of me, then I of you. I vſe to be greatly afraid of all diſeaſes; but moſt of that, for vvhich the *Stoicks* reprehend your *Epicurus*, hearing him ſay, that the difficultie of vrine, and of the bloudie Flix, diſturbed the peace of his minde. One of vvhich diſeaſes is thought to proceed from ſuperfluitie of meates; and the other by a more diſhoneſt occaſion: I doubted much in the beginning, leaſt it vvould haue beene a Fluxe: but it ſeemes I receiued good by change of ayre: or peraduenture, becauſe I haue freed my minde of many cares; for, this euill was alreadie in declination. Neuertheleſſe becauſe you ſhall not wonder, from whence this diſeaſe growes, and from what diſorders: the law vpon expenſes, which ſeemes to haue brought continencie,

continencie, made me erre. For while these gallants, who are curious in their meates, beginne to bring into reputation those things, that spring out of the earth, which are exempted from the law; they season mushroanes; and Little, and all sorts of herbes; with so great Art, that better cannot be eaten. Hauing therefore eaten thereof in *Lentulus* house; a cruell Fluxe came vpon me, which hath held me till now: and so I that easily refrained from Oysters, and Lampries, I haue beene deceiued; by what? by Beetes, and Mallowes. Hereafter therefore wee'le looke better to it. But it had beene your part, hauing vnderstood it by *Anitius*, who saw me vomiting; not onely to send, but to haue come, and seene me. I make account to stay here, vvhile I recouer my dissipated forces. But if I can rid my selfe of the disease, I hope easily to recouer them. Farewell.

Cicero to Gallus. Ep. 27.

I Know not wherefore you complaine of me, hauing no occasion: & though you had, yet should you not complaine. You write, that when I was Consull, I made vse of you; and that *Cæsar* will restore you, into your countrey. You speake

speake it too confidently; but none beleeues you. You adde, that you demanded the Tribuneship for my sake. I would you had beene alwaies Tribune. For you should not haue beene to seeke of an Intercessor. Afterwards, you sting me, saying, that I dare not speake freely; as if I had not freely answered you, when you immodestly entreated me. This I write vnto you, to giue you to vnderstand, that in these matters of vs, in which you suppose your fame, to become bodie; you deserue no commendation. But if you had mildly complained of me; willingly, & as peaceably I would haue satisfied my selfe. I dislike not what you haue done, but what you haue written. And I wonder much, that you should not esteeme me a free man, hauing preserued others libertie. But if the things were false, which you, as you say, laid open to me: what am I bound to you for it? if true you may be a sufficient testimonie, how much the people of Rome, are bound vnto me. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Curius.
Epist. 28.

I Remember, I thought you heretofore not verie wise, in that you would liue rather there then with vs: for the situation of this Citie, when it was a Citie, was more conformable to your affable and sweet nature: then all *Peloponnesus*, therefore farre more then *Patræ*. Now contrariwise, it appeares vnto me, that you were verie circumspect; when, seeing no remedie for the matters of *Rome*, you went into *Gracia*: and that you are at this present not onelie wise, in being farre from hence, but also happie. Though now a daies, who can be happie that knowes any thing? But as you are gone into a part, where you heere not the iniquities that are heere committed; so haue I found out another meanes not to heare them. For, since I betooke my selfe to my friends that come to visite me: who for this cause also, come hither oftner then they were wont; for they thinke they see a white bird, when they see a good Cittizen; I retire mee to my Librarie. From whence I compile workes, that peraduenture will please you. For I once vnderstood, that you reprehending my affliction; said, that you perceiu'd not

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ame that greatneſſe of minde, which my Booke inferred. But as in that time, I mourned for the Commonwealth: which not onelie for her benefits towards mee, but alſo for mine towards her, was verie deare vnto me: ſo now, though not onelie reaſon comforte me, which is of great force, but alſo time, which impaireth griefe, euen in fooles; yet I lament, that common libertie is ſo loſt, that no hope remaines, to regaine it. Neither hitherto can we complaine of him, that gouernes all things, (except peraduenture this be his offence) but Fortune hath beene in fault for ſome things; and for ſome, our ſelues alſo. So that we muſt not grieue for that which is paſt. As for that, that is to come, I ſee no hope at all. Whereupon I returne where I began. You were wiſe, if iudgment; happie, if fortune caus'd your departure. Farewell

Manius Curius, to Cicero his Maſter. Epiſt. 29.

FOR, though *Atticus* bought me, you enioy me: ſo that the fruite is yours, and the poſſeſſion his: which, if he would ſell, he could finde but a little for

for it. But what thinke you of the testimonie I make, wheresoeuer I come? By saying, that I acknowledge all my good from you; that I liue; that I haue; that I am in anie esteeme? Wherefore my *Cicero* perseuer constantly in preferring me, and cómending me, especially to *Sulpitius* your successor: that I may the more easilie obey your precepts, and see you at *Rome*, to my great contentment; and more commodiously carrie my things from hence, and conueie them with me. But shew not this letter to *Atticus*. Let him beleeue, that I am an honest man, and that I vse not to gratifie two men with one thing. Be carefull therefore good Patron, to maintaine your health: and salute my *Tiro* in our behalfe, The xxix. of October.

Cicero to Curius.
Epist. 30.

NOW I neither perswade, nor entreate you to returne home: nay, and I also desire to depart, and arriue in some quarter, where I may not heare the name, nor the workes of the children of *Pelops*. You will not beleeue what blame I think my selfe worthie

of, for being present at these things. You seeme to have foreseene long before, what would ensue, when you departed from hence. For though these things be also bitter to heare; yet to heare, is more tollerable then to see them. You were not in *Campus Martius*, when, at two a clocke, the people being to be assembled, for the creation of Quæstors, *Quintus Maximus* his seate was placed, whom they nominated Consull: but his death being vnderstood, his seate was carried away: and *Cæsar*, leaving the creation of Quæstors, created a Consull, who was to hold his Magistracie, from seauen a clocke, till the Calends of Ianuarie, which were on the morning of the day following. So that, all the while *Caninius* was Consull, no man dined; neither was there any hurt done. For hee was so vigilant, that hee neuer slept in all his Consulship. You thinke these things worthie the laughing at: because you are not heere: but if you were, you would not forbeare teares. And what if I should write vnto you of further matters? For there are an infinite companie of such like: the which doubtlesse I could not endure, if I had not retired my selfe into the Port of Philosophie; and had our *Atticus*, for a companion in my studies. To whom, seeing you write, that the pos-

session and power of your person belongs, and to me to employ, and enioy you: I am content therwith. For then a thing is possessed, when a man enioyes, and vseth it. But of this, at some other time, I'le write more at large. *Acilius* who was sent into *Greece* with an armie, is much obliged to me: For in the better times of the Commonwealth, I defended him twice, in cases of high importance. And he is a thankfull man, and do'es me great honour. I haue written exactly, this fastned letter, in your fauour: which when he receiueth, what offers he makes you, I would be glad to vnderstand. Farewell.

Cicero to Curio.
Epist. 13.

BY your letters I easilie comprehend two things, which I haue alwaies desired: one, that you greatlie esteeme me; another, that you know your selfe beloued of me: Let's therefore contend in courtesies one to another; wherein, whosoeuer remaines superior, I shall be equallie satisfied. I am glad that it was not necessarie to deliuer my letter to *Acilius*. I see you haue

that had no great need of the *Sulpitian* offices; becauſe your matters were ſo fleſhed vp together, that they haue as you write, neither hands nor feete. I would they had their feete, to the end that you might once returne, becauſe you ſee, that thoſe wittie and ingenious notions, ſo long in vſe, are euery day more and more decaying, if wee few, preſerue not the auncient *Attick* glorie as *Pomponius*, who next to you, in promptneſſe of wittie ſayings, is the chiefeſt; and I after him, might deſervedly ſay. Come therefore, I pray you, to the end that the ſeed of wittie ieſts may not be deſtroyed, as the Commonwealth is extinguiſhed. Farewell.

Cicero to Volumnius.
Epiſt. 32.

BEcauſe familiarlie, as you ſhould, you haue written vnto me, without your forename: firſt, I was in doubt, whether the Senator *Volumnius* with whom I entertaine great friendſhip, wrote vnto me; Afterwards, the wittie ſweetneſs of the letter made me thinke that it was yours. In which letter euerything gaue me great contentment.

but this; that you doe with little diligence defend the possession of my estates: writing to mee, that after my departure all the sayings, euen to those of *Sextius*, are attributed to me. Doe you then suffer it? doe not you defend me? I thought I had left my monies so sign'd, that they might haue beene discern'd from others. But seeing in *Rome* is such ignorance, that no saying is so vnproper, that appeares not wittie vnto some man: I entreat you, by the loue you beare me, if there bee yet some pregnant conceit in those, which *Iulius* in my second booke of the Orator, produceth, that you will affirme all the rest not to bee none of mine, offering to wager against him, that will not beleeue it. Whereas you complaine of the Iudgements, I care much lesse, let the worst ensue that may of all defendants. Let *Selius* also bee so eloquent, that he can make men beleeue that he is Free borne, I care not much. But I pray, let vs defend with all our power, the possession of gracefull witte passages. Wherein I onely preferre you [and] contemne all others. You thinke that I iest with you? Now I see you haue wit. But speaking in good earnest, your letters appeared to mee very elegant. And though they should be, as they were ridiculous. Yet did not I laugh: Because I would, that our

friend

friend ſhould gouerne himſelfe, with all wiſdom, both for his own reſpect; (for I loue him well, as you know) as alſo for the Cõmon-wealth; which though he be ingrate towards me, neuertheles, I cannot forbeare to loue her. Now my *Volumnius*, ſeeing you haue begun; and that you finde you are deere vnto me, write vnto me often of the affaires of *Rome*, and of the Common-wealth. I take great pleaſure to read your letters. Beſides this, though *Dolabella* bee verie deſirous to doe mee any pleaſure, and beares me entire affection; yet exhort him to perſeuere in his good will; & worke ſo, that he may be wholly mine. I uſe vnto you all importunity herein, & yet am not ſatisfied. Neither doth this grow, becauſe I doubt; but becauſe I deſire it beyond meaſure. Farewell.

Cicero to Volumnius.
Epiſt. 33.

THough you are not now here, when we exerciſe our ſelues in declaiming; yet haue you no preiudice thereby. Neither needs you enuie *Hir-*

tion; as you write you should doe, if you lou'd him not. Except you would enuie him, rather for his eloquence, then for hearing my disputations. For, my sweet *Polumnius*, I am of no worth, and if I be worth anie thing, yet I hate my selfe, hauing lost those companions, for whose sake, you held mee happie. And though otherwhiles, I published something worthie my name; now I lament, that these my darts were throwne, not against armed men; but against birds, as *Philoctetes* saith in *Ouid*, caring no more for glorie. But yet I shall be merrie, if you come; though, you shall come in the verie height of occupations. From which, if I can free my selfe, I will leaue these businesses, to liue with you and our common friends. For your *Cassius*, and our *Dolabella*, (though both th'one, and other, may be term'd ours) attend also to the same studies: & I giue eare vnto them willingly. Here we haue neede, of your so exquisite, and perfect a iudgement, and of that your so profound knowledge; so that many times, it makes me reserued in my speech. I am constantly resolu'd, if *Cæsar* will, to lay aside hereafter that person, wherein I haue many times giuen him satisfaction, and to shut my selfe vp in studies, to enioy an honest vacancie, together with you, and others, that haue a desire to vnderstand.

ſtand. I would not haue had you to doubt, that your letters would haue annoyed mee, if they had, as you write, beene long; for, I aſſure you, the longer, the more acceptable.

Farewell.

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THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Marcus Cœlius to Cicero. Epist. 1.

AT my departure, I promised to write diligently to you, of all things that should fall out in Rome. Whereupon I have collected cuerie flying newes so particularly, as I feare, lest this my too affected diligence, hath exceeded those bounds, beyond which it growes irkesome. Although I know, how curious you, and how glad they, that be far from their Countrey are, to

vnderstand euerie little matter that occurreth. Neuertheleſſe, I earneſtly entreat you, to hold me for a man, that ſets not too much by himſelfe, though the paines be not mine, but commaunded to others: not becauſe, it is not pleaſing vnto mee, to be often mindefull of you: notwithſtanding all my employments, and naturall ſlothfulneſſe, in writing to my friends, which you are priuie to. But the profunditie of the booke, which I ſend vnto you, will eaſily, as I ſuppoſe, excuſe mee. I know no man ſo diſcharged of buſineſſe, that could completely, not onely not haue written all things therein contain'd; but not ſo much as haue obſerv'd them. You ſhall there ſee, all the decrees of the Senate, all the Edicts, all the Comedies, euen to the vulgar tales that are diſperſed. And if peraduenture ſuch aduertiſments pleaſe you not, let me know it: that hereafter I diſturbe you no more, at my charge. Important affaires of the Common-wealth occurring, that theſe mercenarie writers cannot diſplay in that manner, as were requiſite; I will write them: and giue you notice, both of that which hath happened, and of the iudgement that afterward paſſed thereof, and what is therin expected. Now, at this preſent, there is nothing in hand, of any moment. There is a report ſpred, as farre as Come-

onely,

only, and no further, about those consultations of people beyond *Poe*; at my returne to *Rome*, I heard no bodie speak a word of it. Withall, *Marcellus* propounded not in the Senate, that there should a new gouernour bee sent into the *Gallias*. He told mee, that in the Calends of *Iune*, he would propound it. But certainely, hee came very much short of that feruencie, which he shewed, when wee were both in *Rome*. I would bee glad to know, if you haue found *Pompeius*, as you desired: what your opinion of him is? what discourses you haue had? and what minde, and resolution it seemes to you. I will not say, that hee hath, but what hee makes shew to haue? For, hee vseth to speake one thing, and reserue in his minde to doe another. Although he is not of so circumspect a wit, that hee can so disguise his thoughts, that they may not outwardly appeare. Of *Cæsar*, there is euerie moment some ill newes: but nothing verified. True it is, there is great muttering. One saies, hee hath lost his Cauallerie: which I take to bee most true: Another affirmes, that his seuenth legion was discomfited, and that the *Dalmates* haue closed vp the passage, that hee cannot returne to the other people. And though there bee no certainnie; neuertheleſſe, not being contraried; the vulgar speake thereof: and some,

some, who you know, withdraw themselues to reason together: and I can tell you, that by this time, *Domitius* laies his hand on his mouth. On the 13. of May, a rumour was raised by the men of newes, at Penny-lesse Bench, that you were dead: which returneth vpon his head, that dispersed it: so that ouer all *Rome*, a report was diuulged, that you were slaine on your iourney, by *Quintus Pompeius*. I, that knowe how *Quintus Pompeius* is at *Baules*, in so great miserie, that hee maintaines his life, by carrying men for hire; was not much moued thereat, and I desired, that all perils that may accrue to you might proue like to this. Your *Plamius* is at *Reatina*, and though *Cæsar* giue him a great present, yet is hee not in prosperous estate, nor furnished, as it were requisite. Your bookes, wherein you frame the state of an excellent Common wealth, are read of euerie one with admiration. Farewell.

Marcus Calius to Cicero. Epist. 2.

VVEll, he is absolued. I was there when his absolution was published, and that not onely by one

one part of the three, which are to iudge; but by them all: and by all sentences he is absolued. Oh! will you say speake you in good earnest? 'tis as I tell you. None would haue beleeued it, and it seemes a thing very strange. I, who greatly desired, for the amitie betwixt vs, his absolution, rather prepared my selfe to condole with him: but seeing sentence past, in his fauour, I was altogether astonished, & it seemed to me a miracle: Then imagine, what it seemed to others. With great exclamations the iudges replied, shewing euidently, that it was not a thing to be supported. Whereupon, though he be free'd by the Law *Lucius*, he seemes to be fallen into a greater danger. Withall, the day after the said absolution, *Hortensius* presented himselfe in *Curio*'s Theater, as I thinke to be seene, and because we should reioyce with him in his ioyes. But, as many as were there, began to trample, one, to make a thundring, to cry out, and keepe a buzzing: which was the more obserued, because *Hortensius* was come to old age, without euer hauing beene whistled at. But on that day, he was so soundly handled, as it might suffice any man, for all the daies of his life. Of the Commonwealth, I can write nothing to you. *Marcellus* iniuries are pacified; not out of neglect, but in my opinion, for some

some secret respects. Of the creation of Consuls, not knowing the time, I can giue you no certaine aduertisement. *Marcus Glauius*, sonne to *Caius*, and *Caius Herius*, are competitors with me, in the petition for the Aedileship: the one is really noble; the other pretends to be noble, but is not. I was desirous to write this, to put you into greater expectation of the issue, hearing that *Herius* is my concurrent. Nevertheless as soone as you are aduertised of my creation, I pray, remember the Panthers, and to procure *Sicca* to pay me. I giue to *Lucius Cassicius Pato*, the first volume of the matters of *Rome*; the second, to him that brings you these. Farewell.

Marcus Celius to Cicero.
Epist. 3.

WHat will you say now? doe I not write vnto you? doe I not quite contrarie to that you find? Yea certainely, so that my letters come to your hands. And in this, my diligence is the greater; because when I haue time to spare, I cannot haue a better recreation. When you were in

Rome,

Rome, and I had no businesse, I vsed to come, with great contentment to your house, and to passe the houres with you, in sundrie discourses. I would I could now doe so? for in truth, since your departure, me thinkes I am not onely left alone, but that *Rome* remaines voyd. And whereas before many times (such was my negligence) I let slip many daies without comming to see you. Now in conclusion, I am readie to teare my selfe with my teeth, because I cannot be euery day with you. But *Hirtus* my competitor is the greatest cause, that I desire you, day and night. Oh! if you knew, how this your concurrent in the Augurship, is vexed; and faynes not to see, that my plots take better effect, then his: of which I desire you may be aduertised, for in truth, you would wish it more for your owne respect, then mine. For if I remaine Aedile; it may so be, that I shall be created, with some rich associate: But if *Hirtus* get it not, we shall haue such sport, at his repulse, that for all the time of our life, we shal neuer want matter to laugh at. May this be? so 'tis certainely. Neither can *Marcus Octauius* in any sort pacifie their hatreds, that are opposite to *Hirtus*, who are many. As for *Milo's* goods: I haue so wrought, that *Philetimus* your wiues free-man hath restored them to his kindred; who haue ac-

knowledged

knowledged herein his fidelitie, and loue, giuing him in reward of his seruice, as much, as you set downe. Now, it remaines, that I entreat you, that if you haue spare time, as I hope you shall, to direct vnto me some worke: that by this I may know, you are mindfull of me. Questionlesse you'le say your request is not foolish, but how came this into your minde? I would, that among so many compositions of yours, some one might come to light, which might also be a testimonie to posteritie, of our friendship. For the qualitie of the worke, I referre it to you: for you hauing all knowledge, can best determine of the subiect. In generall I tell you, that I desire a thing, which may beste me, and that it may be repleniſh't with documents; to giue men occasion, more willingly to read it. Farewell.

Marcus Celius, to Cicero.
Epiſt. 4.

I Enuie you, because you haue euery day so great newes, as makes you wonder: first, that *Marcus Metella*, was absolu'd, and afterwards condemned: that *Caius Marcellus* remaines Consull: that *Marcus Calidius* after his repulse,

pulse, was accused by *Marcus Gallus*, and *Quintus Gallus*, brethren: that *Publius Dolabella* is one of the fifteene. But I enuie you not, because you did not see, how many colours came into *Lentulus Cruscellus* countenance, when he had the repulse. For certainely there was neuer a more delightsome thing to behold: and peraduenture he thought it would not so haue past with him: and *Dolabella* himselfe had little hope thereof. But if our Gentlemen had not had their eyes open; vndoubtedly, he had ouercome his sute: and his opposite would almost voluntarily, haue giuen ouer the enterprise. I doe not thinke you wonder, that *Seruius*, chosen Tribune of the people, should be condemned. Whose place *Curio* hath demanded: and in their hearts, who know not his gentle disposition, he hath imprinted a strange feare. But as I hope, and desire, and as he makes shew, he will not start an inch from the Senate; nor from the partie of good men: he is now wholly for this. And that he tooke vpon him such a resolution, *Cæsar* was the occasion, who not vsing to respect money for the obliging of euery man to him, how base soeuer he were; seemed to make little reckoning of him. Wherin I thinke, as also by others he hath beene aduertised, that a matter of pleasant admiration ensued, *Curio* who euer before

before had carried himselfe inconsiderately, hauing vsed all his wit, and cunning, to frustrate their designes, which made opposition to him in his Tribunship: I speake of the *Lælij*, *Antonij*, and other bragadoshio's. I deferred to write vnto you, because the creation of Magistrates hanging in suspence, I was enforced continually, to attend vnto negotiations: and partly I was desirous to tarry the end; that so I might aduertise you of euery thing; and supposing they would presently be dispatcht, I expected till the first of August. The creation of the Prætors, was prolonged, through certaine impediments. I know not how fauourable fortune will be to me, in the creation of the Aediles Curules. It is true, that in that of the Aediles of the people, manifest signes appeared more in fauour of me, then *Hirrus*. Of *Marcus Calius Vicinianus* I haue no feare. You know how we made a scoffe of him, when he said, that he would put on for the creation of a Dictator. The foole propounded it, and remain'd vilified: and many cries were heard against him. The same people afterwards seemed to haue an extreame desire of *Hirrus*: I say to pleasure him ouer the shoulders. I hope 'twill not be long, ere you vnderstand that from me, which you expect, and that of him, which I durst scarcely hope for. As for the state of

of the Common-wealth, we did not hitherto looke for any new matter. But the one and twentith of July, the Senate being assembled in the temple of *Apollo*, and debating of the stipend that should be giuen to *Pompeius*, there was speech also of those souldiers, which formerly *Pompeius* had lent *Cæsar*: how many they were; and how many they should be: so that *Pompeius* being ouercome by a continuall importunity, that some ill tongued fellowes made to him, was vrged to say, that by all meanes he would call backe the said souldiers out of *Gallia*. Afterwards he was demanded his opinion, about sending a successor to *Cæsar*: who replied that generally the matter of the Prouinces, should be put off till the said *Pompeius* return: who was to go to *Ariminum*, to the Armie: and presently he went thither. I think it will be treated of, on the xxiij. of August: and without doubt, something will eyther be concluded, or some Tribune shall be nominated, that will not refuse the charge. But such an one will be blamed, because *Pompeius* in consultation hath said, that it were fit, that euery one should obey the Senate. Nevertheless, I am certaine, that nothing will be done, seeing *Paullus* elected Consull, shall be the first to deliuer his opinion. I am very carefull to put you in minde, that you will procure me to

be

be paide by *Sittius*; desiring to let you know, that it greatly imports me. In like manner; for the Panthers I pray you deale with the *Cybirate*, and when they are readie, cause them to be conueyed to me. Besides this, it is vnderstood, and held for certaine, that the King of *Alexandria* is dead. I pray, aduertise me diligently, what you would councell me to doe; how that kingdome stands; and who hath taken vpon him the gouernment thereof. The first of August. Farewell.

Marcus Cœlius, to Cicero. Epist. 5.

I Know not what your minde is, about the peace of your Prouince, and the countries adiacent. Certainely I stand in great doubt thereof: For, if we could order the matter so, that the greatnesse of the warre, might not exceed the forces of your Armie; and that we might obtaine so much victory, as might serue to get the triumph; and that we might auoid that dangerous, and terrible battaile: great would our happinesse be. Now, if the *Parthians* stir at all, I know there will be no small matters to doe; and your armie is scarce able to defend a Passage.

a Passage. But none considers him: but 'tis rather thought, that a gouernour of a Prouince, as you are, is bound to prouide whatsoeuer is necessarie for; poting that he may do it sufficiently. Whereunto may be added, that I cannot see, that you are to haue a successor sent you, by reason of the controuersie risen, about sending one into *Gallia*. And though I thinke you haue already taken some course therein; neuertheless, to giue you occasion the rather to intend it, I thought good to aduertise you, how the matter is like to hing in suspence. You know the ordinarie accidents: the Senate will determine of the *Gallis*: A Tribune will come, that will be opposed: then another shall be propounded; who, if the Senate be not permitted, to send a gouernour into any Prouince whatsoeuer; will likewise hinder the expedition of other Prouinces. And thus trifling; this dance will last so long, that for two yeares no effect will ensue. If there were any thing new, about the Commonwealth, I would not faile according to my custome, to write diligently vnto you, both what were done, and what I expected would succeed. It seemes that the opposition of these Prouinces, slacken the course of other businesses. *Metellus* makes all instance for it, as he hath euer done, but for all the

the diligence he vseth: he cannot draw a full counsell to set thereon. And, if after this yeare *Curio* enter into the Tribuneship, and there be also treating of the Prouinces. I know you well perceiue, how easie it will bee then to crosse euery thing, and what strife will by *Cæsar*, and those that fauour his cause, and not that of the Commonwealth; be introduced. Farewell.

Marcus Celius, to Cicero. Epist. 6.

I Know certainely you haue vnderstood, how *Appius* was accused by *Dolabella*; but not with that popular disgrace, which I expected. For *Appius* did not like a foole; but presently when *Dolabella* came before the Tribunall, he went into *Rome*, and gaue ouer demanding Triumph: by which he silenced what was spoken of him, and shewed himselfe more expert, then his accuser look'd for. Now he hath great hope in you. I know you are rather a friend to him then otherwise: this is an occasion to binde him to you, as long as you list: and, if some enmitie had not fallen now betwixt you, you might now at your pleasure helpe him; but,

if

if you be so rigorous to handle him as he deserues: I can tell you, many will thinke, that you haue not concealed your wrath, with that quietnesse of minde, which is expected from a sincere, and faithfull man. And on the contraire; If you fauour him, none can say, that you had respect to the inward Amitie, that you haue held with *Dolabella*. I will not forbeare to certifie you, that *Dolabella's* wife departed from him, at the same time, when *Appius* was accused by him. I remember that, which you said to me, when you departed: and I suppose you carrie in minde that which I wrote vnto you. It is now no time to write, more at large: only I would admonish you, that if the course dislike you not, yet shew no signe of your inclination, while you see, what successe he hath in this cause: to the end that the matter being knowne, you incurre not some blame: and assuredly, if you manifest your selfe, it will neither bee with your praise, nor profit; and hee cannot conceale it, for the conuenience of the thing, conformable to his hope; and because in the present enterprise, it will augment his reputation, especially he being a man, that though he knew it would draw some extreame hurt vpon him if he spake thereof, yet could he hardly keepe it secret. It is said that *Pompeius* is very fauourable to

Appius

Appius, ſo that men thinke, he will ſend one of his ſonnes to ſpeake to you. Here, we abſolue euery bodie. And certainely heere haue beene ſome of the wickedeſt, and moſt diſhoneſt things paſt, that can be imagined. Yet we haue Conſulls that are ſo vigilant, that hitherto they could paſſe no decree, but one, vpon the ſacrifice, which ordinarilie is made on *Mount Albanus*. Our *Curio* is cold in his Tribuneſhip as Ice, and I cannot poſſiblie giue you to vnderſtand, how euery one here, ſtands with their hands at their girdle. If I had not found ſomething to doe, with hoſts, and watermen, a great lethargie would haue ceazed vpon al *Rome*. And, if the *Parthians* ſet not you one heate in thoſe parts, we ſhall ſtill be colder, and colder. Neuertheleſſe, whatſoeuer our ſleepe be now, I would be loath the *Parthians* ſhould awake vs. It is ſaid that *Bibulus* encountred with the enemie, on *Mount Amanus*; and that he hath loſt, I know not how many companies of ſouldiers. I told you *Curio* was as cold as Ice; now, I tell you, he begins to be heated, and ſo toyles himſelfe, that he is enflamed. For when he ſaw he could not obtaine time to pay his debts, he plaide a prettie prancke: he is gone from the Senates ſide, to the people, and hath vndertaken to ſpeake in fauour of *Caſar*. Beſides hee hath diuulged

dulged, how he determines, to enact a law vpon the waies, not vnlike to that of *Rullus*, about the deuision of ground; and another vpon meates: conformable to which the Ædiles muſt beare themſelues: which yet he had not done, when I wrote the firſt part of this preſent epiſtle. Be pleaſed to intereſſe me in *Appius* fauour, by this occaſion of aſſiſting him; and as for *Dolabella*, I aduiſe you to let the matter hang doubtfull, both in reſpect of the ſame *Appius*; as alſo for your honour; and not to bring you into ill opinion with men. It is, and will be your diſgrace, if I haue not Panthers out of *Gracia*. Farewell.

Marcus Celius to Cicero Epiſt. 7.

I Know not how ſoone you deſire, to depart from thence; I deſire it, the rather, becauſe hitherto the warre of the *Parthians*, hath fallen out well with you, for which, while you remaine there, I ſhall be perplexed, fearing leaſt ſome ſiniſter accident may diſturbe my ioy. I write briefely, becauſe the meſſenger, who carries the Taxe-maſters letters, haſtens his departure.

Yesterday by your Freeman, I wrote at large. There is no newes: except I should write these, which vndoubtedly you desire. *Cornificius*, the young man, hath concluded a mariage with the daughter of *Orestilla*. *Paulla Valeria*, sister to *Triarius*, without any occasion brake off the marriage, on the day that her husband, should haue arriued out of the Prouince. She is to be married to *Decimus Brutus*, but yet they haue not publish't the matrimonie. Many incredible matters of this nature, haue hapned. *Seruius Ocella*, could neuer make men beleeue, that hee was an adulterer, but that in lesse then three dates, he was taken twice in the act. Shall I tell you where? where certainely I would not. Ile giue you leaue to aske of some other. Neither doe I dislike, that an Imperator, be inquisitiue, who hath beene discouered, and with what woman. Farewell.

Marcus Cælius to Cicero. Epist. 8.

THough I haue to write vnto you, about the state of the Commonwealth: yet I am perswaded, there's nothing will like you better then this. Vnder-

Vnderstand, that *Caius Sempronius Rufus*, and *Rufus* in effect, who was wont to bee your Honie, and Darling; was conuinced with great scorne, for a false accuser, Will you know in what matter? After the *Roman* sports, he accused *Marcus Tullius*, his accuser, as a man that had committed violence. And this he did out of malice; seeing, that he was constrained to defend himselfe, before the Iudges of this yeere, except some extraordinarie accident were enterposed. And hee knew verie well, what would ensue thereon. This presentation hee would not put vp against others, but onely against his accuser. And, although he had none, that would subscribe to the accusation, yet hee came before the Tribunall, and accused him. Which being heard, I presently ran, to present my selfe, in defence of the accused; not attending to be otherwise inuited thereunto. I came before them: I spake nothing of the cause: I bent all my speech against *Sempronius*, wresting euen that fiction to my purpose, which hee, for the iniuries he had done to *Vestorius*, had alledged: that, for your sake hee would bee content, to be restored. Another cause is in hearing, of no small moment. *Marcus Seruilius* being absolutely broken; all his goods sold; and fallen into euerie mans disesteeme; repaired to mee

for defence. And I alledging against *Pausanias* his Creditor, that hee might bee satisfied by them, who had bought his goods; *Laterensis* the Prætor, accepted not of my defence: and *Pom*, kinsman to your *Atticus*, having accused him, as a man that had imbezel'd monies in the Prouince, presently a great arguing grew, and a voice was ipred, that hee should bee condemned. Afterwards comes *Appius* the younger, driuen, as it were, with a most violent winde of feare, leſt *Seruilius* should bee left so bare, that hee could not pay him 24. thousand Crownes, which hee pretends to be due vnto him by this right; that his father being accused by *Seruilius*, & comming to an agreement with him, gaue him the said summe; to the end, he should not proceed against him in worſer matters. You wonder hee should bee so foolish. But you would maruell more, if you knew some other his notable fooperies; and how hath ther confeſſed so infamous a crime to be true. He accepted of the same Iudges, which gaue sentence against his Father. And the decrees being as many of the one part, as of the other, *Laterensis*, not knowing the Law, denounced that which each Bench had iudged and at laſt, according to the custome ſaid, I will record the absolution. *Seruilius* was gone; and euery man though

thought he had beene abſolued: when the Prætor, taking the written Law in his hand, and hauing read the hundred and firſt head thereof, wherein were theſe formall words, *Let the Prætor giue ſentence, according to the opinion of the greater part of the Iudges*, hee recorded not the abſolution; but wrote, that of three orders, the Senatorian, Equeſtrian, and Plebeian; two had abſolued, and not condemned him. After this, *Appius* againe importuning; hee contracted with *Lucius Lollius*, and tayd, that hee would regiſter the abſolution. And thus *Scruilius*, neither abſolued, nor condemned, but falſe defamed, muſt anſwer to *Pilius* imputations. *Appius* alſo himſelfe would haue accuſed him of ſuch a miſdemeanor: but hauing ſworne him falſe accuſer of his father, he durſt not contend with *Pilius*, which of them two ſhould plead againſt him. He was alſo accuſed by the *Sicilians*, as one that raked vp money in the Prouince, by vnlawfull meanes: And beſides this, by a certaine friend of his, who was wont to be his inſtrument, in accuſing of others, himſelfe was accuſed of violence committed. They both hang well together. As for the ſtate of the Common-wealth; the buſineſſe of the *Gaules*, hath croſſed other buſineſſes for many daies. But at laſt, after it had beene diuers times debated

of, and ſuſpended, *Pompeyes* pleaſure being knowne, that the next March to come, *Ceſar* ſhould giue ouer his gouernment, the Senate paſſed a decree, which I ſend vnto you. Which was ſubſcribed vnto, by the Senators, hereunder nominated. The laſt of September, in the *Temple of Apollo*, there were preſent, *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, ſon to *Lucius*; *Quintus Cicilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, ſon to *Quintus*; *Lucius Vellius Annalis*, ſon to *Lucius*, of the Tribe *Potina*; *Caius Septimius*, ſon to *Titus*, of the Tribe *Quirina*; *Caius Lucceius Hirrus*, ſon to *Caius*, of the Tribe *Pupinia*; *Caius Scribonius Curio*, ſon to *Caius*, of the Tribe *Papilia*; *Lucius Antonius Capito*, ſon to *Lucius*, of the Tribe *Aniensis*; *Marcus Oppius*, ſon to *Marcus*, of the Tribe *Terentina*. *Marcus Marcellus*, Conſull hauing propounded the nomination of the Conſular Prouinces, the Senate enacted thereupon this preſent decree: That *Lucius Paullus*, and *Caius Marcellus*, Conſuls for the future yeere; on the Calends of March, which will bee the firſt day of their Magiſtracie, ſhould propound vnto the Senate, the affaires of the Conſular Prouinces, and onely propound it, omitting all other buſineſſes: And that in this, they ſhould not haue reſpect to the ordinary impediment of thoſe daies, when the people are called to parliament:

ment: to the end that the decree may paſſe howſoeuer: and when they doe this, they ſhall haue ample authoritie, to let none of thoſe Senators enter into counſell, which are in the number of the three hundred Iudges: and in caſe ſhe needfull, to ſpeake thereof, to the people, or Plebeians, that *Seruius Sulpitius*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, Conſuls for the preſent yeere, or the Prætors, or Tribunes of the people, whether of them, they thinke good, ſhall take care to diſcharge this office: and if the forementioned will not doe it, the Magiſtrates of the yeere following, ſhall not faile to performe it. A note of the Senators, which confirmed the decree. The laſt of September, in the *Temple of Apollo*, there were preſent, *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, ſon to *Caius*; *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, ſon to *Quintus*; *Lucius Villius Annalis*, ſon to *Lucius*, of the Tribe *Pomtina*; *Caius Sepimius*, ſon to *Titus*, of the Tribe *Quirina*; *Caius Scribonius Curio*, ſon to *Caius*, of the Tribe *Papinia*; *Lucius Attius Capito*, ſon to *Lucius*, of the Tribe *Aniensis*; and *Marcus Oppius*, ſon to *Marcus*, of the Tribe *Terentina*. *Marcus Marcellus*, Conſull, hauing propounded the motion of the Prouinces; the Senate cenſured, that none of thoſe, that haue power to hinder, or oppoſe, ſhould put in any delay, that the Conſuls might

not presently propound to the Senate, and the Senate forthwith deliberate of things appertaining to the Common-wealth. Whosoeuer shall oppose; the Senate iudgeth such an one, to haue attempted against the Common-wealth. And if any resist the present decree; the Senate ordaines, that his opinion bee set downe in writing, and bee discussed of in the Senate, and in the presence of the people. To this decree, *Caius Calisius*, *Lucius Vinius*, *Publius Cornelius*, and *Caius Vibius Pansa*, opposed themselues. Besides, it hath pleased the Senate, concerning the Souldiers that were in *Caius Cæsars* armie; that, of such of them, as had finished the terme of their seruice, or had any iust occasion to giue ouer their entertainment, the Senate might be informed, that their reasons may bee considered. If any man resist this decree, the Senates pleasure is, that his minde be put in writing, and that the matter bee propounded to the Senate and people. This decree *Caius Calisius*, and *Caius Pansa*, Tribunes of the people, withstood. And besides this; the Senates pleasure is, that the next yeere, the Prætors of the yeere present bee sent, into the Prouince of *Cilicia*, and into the other eight Prouinces, which are gouerned by those that haue beene Prætors; and that they that are sent, shall be sent by lot; and if

these

theſe bee not ſo many as may ſuffice, that Prætors bee choſen out by lot, of the next precedent yeeres, which haue not beene in gouernment; and that they be ſent by lot, to the gouernment of the ſayd Prouinces. And if there be not ſo many of theſe, as may bee ſufficient; that one after another, the Prætors of the immediate next yeeres caſt lots, that haue not beene deputed to gouernment; and let this bee ſo long done, while the number of them is made vp, which are to bee ſent, to the gouernment of the Prouinces. If any oppoſe this decree, let his minde bee ſpecified in writing to the Senate. This decree, *Caius Cæſius*, and *Caius Panſa*, Tribunes of the people, oppoſed. Moreouer, it was obſerued by thoſe words of *Caius Pompeius*, and great hopes therby was conceiued, that hee could not without iniuſtice, determine of *Cæſars* prouinces, before the Calends of March: but that after the Calends, hee would thinke thereupon: And being demanded, what if any man ſhould then oppoſe? he anſwered; that it ſhould be as much as if *Cæſar* ſhould ſuborne one, not to ſuffer the Senate to deliberate; as if openly hee ſhould deny to obey it. And what if he, (ſaid another) would be Conſull, and keepe the Armie too? he replied, free from choller. What if my ſonne, would

gine me the baſtanado? By theſe words it was collected, that *Pompeie*, and *Ceſar* were not of accord. Whereupon, *Ceſar*, as I perceiue, will now diſcend to one of theſe two conditions; either to remaine in the gouernement of the *Gaules*, and ſo being abſent he cannot demaund the Conſulſhip: or elſe obtaining it, he will depart. *Curio* ſets himſelfe wholly againſt him. I know not what he can doe. But I ſee, that he aymes at a good end, and therefore cannot be ruinated. He ſhewes me great courteſie. But the preſent hee made me, will redound to my loſſe. For if he had not giuen me thoſe Panthers, which were brought out of *Africa*, for his ſports; peraduenture I had neuer entred into this dance. But ſeeing I am entred, and that I muſt celebrate my ſports: I put you in mind of that, which ſo often I haue written; that you'le procure me ſome Beaſt, from thoſe parts. And I commend vnto you the credit I haue with *Sicinius*. I haue ſent *Philo* thither my free-man, and *Diogenes Graius*: who will ſpeake to you in my name, and deliuer you my letters. I recommend them both vnto you, and the cauſe for which I ſent them: the which, how much it importsme, you ſhall ſee in the letters, that they ſhal preſent you. Farewell.

Marcus

Marcus Celius, to Cicero. Epiſt. 9.

DOe you thinke that *Hirrus* remain'd ſcorned? but you doe not well know all. For if you knew how eaſily, and with how little paines I put him downe, you would bluſh; calling to mind, how he was ſometimes ſo impudent as to concurre with you. And after this repulſe, he laughes with euery man: to counterfeit a good Citizen, he ſpeakes againſt *Caſar*: he blames the Senate, for being ſo ſlacke to deliberate: he followes *Curio* with ill words: what needes more? this repulſe hath made him change nature. Beſides this; though he neuer appeared in the *Forum*, and hath little practiſe in pleading: yet is there not a more courteous aduocate then he. He entertaines and followes euery cauſe, but ſeldome after noone. I wrote vnto you, that on the xiij. of Auguſt, the matter of the Prouinces would be determined: but becauſe *Marcellus* choſen Conſull for the yeare following, was of another opinion, it is put ouer to the firſt of September. The Conſulls were ſo farre from doing any thing els, that they could not bring many Senators to Counſell. I ſent not theſe, before to day, which is the ſecond

of

of September: and hitherto no course at all is taken. For any thing I see, this cause will be deferred till the next yeare: and so farre as I conceiue, you must leaue one in the gouernment of the Prouince. For otherwise exchange cannot be made; seeing it cannot be resolued, that a new gouernour should be sent into the *Gabia*; which must needs stand in the same condition, that other Prouinces doe. Of this I make no doubt: and I meant to write to you thereof, that you might know how to dispose of your selfe. Almost in euery letter I write vnto you of the Panthers. It will be little credite to you, that *Patiscus* should send ten to *Curio*, and that you should not send me many more. *Curio* gaue me those ten, with other ten besides, which he had out of *Africa*: to the end, you may not suppose, that he can onely giue possessions. You may haue as many as you will, so you will be mindfull, in sending to call for those *Cybirata*; and writing into *Pamphilia*, where they say a number are taken: and I importune you more now, then vsually, for I determine to solemnize my sport; separate from my Colleague. For my sake, straine your nature a little: vse diligence herein. You were wont to be pleased, as well as my selfe, to haue but few businesses; now, you shall haue no further trouble, then to speake, that is

to

to command, and giue in charge. For when they are taken, you may leaue the care of keeping and conducting them, to thoſe men, whom I haue ſent, to recouer my debt of *Sicca*. And peraduenture if you put me in hope of hauing them, I will ſend others for the ſame purpoſe. *Marcus Fetidius*, a *Reatine* knight comes in thoſe parts for his ceaſſion. He is an honeſt young man, valiant, and ſonne to a friend of mine. I recommend him to you, and entreate you to repute him in the number of your friends. He hath certaine land in your Prouince, which payes part of the increaſe. He would by your fauour be free'd from this impoſition. Which thing is both eaſie, and honeſt for you to grant him: and you ſhall beſtow a benefit, vpon men grateſull, mindfull, and repleniſhed with bountie. I would not haue you thinke, that *Fonteius* hath not had their fauour, who ſell their voyces at a price, but he found none of the better ſort of Citizens fauourable to him. Your *Pompeius* ſayes openly, that he will neuer permit, that *Ceſar* ſhall hold his Prouince, with an Armie and be Conſull: neuertheleſſe, he gaue councell, that the Senate ſhould not for the preſent, enter into any other deliberation; and that *Scipio*, ſhould be expected to deliuer his opinion thereof, the firſt of March: and that then the

matter

matter should be propounded in the Senate, and that nothing else should be done, before this be ended. Which opinion daunted *Balbus Cornelius*, and I know hee complain'd thereof to *Scipio*. *Caldius* in defending himselfe, was most eloquent, in accusing another, rather cold then otherwise. Farewell.

Marcus Calius, to Cicero. Epist. 10.

WE were much grieued at the newes, which by the letters of *Caius Cassius*, and King *Deiotarus*, we vnderstood. *Cassius* writes, that the *Parthian* souldiers haue passed *Euphrates*: *Deiotarus*, that they came into our Prouince, by the countrey of the *Comagens*: There was none more vexed then my selfe, and that for your cause: knowing that you are ill prouided in your Armie, and fearing least this commotion, might cause some preiudice to your honour, for I should feare your life, if you had a greater Armie. But because is is but little I imagine, you will not ioyne battaile, of which necessitie, I know not what construction will be made. Ie cannot certainely, rid my mind

of

of this care, till I vnderſtand that you are come into *Italie*. But this newes of the *Parthians* paſſage, hath raiſed vp diuers opinions. Some giue counſell, to ſend *Pompeius* thither: others, that he ſhould be retain'd at *Rome*: otherſome, that *Caſſar* ſhould be ſent with his Armie: and others, that the Conſuls ſhould repaire thither. But no man is of opinion, that this enterpriſe is to be committed to priuate Citizens. And the Conſuls fearing leaſt, the Senate ſhould ſend them, or conferre this charge vpon ſome other to their diſgrace, vſe all meanes to preuent a ſeſſion of the Senate. So as they appeare not to be very careful, in the neceſſities of the Common-wealth. But this negligence, or cowardiſe, or feare, whether we may call it, is couered with reaſonable pretexts, making ſhew that they refuſe the Prouince, out of modeſtie. Your letters are not yet arriued, and, if thoſe of *Deiotarus*, had not come ſo ſuddenly, men were about to beleeue, that *Caſſius* had fayned the *Parthian* warre, and cauſed the *Arabians* to ouer-runne his Prouince, to the end it might ſeeme endamaged not by him, but by the enemie. Whereupon, by my aduiſe, you ſhall write with diligence, and warily, how matters there paſſe: to the end it may not appeare, that either you haue followed any mans humor,

mor, or concealed any particular of importance. Now the yeare is at an end; for the xviij. of November, I wrote these presents, I see not how any thing can be concluded before January. You know how cold, and slow *Marcellus* is: and in like manner, how sicke *Seruius* is. What may you iudge of these men? and how can you beleeue, they will doe that which they haue no mind vnto, when they performe that which they affect, so coldly? for they seeme to haue no will thereunto. At the change of Magistrates, if the *Parthian* warre proceed, this mannage will spend the first moneths: but if there be no warre there, or onely the same; that you, or your successors, with the least succours sent, may prosequute it: I see *Cato*, will vse all meanes; first to crosse *Cæsar*: and then to assist *Pompeius*, in what soeuer thing he can; little, or great. *Paulus* by lofty words, shewes what a desire he hath to goe into the Prouince. To whose ambition, our *Iunius* will oppose himselfe: touching others I know not what to thinke. I haue written to you, what I know. I cannot see, what else will happen. I see that time produceth many things, and that many daily are a framing: but they'le be all comprehended within these bounds. I will not forget to certifie you, how *Curio* sues for a diuision of the *Campus* ter-

ritorie:

none: It is ſaid, *Caſar* cares little for Tribute that *Pompeius* deſires much, it ſhould be diuided: to the end that *Caſar* at his comming may not enioy it. As for your departing out of the Prouince, I cannot promiſe you to obtaine, that a ſucceſſor may be ſent you; but I aſſure you, your time ſhall not bee prolonged. If in regard of the preſent warre, the Senate enioyne you to remaine there; and if you may not refuſe it with your honor: you may take what courſe you thinke good: 'Tis ſufficient for me, that I remember, with what remembrancie at your departure, you entreated me, that I would not permit, the time of your office, to be prolonged. Farewell.

Marcus Celius, to Cicero. Epiſt. 11.

YOur ſupplications procured no long, but great trouble; there was a ſtrange obſtacle interpoſed it ſelfe: For *Curio* your louing friend, ſeeing himſelfe too vnaptly croſt by the Conſuls, that hee could not treate of any thing with the people, gaue to vnderſtand, that he would in no wiſe ſuppart, that a decree ſhould paſſe in the matter

matter of ſupplications; not to looſe that, which through *Paullus* furie, hee had purchaſed: to the end it might neuer be ſaid, that hee had betrayed the people. Whereupon wee accorded with the Conſuls, that this yeare they ſhould propound no other ſupplications to the Senate but yours; In truth, you muſt thanke both the Conſuls, but eſpecially *Paullus*: For *Marcellus* anſwered *Curio*, that he had no hope in theſe ſupplications: *Paullus* ſaid that for this yeare, he would not procure them for any other. It was told vs that *Hirtius* would oppoſe vs. I ſounded him: he was not onely, not contrarie vnto vs, but comming to the matter of the enemies: when he might eaſilie haue hindered the cauſe, if he had but demanded the number of the ſhips; hee remained ſilent: onely he ſaid; hee was content to be referred to what *Cato* had ſaid: who had commended you, but yet not counſelled, that your ſupplications ſhould be granted. The like did *Fannius*. So that hauing reſpect to the nature, and faſhion of euery one; you ſhould thank the three forementioned, and *Curio*: them, becauſe theugh they ſpake not in your fauour, yet they ſhewed a good minde, and being able to offend you, entred into no oppoſition: *Curio*, becauſe he interrupted the courſe of his owne actions for your ſake. *Fannius*.

ius, and *Lentulus*, as reason required, no otherwise, then as interessed in their owne honour, ioyned heads with vs. I may also praise my selfe, for the indeauor and friendly solicitation of *Bullus Cornelius*, who spake effectually to *Curio*, affirming that if he did otherwise, he should wrong *Cæsar*, and giue him occasion to esteeme him for a counterfeit friend. *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, who grudged: that you should haue this honour, were notwithstanding assistant. Doe you know the cause? because they thought the matter would neuer haue past: to whom *Curio*, perceiuing that in vrging him to oppose, they solicited the effect, answered like an honest man; that he was not willing to contrarie it, because hee saw some, who procured the supplications, would not haue them take effect. As for the state of the Common-wealth, they are yet in discussing the businesse about the Prouinces, neither do they treate of any thing else. It seemes that *Pompius*, and the Senate are agreed together, that *Cæsar* shall leaue the *Gallia*, before the xiij of November. *Curio* is resolued to expose himselfe to any disaster, rather then suffer this: and hath giuen ouer all his other enterprises. But our friends, whose humor you well know, dare not come, to the triall. The somme of all is this. *Pompius*, to shew that hee labours

bours not against *Cæsar*, but constitutes that which he thinkes to be but reason, saith, that *Curio* seekes to raise discords. But he will permit by no meanes, and feareth much, that *Cæsar* will be elected Consull, before he haue left the Army, and the Prouince. *Curio* treates him very crossely: and speakes hardly of his second Consulship. I conclude, that if the Senate extend the vttermost of their authoritie to suppresse *Curio*, *Cæsar* will be defended: but if they feare, his resistance, as they make shew, *Cæsar* shall remaine in his prouince as long as he will. What each mans opinion in the Senate was, you shall finde it in the booke, of such matters as passed in *Rome*. Wherin you may only read that, that you shall thinke worthie to be vnderstood, and passe ouer many other toyes, inserted therein to no purpose, especially of sports, obsequies, and other such like things. For I had rather erre, in exposing to your vnderstanding, that which you desire not to know, then in omitting any thing, which was requisite to be vnderstood. I am glad, you were mindefull of my debt, with *Silius*, but seeing you perceiue them shake enough in obseruing their promise, I pray you to be carefull of it, as mine Attourney. Farewell.

Marcus

Marcus Celius to Cicero.
Epist. 12.

I Am ashamed to confesse vnto you the truth, and to complaine of *Appius*, as ingratefull towards mee, as a man may be. For after the receiuing of many benefits from me, not being able to frame his auaritious nature, to require mee: he begins to beare me hatred, and hath stirred vp warre against me secretly. And yet not so secretly, but that, besides the being of it made knowne vnto me by many, I my selfe perceiued, that hee bare a very bad minde towards me. But after I found out, how he had wrought the Colledge of Augures, & spoken openly to some, that he would order the matter with *Domitius*, who, so farre as I perceiue, is my great enemie, that *Pompeius* should accuse me; I could not, knowing him to be indebted to me for his life, frame my minde to entreate him, that hee would not doe me such an iniurie. But what did I? I spake presently with some Friends, who were witnesses of my deserts towards him: And when I saw my selfe of so little esteeme with him, that he would not vouchsafe to come vnto me and excuse himselfe, I rather made choyce to be beholding to *Lucius Piso*

Pisa his Colleague, who as well for other respects, as for your sake, wish't me ill; then to come before that Ape. Which, when he knew, being puft vp with choler, said, that I sought, to breake with him: as if I took occasion, for not being payed, to persecute him. Afterwards he forbare not to call vnto him in publike, *Seruius* the accuser, and to plot with *Domitius*: and betwixt them three, finding no iust cause to accuse me; they deuised a way; but did not perceiue, that they could not hurt me: and like insolent men tooke order, to call me to iudgement, the last day of my *Circensian* sports, by the law *Scantinea*. *Seruius* had scarcely made an end of speaking, when also by the same law, I called *Appius* the *Censor* to iudgement. Neuer saw a matter better fall out: For the people, and euery inferior man seemed to take great satisfaction therein; that the assertion of this made *Appius* more to grieue, then the accusation. After this I demanded a Chappell, which hee had in his house. The long delaie of this seruant, hath much wronged me. For after I deliuered him this, he stayed for the letters of more then fortie. I know not what to write; but you know that *Domitius* feares the day of the iudging. I expect you with great desire, and wish to see you presently. I pray you so grieue at my iniuries, as you imagine I

was

was wont both to be ſorrie for yours, and to reuenge them. Farewell.

Marcus Cœlius to Cicero.
Epiſt. 13.

I Am glad you haue married your daughter to *Dolabella*; who, in the concept I haue of him, is certainely a man of great goodneſſe. For, what belongs to his other defects, by which hitherto, hee hath got himſelfe but little profit, they are now worne out, with his yeeres. And if any yet remaine, I aſſure my ſelfe, your conuerſation, your authority, and your daughters modeſty, will correct them. For, hee is not obdurate in vices, neither wants hee wit, to diſcerne what is beſt. Further, a great occaſion of this ioy, is the loue I beare him. Doe you ſee, *Cicero*, how *Cato* hath compaſſed his intents? For, his reſiſtance being ſcann'd in the Senate, as it was determined; and *Marcus Marcellus* perſwading, that the Tribunes ſhould bee moued with; the Senate would not conſent thereunto. *Pompeius* hath now ſuch a weake ſtomacke, that almoſt nothing can bee found to pleaſe him. The Senate had decreed, that hee who would not diſmiſſe

misse his armie, & the prouinces, could not stand for the Consulship: which, how it will please *Pompeius*, when hee perceiues, what will become of the Common-wealth, if he either cannot, or care not; I leaue for you old, rich men to consider. *Quintus Hortensius*, when I wrote these, dyed. Farewell.

Marcus Cœlius to Cicero.
Epist. 14.

IF you had taken the King of the *Parthians*, and vanquished the Citie of *Seleucia*, it were nothing, in respect of the being present at these things. Your eyes would neuer haue pained you more, if you had but seene *Domitius* countenance, when hee had the repulse for the Augureship. The contestation was great, each party hauing many fauours. Few respected merit; euery one assisted his kinsman, or friend. So that *Domitius* is my great enemy: insomuch, as hee hates not that acquaintance of his, whom you wot of, as he doth me: and the rather, because he thinkes he had wrong done him; and that I was the principall occasion of the iniurie. Now, he is starke mad, that men so reioyce at his crosse, and that I was so fauourable

nourable to *Antonius*. Afterwards, he accuſed *Caius Saturninus*, the younger; one, queſtionleſſe, for his life paſt, infamous. And now the iſſue of this triall is expected. And he conceiues good hopes, becauſe *Sextus Peducæus* was abſolued. Concerning the ſtate of the Common-wealth, I haue written many times to you, that I can yet diſcerne no peace. And the more this controuerſie encreaſeth, further then is conuenient, ſo much more imminent the danger appeares. *Pompeius* is reſolued, not to ſuffer *Caius Cæſar* to bee made Conſul'd by any meanes, before hee leaues the armie, and the Prouinces: vpon which the cheefe of the Cuie will conteſt, that *Cæſar*, except he firſt giue ouer his armie, and the one, and other *Gallia*, ſhall not bee created Conſull. On the contrarie, *Cæſar* is of a conſtant opinion, that he leauing the armie, his ruine will enſue. Yet he offers this condition, that both of them ſhould leaue off their armie. And ſo, that loue, and diſcommendable vnion, turnes not into ſecret hatred; but to a manifeſt war. I know not what ſide to take, and I thinke for the ſame cauſe alſo, you will be much perplexed. For one part I loue, and am beloued: in the other, I hate the opinions, not the men: and I think you know, that euerie one followes the more honeſt part, while they proceede

without armes: But when they come to a war, the ſtrongeſt; ſuppoſing that to be moſt honeſt, which is moſt ſecure in this diſcord: I ſee, that *Cneius Pompeius* will haue the Senate and Iudges of his party; and to *Caſar*, all thoſe will apply themſelues, that liue in feare, or with cold hopes. The armies will not be equall: but there will bee time enough, to conſider the forces of either part, and to chooſe the beſt. I had almoſt forgot to write one thing to you, which was not to bee omitted. Know you, that *Appius* the Cenſor does miracles? Know you, that hee abates the pompe of ſtatues, and pictures? that hee allots the meaſure of land? that hee conſtraines debtors to pay? hee thinkes the Cenſorſhip, is either paſte of beane-flowre, or liter: but in my opinion, he is deceiued: for, minding to purge himſelfe of filthineſſe, he opens all his veines, and all his bowels. Run, I beſeech you, for Gods and mens ſake, and come quickly to laugh at theſe nouelties; that *Drauſus* is conſtituted Iudge of the accuſed, by the *Scantinean* Law: and *Appius* is about ſtatues and pictures. I'le promiſe yee, you haue cauſe to come in haſte. 'Tis thought *Curio* hath done very wiſely, in permitting a ſtipend to be giuen to *Pompeius*. To conclude, will you know, what I iudge muſt fall out? If one of them go

not

not againſt the *Parthians*, I ſee cruell diſcords will ariſe, which muſt bee ended with the ſword. Either of them hath a great minde, and great forces. If infinite danger had not therin concurred, Fortune had prepared for you, a great, and pleaſant ſpectacle. Farewell.

Marcus Celius, to Cicero. Epiſt. 15.

WHen did you euer ſee a more fooliſh man then *Curius Pompeius*; who vſing to promiſe ſo many things, hath raiſed ſo many diſorders? But when did you either read, or heare, of one more prompt, and courageous in an enterprize, then our *Ceſar*, and more temperate after victorie? But what will you ſay to this other thing? If you did but ſee our ſouldiers now, who haue done nothing all the winter, but march in the raine, and winde, thorow difficult and cold places; you would thinke they had eaten of the moſt delicate apples, that could be gotten. Oh! will you ſay, you begin to glory in good time But, if you knew in what turmoyles I am, you would ſcoffe at this

my glorie, which nothing concernes me. I cannot write my secrets vnto you: but I hope shortly, to open it, by word of mouth. For, *Cæsar* determines to call me to *Rome*, when hee hath driuen *Pompeius* out of *Italy*: which I thinke is already performed: Except he had rather beleaguer him in *Brundusium*. I would I were dead; if the infinite desire I haue to see you, and communicate vnto you, all my secrets; bee not the greatest occasion of my comming thither so suddenly. I haue a thousand things to tel you. I am afraid, least as many times it falls out, I shall haue forgotten them all, when I see you. But what offence haue I committed, that I must now goe towards the *Alpes*? And to goe thither about the *Insubri*, who, for a matter of nothing are vp in armes? *Bellienus*, seruant sometime to *Dometius*, borne of a mayd seruant; who was there with some strength, tooke one *Domitius*, a Gentle-man of that towne, and a friend to *Cæsar* and hauing receiued money of the contrarie party, caused him to be strangled. The City rose vp in armes; whereupon I must now goe thither thorow the snow, with two thousand Foot. Certainely, will you say, the *Domitij* haue ill fortune euerie where? And I would that *Cæsar*, who is descended from *Venus*, had beene so resolute against your *Domitius*, as *Bellie-*

nus,

sus, who was borne of an hand-mayd, was against this other. Salute your son in my name. Farewell.

Marcus Celius, to Cicero. Epist. 16.

I Felt my life leaue mee, in reading your letters: by which I vnderstood, that none but melancholly thoughts possest your minde. And though you haue not cleerely layd open your meaning; neuertheless, you haue made manifest, what your disposition was. I presently wrote these letters vnto you. I pray you, my *Cicero*; I coniure you; by the care you haue of your own state, by the loue that you beare to your children, that no resolution come into your minde, by which your own safety, or that you possesse, may incurre any danger. For, I call Gods to witnesse, I call men, and our entire amitie; that I neuer foretold, or put you in minde of any thing, which proceeded not from deliberate counsell: but since I spake with *Cæsar*, and by him vnderstood, what his determination was, after victorie obtained: I gaue you therof aduertisement. If you suppose, that what

Cæsar was in the profecution of his courſes, the ſame he will bee in pardoning his aduerſaries; your conceit deceiues you. Euery thought of his, is cruell and rigorous, and alſo euery word. Hee departed angry with the Senate. Theſe oppoſitions of the Tribunes of the people, vext him verie much. I aſſure you, hee will open his eare to no humiliations. Wherefore, if any affection towards your ſelfe, or to the onely ſon you haue; if of your family, or any other thing within your hopes moue you; if you haue any reſpect to vs, or your ſon in law, ſo honeſt a man; you ſhould not diſturbe their fortunes, by impoſing a neceſſitie vpon vs, of hating or abandoning that part, on whoſe victorie our ſafetie depends; or, by being an occaſion, that againſt your preſeruation, we beare wicked reſolutions. Finally, you muſt conſider, that what diſpleaſure ſoeuer you could ſhew to *Pompeius*, you haue abſolutely donе it him, in this your delay. Now, if you thinke to ſtir againſt the Conqueror; whom, while euents were doubtfull, you neuer went about to offend; and to accompanie them that are now put to flight, whom you would not follow in time, when they made reſiſtance: 'tis the greateſt folly of the world. Take heed, whileſt you count it ſhame, with little care to proſecute the

the office of a good Citizen, leſt you be careleſſe of your owne good. But if I cannot abſolutely perſwade you to what I would; at leaſt attend, till aduertiſements come, of the ſucceſſe in *Spain*: the which I can tel you, at *Cæſars* arriual will be ours. Wheron their hopes will depend, when *Spain* is loſt, I cãnot perceiue. And being ſo; what reaſõ ſhould perſwade you, to ioyne with deſperate people, I cannot with my ſelfe imagine. This your intention, which, without telling it, you intimated to mee, was now come to *Cæſars* eare: and as ſoon, as hee had ſaluted mee; what hee had heard of you, he preſently told me. I ſaid, I knew nothing. Yet I entreated him, that he would be pleaſed to write vnto you a letter, which might perſwade you not to leaue *Italie*. He takes me along with him into *Spaine*. For if this were not, before I went to *Rome*, I would come poaſting to you whereſoeuer; and being preſent with you, I would feruently haue diſcharged ſuch an office; and with all my power retained you. Be verie warie, my good *Cicero*, that you be not an occaſion of vtter ruine, to your ſelfe, and all yours: and that you put not your ſelfe wittingly into that danger, out of which you ſee there is no hope for you any way to eſcape. And if the cries of Citizens reputed honeſt, doe moue you; or that

you cannot ſtoope to ſupport the pride and inſolencie of ſome particulars: me thinkes you ſhould do well to make choyce of ſome towne farre from the tumult of armes, while theſe things are diſpatch'd, of which the finall effect is expected. If you thus diſpoſe of your ſelfe, I ſhall iudge that you haue done wiſely, and you ſhall not herein offend *Cæſar*. Farewell.

Marcus Calius, to Cicero.
Epiſt. 17.

ACcurſed bee the Fortune, which was the cauſe, that I was rather in *Spaine* then at *Formiæ*, when you went to *Pompeius*. But I would to God, that either *Appius Claudius* had not beene of your part, or *Caius Curio* of ours; whoſe friendſhip hath drawne me to that ſide, which maintaines the more vniuſt cauſe. For I know, that hatred, and loue haue bereaued me of my beſt ſenſes. And you alſo, when I came to you by night to *Arminum*, performed the office of an excellent Citizen, but not of a Friend; giuing me commiſſion to treate of peace with *Cæſar*, without aduiſing me at all in that, which concerned me. Neither thinke I ſpeake this,

as fearing that our part ſhall not vanquiſh: but certainely 'tis better to die, then ſee theſe men. And were it not for feare of your cruelties; we had long time ſince, beene expelled from hence: where there is no man, nor any ſociety, beſides a few vſurers, which is not a *Pompeian*. I haue procured, that the Plebeians eſpecially, and people, are yours, which firſt were ours. For what occaſion, you'le ſay? but liſten to the remainder. I le make you ouercome though you would not. You ſleepe: and in my opinion yee obſerue not, where we lie open, and are moſt weak. And this I will not doe in hope of reward, but becauſe wrath, and choler are of great force in me. What doe you there? attend you battaile, which you cannot tell how to maintaine? I know not what manner of men yours are: but our ſoldiers are inur'd to fight manfully, and to ſupport all cold, & famine.

Farewell.

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THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M.T. CICERO.

Cicero to Marcus Terentius Varro. Epiſt. 1.

Atticus read a letter of yours vnto me; by which I vnderſtood what you doe, and where you are; but I could not learne when we ſhould ſee you. Yet I hope that your comming is neere at hand; which Gods grant, that it may disburden me in part of the afflictions I ſuffer: although, we are ouerwhelmed with ſo heauie a ruine, that hee would ſhew himſelfe but a foole,

foole, that should any wayes hope to be eased. But howsoeuer we may perauenture in some sort helpe one another. For after I came to *Rome*, I reconciled my selfe to my old friends, that is, to my bookes; whose conuersation I had left: not because I was angry with them, but in that I was ashamed: it appearing vnto me, that I had not obeyed their instructions, in that I exposed my selfe to danger for the loue of such, as were not faithfull friends. But they pardon me, and call me to my vsuall studies, saying, that you haue beene wiser by whom they were neuer forsaken. Wherefore, seeing I am in fauour with them, I nourish good hopes, that I shall easily, when I see you, passe ouer the burden, both of present, and future euils. Therefore, if you please, let vs retire either to *Tusculanum*, or to your *Cumanum*; or else, (which by no means I would) to *Rome*: so we may be together, I assuredly bring matters to that passe, that both of vs, shall reape benefit. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Ep. 2.

OVR *Caninius* comming to me very late; and telling me, that the day following in the morning, hee was

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to come to you: I told him, that in the morning I would giue him a letter; and deſired him to returne for it. I wrote in the night, and yet he returned not: I thought he had forgotten it. Yet I would not haue failed to ſend you it by one of mine, if by the former partie, I had not vnderſtood, that the day following in the morning, you were to depart from *Tuſculanum*. A few dates after, *Caninius* comes early, beyond my expectation; and tells me that euen then he was to come to you; I would not haue that Epiſtle to be fruſtrate, which I wrote in the night: and ſo; though it were old; (eſpecially ſo much newes hauing ſince occurred;) yet I gaue it him. And to him, who is a learned man, and your good friend, I deliuered as much by word of mouth, as he by this time hath communicated vnto you. In my opinion, wee muſt both ſhunne the eyes of the multitude, though their tongues we cannot. For the Victors, exalted in pride through victorie, looke vpon vs as vanquiſhed: and they who grieue, that our faction hath loſt, fret, that we are ſtill aliue. Why then, you will peraduenture ſay, take not you a courſe to liue out of *Rome*, as I doe? Becauſe, you go before me, and euery man elſe in prudence. I thinke all ſecret things are manifeſt to you: you neuer erred. Who is ſo

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quicke-ſighted, that walking through ſuch darkeneſſe, may not ſtumble ſometimes? and yet I bethought my ſelfe long ſince; that it had beene good, to goe into ſome part; not to ſee, nor heare, what is heere done, and ſpoken But after I had conſidered with my ſelfe; I imagined, that whoſoeuer met me, would turmoile at his pleaſure; or elſe, if he ſuſpected nothing, he might ſay; Thus man either feares; and becauſe he is afraid flyeth: or he hath ſome proiect in his head; and a ſlap readie prouided. In concluſion, hee that ſuſpected leaſt ill, and knew me peraduenture more inwardly; would thinke that I bare hatred to certaine perſons, and that I left *Rome*, for no other cauſe, but by reaſon I could not ſuffer mine eyes to behold them. Theſe cogitations haue detained me in *Rome* hitherto: beſides, that length of time, hath by little and little cauſed as it were an inſenſibilitie of minde to grow in me, ſo that it feeles no longer. You haue vnderſtood the reaſons that kept me in *Rome*. Concerning your courſes, I am of opinion, 'twere good for you to ſtaie where you are, till this exultation be ſomewhat abated: till it bee knowne what end the warre hath had: for I make no doubt but ended it is: and it auailes much to vnderſtand, after victorious ſucceſſe; what diſpoſition

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the Conquerour manifeſted. Though I may imagine it: yet I expect to vnderſtand it. If you will follow my counſell, you ſhall not goe to *Baiæ*, before you ſee all theſe reports ſetled that ſhe abroad. For it will bee greater honour to vs; then departing from hence, it be thought we are retired into thoſe places, rather to mourne, then to bath our ſelues. But herein, I referre my ſelfe to your wiſedome: I thinke good that we tie our ſelues to this reſolution, to liue together in our ſtudies, and ſo much the rather, becauſe whereas before, we ſtudied onely for contentment of minde, now we are reduced to ſuch a point, as without the ſuſtentation of letters, our life would faile vs. If any would make vſe of our counſell, and endeauour, to recouer the conſumed bodie of the Common-wealth; then indeed, leauing ſtudies, wee muſt runne to the performance of ſo worthie an office; And fortune denying vs this wiſhed occaſion, to practiſe in the Senate, and Forum; wee will trace the foot-ſteps of thoſe ſo learned, ancients, partly compoſing as they did, about the true forme, of liuing well, and gouerning iuſtly: partly alſo in reading their workes. By which ſtudie, if we cannot otherwiſe, we ſhall benefit the Common-wealth. This is my opinion. I ſhould be glad, that you would write vnto mee, what

what reſolution and opinion you are of. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epiſt. 3.

I Had nothing to write: yet *Caninius* comming to you, I would not haue him depart without my letters But what ſhould I write vnto you? that which I thinke you deſire; that I will ſhortly come to viſite you. Although 'tis a matter to be conſidered of, how conuenient it is; that now when the Citie is ſo ouerladen with miſeries, we ſhould goe to the Bathes; which are places of ſolace. We ſhall miniſter matter to them to talke of, who know not; that by changing of place, we neither change life, nor cuſtomes. And yet we cannot auoyd, the talking thereof. But what remedie? in retiring our ſelues to a repoſed life, now when all men are employed in wicked and bad actions, ſhould we regard the being cenſured? I reſolue conſtantly to contemne the ignorant vulgar, and to follow your footſteps. For though our miſeries be very great; yet it ſeemes the ſtudie of vertue, is now more beneficiall vnto vs, then it was at other times: or be it that in this ſtorme, wee ſee no other Port; or elſe that the griefe vouſelfe

nouinesse of the infirmity makes vs the better to know the necessitie, or want of Physicke; whose efficacie we did not discerne, while we were healthfull. But what do I? The writing of these things to you; in whose house they properly growe, is a carrying (as they say) of Owles to *Athens*. But I wrot them for no other end, but to giue you an occasion to write vnto me something backe againe; and to acquaint you with my comming. Therefore answere, and expect me. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epist. 4.

KNow, that of things possible, I hold the same opinion with *Diodorus*: and therefore if you are to come: I say it is necessary that you come: and if you are not to come; on the contrary; I say, that it is impossible you should come. Now to this purpose, examine whither be the better opinion, this of *Diodorus*: or that of *Chrisippus*, which pleased not our *Diodorus* very well. But wee'le discourse together of this argument, at a more conuenient time. Which according to *Chrisippus*, is possible to happen; but it is not for all that, necessarie. As for *Costius*, it contented mee well, and I had giuen commission also therein

therein to *Atticus*. If you come not to vs, we wil come to you flying. Let there be a garden in your Librarie, [and] it is no matter for the reſt. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epiſt. 5.

YEs indeed will it be a very fit time on the ſeuenth of the moneth, both in reſpect of the Common-wealth, and for the ſeaſon of the yeare. Therefore I am pleaſed, that you made choice of this day, to which I alſo referre my ſelfe. They who followed not our courſe, we ſee they now repent them: and though they ſhould doe otherwiſe, yet ſhould not we repent vs. For wee went to the warre, not out of hope to ouercome, but through a deſire, to diſcharge our duties to our Countrie: and when we left it, we abandoned not our duties, but a deſperate enterpriſe. And ſo we had a greater care of our honour, then they that neuer ſtir'd from home: and more wiſedome then thoſe, who being vanquiſht, and defeated, would not returne home. But aboue all things, it grieues me to ſee our ſelues ſo bitterly checkt by them, that neuer went out of *Rome*: and howſoeuer the matter be: I more eſteeme thoſe, that were ſlaine in the

the warre, then theſe men, who repine, that we ſurviue. If I haue any time to come to *Tuſculanum*, before the prefixed day, I will ſee you there: if not, I will finde you out in *Cumanum*: and I will ſend you word thereof before, that the Bathe may be readie, at my comming. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epiſt. 6.

OVr *Caninius* told me in your behalfe, that if there were any thing, which I thought imported you to vnderſtand, that I ſhould not faile to aduertiſe you thereof. You ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that *Cæſar* is expected: though I perſwade my ſelfe you know it. But notwithſtanding he hauing written that he would come, as I remember, into the *Alſian* territory: his friends wrote backe againe to him, that he ſhould not come: For many would diſturbe him, and he many: and that it were better for him to arriue at *Puteolum*. I knew not, wherefore it imported him more, to arriue at *Puteolum*, then about *Aſia*: but *Hirtius* told me, he had written of it to him: and that *Balbus*, and *Oppius* had done the like: all which three, I knew to be well affected to you.

you. I meant to aduertise you of his comming, to the end, you might know in what place, or rather in which of these two places, you should prouide you of a lodging: for it is not certainly knowne, where he will arriue. And I did it also, to informe you, that I am familiar with these men; and that they make me partaker of their counsels. Which, I cannot perceiue, why it should not like me. Although I support what is necessarie to be supported: yet it followes not, that I should commend that, which is not praise worthie. Though I know not, what I may not commend; besides the first occasions. For, what afterwards ensued, fell out through our errour. I savy, (for then you were not there) that our friends affected warre, and that *Cæsar* desired it not so much, as he feared it not. The warre therefore grew through our defect: what after hapned, could not fall out otherwise: it being of necessitie, that one part must vanquish. I knowe your griefe, was equall with mine, perceiuing that a slaughter of innumerable Citizens must ensue, with the death of the one, or other Generall: and besides this; knowing, that there could not be a worse inconuenience, then victorie of ciuill warres: the which I expected not from our enemies onely, but also from our friends: Who terribly threatened

and such, as had not followed their party; and hated both of vs: you, because you desired peace, and me, in that I openly approued it. And if they had subdued, their victorie would haue bin cruell and immoderate. For they beare an incensed minde towardes vs; as if we had taken a course, that would not be as beneficiall to them, as to our selues, if they would haue followed it: or as if it had beene better to haue gone into *Africa*, hoping to ouercome, by meanes of the Elephants; then either to die, or liue with any better Fortune. Oh, we liue, in a turmoyled Commonwealth: I cannot denie it; but let them take care, that haue not prouided for any kind of life. And to come to this point, I haue extended my selfe, further then I would. For hauing euer reputed you, for a man of great worth; I now value you much more: For in this so generall a storme, almost you onely haue had the vnderstanding to retyre you into a Port; where reaping wonderfull fruits of your knowledge, you intellectuallie discourse of things of such a qualitie, as are much more estimable, then any profit, or pleasure of these Conquerours. What sweete daies doe you enioy now in *Tusculanum*? This may truely be termed a life. I would I might liue so; free from greater disturbances. For I could willingly

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reſigne ouer vnto others, all the riches of the world. But I doe vvhat I can to imitate you, and with ſingular contentment, I liue in the repoſe of ſtudies. And why ſhould not euery man graunt vs, now the Common-wealth, neither can, nor will employ vs, that we may retire to letters? The which, I know, by many learned men, (vvith what reaſon I cannot tell) were preferred before the Common-wealth. If therefore in the iudgement of famous men, we may rather applie our mindes to theſe ſtudies, then to the gouernment of publicke affaires: how much more now, when the common-wealth her ſelfe is content therevvith, may vve follow them hourly? But I doe more then *Caninius* impoſed vpon me: he vviſht me to aduertiſe you of matters you knevv not, and theſe that I now write vnto you, you know better then my ſelfe. Hereafter therefore, I'le be ruled by *Caninius* direction: I'le informe you onely of that which belongs to the quality of the preſent times, and that which I ſhall vnderſtand to import you. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epiſt. 7.

I Was at ſupper with *Saxa*, when your letters were brought vs. I am of your opinion,

opinion, that 'tis now time to depart from hence. And in that hetherto I haue calumniated you; I'le tell you with what craft I did it. My minde was, that you ſhould haue entertained the time, in ſome place neere hand, if happily we could obtaine the fauour of *Cæſar*, when we went both together to meete him. Now, that euery thing is diſpatch't, without any doubt or delay, we muſt be gone. For as ſoone as I heard of the death of *Lucius Cæſar* the ſonne; I ſayd vnto my ſelfe; what will he doe to me? Whereupon I ſup often with theſe men, which haue a kinde of dominion ouer vs. What ſhould I doe? We muſt obſerue the times. But let vs leaue ieſting: for 'tis now time to be in earneſt. *Africa* is vp in armes, and trembles feareſully. There is no diſaſter, which I feare not. But whereas you demaund of me, at what time he will come, in what part, or into what place: Hitherto we know nothing. They ſay 'tis true, that he will disimbarke at *Baiæ*. Some thinke, that he may come by *Sardinia*. For the farme which he there hath, he neuer yet ſaw, neither hath he a worſer, but yet he accounts of it. I rather beleeue, that he'le come by *Sicilia*: but we ſhall preſently know it. For it cannot be, but *Dolabella* will arriue. I thinke, he ſhall be our Maſter. How many ſcholiers are more ſufficient then their Maſters? Howſoeuer

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if I may vnderſtand, what courſe you will ke-, my reſolu on ſhall be conformable to yours: and therefore I will attend your letters. Farewell.

Cicero to Varro. Epiſt. 8.

ALthough it be not the manner; no not of the common people, except they be vrged, to be importunate in demanding a preſent; whereof there was formerly an intention and promiſe made: neuertheleſſe the expectation that I haue of your promiſe, mooues me not to ſollicite, but to challenge you of performance. And I could not chooſe; but ſend you foure bookes: which ſhall admoniſh you to pay the debt, without any great reſpect. This new Academie, hauing, as I ſuppoſe you know, rather a preſumptuous forme, then otherwiſe And therefore I doubt, that theſe foure bookes, which I ſend vnto you, comming out of the center of the ſame Academie, will challenge your promiſe, with too much importunitie: which I haue enioyned them, that they ſhould but only put you in minde, that I liued in expectation, that you would haue honoured me with the dedication of ſome worke of yours: and for this cau-

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I forbare to write vnto you: to the end that hauing first seene your present, I might haue deuised the like to recompence you. But obseruing your slackenesse, (though I will rather terme it diligence, then slacknesse) I could not forbeare to write the said bookes vnto you, to manifest vnto the world, in the best manner I could, the firme knot, both of our studies, and mutuall loue, by which we are conioyned. And so I haue digested in forme of a Dialogue, that discourse we had together in *Cumanum*, *Pomponius Atticus* being present. And because I conceiued, that *Antiochus* opinion pleased you; I haue brought you in to defend it: and I maintaine that of *Philo*. You will in reading, wonder at some things vttered by vs, which neuer were spoken. But you know the custome in Dialogues. Hereafter we will betweene vs endite many things, and vpon the subiect of our selues. Which we should haue done before now: but for the time past, the Common-wealth excuseth vs; for the time to come, the blame should be laid vpon vs. And would to God, that in a retired life, and in a state of our countrie, though not prosperous, yet secure; we might exercise our studies together. Although occasions would not be then wanting, to meditate, and practise somthing else. But now, without studies,

what a life would ours be? In sooth, I know not certainly, whither with them I may likewise liue: but without. I shall neuer be able. But we will discusse this together hereafter, and verie often. Whereas you write vnto me, about the house you haue bought, and how you are gone to dwell there: I wish you all happinesse therein, and I thinke you haue done very wisely. Haue a care of your health. Farewell.

Dolabella to Cicero. Ep. 9.

IF you be well, I am glad of it: I am in health; and our *Tullia* is exceeding well. *Terentia* felt her selfe very ill: but I know certainely shee is recouered. All your other matters, stand in very good state, you know, that before now, I perswaded you to follow *Cæsars* part, or else to retire you into some secure, and quiet place: neither am I perswaded, that you imagine, that I aduised you, more for the interest of our faction, then for your owne good. And therefore now, that we are euen vpon the point of victorie; I should thinke I committed a greater fault, if I did not exhort you a new. And I beseech you my *Cicero*, to take in good part what I write

and

and if you like not to follow my counsell; at least beleeue, that I haue stirred in your actions, and done the offices which now I performe; for no other end, but for the great loue I beare you. You see now, that *Cneius Pompeius* is nothing the better for the glory of his name, nor for his so great prowesse, or being so much followed by Kings and Nations, wherein being lofte and proud he continually vaunted. He is driuen out of *Italy*: he hath lost *Spaine* and his armie of old souldiers, is taken from him: finallie, he is now besieged; and that which neuer fell out to any one, how base soeuer he was; happeneth to him; that he cannot flie without dishonor. Neither doe I thinke that any of our Captaines, were euer in such disgrace. Wherefore being wise, as you are, consider well, what hopes now remaine, either to him or you. And in so doing you may dispose of your selfe, to take that course, for your businesses which shall be most profitable. One fauour I demand of you, that if he escape this beleaguering, and flie away by Sea, that you looke well to your own estate, and resolue at length, to be better to your selfe, then to any other whatsoeuer. You haue discharged your dutie; you haue finished the warre amitie you had with *Pompeius*; you haue finished also each part; and

that Cómon-wealth, which you iudge to be good. Now it remaines, that you must be contented with that we haue: seeing you cannot be in that, which so much pleased you. Therefore I desire, my sweete *Cicero*, if peraduenture *Pompeius* be driuen out of the place, where he is; and be constrained to retire himselfe anew, into other countries; that you withdraw your selfe, either to *Athens*, or else into some other quiet Citie. And when you doe so, be pleased to aduertise me: for, if it may be, I le come speedily to find you. And besids, that I am certaine, your selfe shall obtaine of *Cæsar*, whatsoeuer you will, about your honor; because he is verie courteous; I am also further of opinion, that he will be much moued at my entreaties. I know your fidelitie, and loue; the one, makes me beleeue, that the carrier of this present, may returne hither againe securely; and the other, that he will bring me your letters. Farewell.

Cicero to Dolabella. Ep. 10.

I Thought it an error not to write vnto you, our friend *Salonius* hauing occasiõ to come where you are: although, to ly truth, I know not what to write: more

more then that I loue you tenderly: which though I should not write; yet I am certaine, you would hold it infallible. I should rather looke for letters from you, then you from me: nothing passing in *Rome*, which you care to vnderstand: except peraduenture you would know this: that our *Nerias*, and *Fidus*, haue made choice of me for their Iudge. One produceth (as he formes to informe me) a loane made to *Nerias*, written in two verses: the other like a second *Aristarchus*, saith it is false. I as an auncient Iudge, must determine whether it be false or true. I suppose that you reasoning now within your selfe, may say vnto me. Haue you then forgotten those mushromes, which you eate in *Nerias* house? and those great banquets of *Sophia*, daughter to *Septimus*? But what? your meaning by this? doe you thinke I haue forgotten my selfe so farre, that whereas before, I was verie seuere; now, that I haue the authoritie of a Iudge, should I make no account of Iustice? I'le carrie the matter so, that our *Nerias* shall not be wronged neither will I in any case condemn him, to the end that you may haue no occasion to restore him; least he goe to *Plancus Varia*, to instruct him in letters. But what doe I? I range too farre, not well conceiuing whether you haue a repoised minde, or, as it falls out often in

the warres, whither you finde your ſelfe plunged in ſome care, or buſineſſe of importance. When I vnderſtand, that you are in caſe to laugh: I'le write to you more at large. Yet will I not omit to tell you this, that the people were wonderfully touch't with the death of *Publius Silla*, before they knew the certaintie. Now they neuer ſtriue to vnderſtand how he died, they thinke it enough to know that he is dead. I for ſome reaſon, beare it patiently; I am afreid of one thing: that by this mans death, *Ceſars* publike out-crie will bee hindred. Farewell.

Cicero to Dolabella. Ep. 11.

I Had rather you ſhould vnderſtand by my letters, of mine owne death, then that of my daughters; which aſſuredly I ſhould the better ſupport, if I had you about me. For your words would haue comforted me exceedingly, and the vnſpeakeable loue you beare me. But, becauſe I hope within a ſmall time, to ſee you againe; you ſhall finde me at ſuch a paſſe, that I may receiue alſo from you no ſmall aſſiſtance; not that I am ſo afflicted, that I haue forgotten my ſelfe to be a man; or that I conceiue

nor,

not, that Fortune should be resisted: Nevertheless, as I was wont to be the most cheerefull and milde man of the world: vpon which you took such liking to my conuersation: So now am I turned quite contrary; yet you shall vnderstand, that I haue not a whit diminished that freedome, and constance of spirit, I was wont to haue, if it be true, that euer I had it. Whereas you write, that you defend me stoutly against my detractors; I make not so much account of that, as I desire it may appeare, as questionlesse it doth, that I am beloued of you. And I pray you with the most effectuall entreaties that can be vsed, be pleased to perseuere, in that so louing an office; and to pardon me, though I write briefly to you: the which I do, first in this respect, because I imagine we shall shortly be together: besides, because this blow, hath so astonisht me, that I find not my selfe yet in case for writing. Farewell.

Cicero to Dolabella. Ep. 12.

I Congratulate with the Baths of *Baiæ*, I feeling as you write, on a sudden they are grown healthfull, against their old custome. Except peraduenture they are enamoured of you, and desire to ap-

plie themselues to your occasion, giuing ouer, while you are there, their ordinarie disposition. Which, if it be true; I maruaile not, though euen heauen, & earth leaue their vsuall properties, for your commoditie. I send you the briefe Oration, which I made in defence of King *Deiotarus*: which I knew not to be about me. The subiect is very mean, and almost vncapable of ornaments; nor verie worthie to be set downe in writing. But because *Deiotarus* is my guest, and a friend of many yeares standing; I thought good to send him, this poore present, as a garment of a grosse graine, like those presents, he was wont to send to me. I aduise you to shew, wisedome, and valour: to the end, that by your modestie, and grauitie, the iniuries of your enemies, may light vpon their owne heads with dishonour, and infamie. Farewell.

Cicero to Dolabella. Ep. 13.

Caius Suberinus Calenus, is a familiar of mine, and an inward friend to *Lepta*, our most domesticall. This man to auoid the warre, going into *Spaine*, with *Marcus Varro*, with a resolution to remaine in that Prouince, where

where none of vs (ſince *Afranius* was defeated) ſuppoſed that any rumors of warre would haue riſen: did light preciſely into thoſe verie miſchiefes, which he laboured to ſhunne. For on the ſudda ne, he was ſurprized with a warie, which being firſt kindled by *Scapula*, was afterwards in ſuch ſort, reinforced by *Pompius*, that in no wiſe, *Suberanus* could diſ-intricate himſelfe from that miſerie. *Marcus Plautius Varro*, is as it were in the ſame perplexities, who is likewiſe *Caleno*, a familiar friend of our *Lepta*. I commend therefore vnto you, both theſe, with the greateſt loue, and efficacie poſſible. I deſire to doe them fauour: and not onely amitie, but euen humanitie mooues me thereunto. Beſides, *Lepta* being ſo much grieued thereat, that he could not be more in caſe of his owne ſubſtance: I am vrged to feele thereon, if not as much affliction, at the leaſt little leſſe. Whereupon, though I had many times, by proofe vnderſtood, how entire the loue you beare me is; neuertheleſſe be aſſured, that I ſhall more ſecurely iudge thereof, in this preſent occaſion. I pray you therefore, ſo worke, that both theſe *Caleni*; miſerable, not by fault, but through Fortune, to whom euery one is ſubiect, may receiue no damage; to the end, that by your meanes I may do this fauour to them; & alſo, to the com-

pany of *Calenus*, with whom I haue great friendship, and to *Lepta*, which more imports then all the rest. What I am to speake, I thinke is not much to the purpose: neuerthelesse 'tis not hurtfull to deliuer it. I say therefore, that one of these hath very little substance, and the other hardly so much, as may maintaine him in the ranke of a Caualiere. Wherefore seeing *Cæsar*, out of his clemencie, hath giuen him his life, besides which they haue not much to lose; see if you can procure fauour; if you loue me so much, as quest onlesse you doe; that they may returne home: wherein they gaine nothing else, but a tedious iourney; which will not bee wearisome to them, so they may liue and die with their friends. Which thing I request you most earnestly to procure with all endeuour, or rather to effect it; for I am of opinion, that you are able to doe it. Farewell.

Cicero to Dolabella Consull. Epist. 9.

THough I could content my selfe, my *Dolabella*, with your glory, and take therein wonderfull satisfaction, and contentment: yet I must needes confesse,

confesse, that I feele my selfe replenished with satisfaction, seeing, that by the common opinion of men, I am made partaker of your praises. With whomsoeuer I come to speake thereof, (And euery day I speake with very many, for there is a great number of vertuous men, which for the meanes of health, repaire to these places: and besides this, diuers others my neere friends, which come vnto vs from priuiledged places, all which) after they haue exalted you to heauen with exceeding prayses, they presently giue me the greatest, and most efficacall thankes that can be. For they say, they make no doubt, but that you, following my documents, and instructions, may discharge those offices. Which to an excellent Citizen, and honorable Cenfull are conformable. And though I may answer them in all truth; that the matters you compile; your owne iudgement, and liberty moues you to effect them; and that you neede not anothers aduise: neuertheleese, neither doe I wholly yeeld to their words, because I would not extenuate your praise; in that it may seeme, wholly to proceed from my Councels: nor doe I altogether oppose them: because I am more hungrie after glorie then is conuenient. And yet, that detracts not from your dignitie, which *Agamemnon* king of kings, reputed for

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so great honor; to haue some *Nestor* for a Counsellor: and to meet it brings great renowme; that you being a young man, and Consull, should increase so vertuous operations, as nourished and brought vp, vnder my discipline. *Lucius Cæsar* certainely, whom I went, to meet at *Naples*, although terrible bodilie torments afflicted him; neuertheleese, before hee talked me, said, I reioyce with you, my *Cicero*, in that you are of such power with *Dolabella*, that, if I had as much with the sonne of my sister; we might, secure from all danger, now, lead a life reposed. But with your *Dolabella* I reioyce, and giue him thankes. to whom in truth, since your time of being Consull, wee may only ascribe the title of true Consull. Hee afterwards vsed many words, about your actions, and prowesse: concluding, that there was neuer more honourable and illustrious enterprise performed; nor from which greater benefit accrewed to the Common-wealth. And euerie one generallie concurreth with him in this opinion Now, I request you; that you will permit me, to assume this, as it were a false inheritance of anothers glorie: and suffer me in some part, to enter into a participation. of your praises. Although my *Dolabella* (for what I said hereto, I spake out of merriment) I would more willingly

willingly poure vpon you, all my commendations, if any praise be due vnto me, then diminish any of yours. For I hauing alwaies so loued you, as easilie you may conceiue: [&] now especially, these your atchieuements haue enflamed me with so ardent an affection, that no man was euer, more set on fire with loue, then my selfe. For there is nothing, (beleeue me) that is more louche, beautifull, or amiable then vertue. I euer loued, as you know, *Marcus Brutus*, for the excellencie of his wit; for the sweetnesse of his customes; and for that bountie, and constancie, wherein none is comparable to him: and neuerthelesse, on the xiii of March, my loue towards him, was so augmented; that I wondred, how a thing could growe greater, the which long time since I thought had attained to it full growth. And who would euer haue thought, that the loue I beare you, could in any sort, haue beene enlarged? and yet it is so encreased, that parallelling the loue I now beare you; with that which hitherto I professed towards you, me thinkes that seemes vulgar, and this singular. To what end therefore should I exhort you, to haue the obiect of your thoughts to be euer reputation, and glorie? Shall I set before your eyes, the example of men famous for their vertue; which they vsually

ally doe, that exhort men to praise? I cannot finde a more famous man then your selfe. You must trace your owne footesteps, and seeke to goe beyond your selfe. And me thinkes, hauing a'readie wrought such wonderfull things; you can doe no lesse; then resemble your own actions. And being so, exhortations, are not necessary: it is rather needfull; that I should reioyce with you: a matter hauing fallen out to you, which I cannot say, euer happened to any other; which is; that, the hauing with rigorous seueritie punished an offence, did not displease; but pleased the people: and did as well to all good men, as to the meanest people, bring singular contentment. If this had happened through the fauour of Fortune; I would haue reioyced with you, in your happie successe; but this fell out vnto you, first through the magnanimitie of your minde, and then by your owne wisedome and councell. For I haue read the Oration that you made vnto the people. I neuer saw any thing fuller of vnderstanding. For point, by point, you doe so closely come vp, to demonstrate the occasion of the fact, and then afterwards you retire your selfe with that dexteritie; that by an vniuersall consent of euery man, It seemed the matter it selfe solicited you, to chastise

the

the malefactors. You haue therefore free'd the towne from danger; and the Cittizens from feare. Neither onely at this instant; but for euer, while the memorie of so notable an act shall continue, you haue exceedingly benefitted the Common-wealth. Therefore you must conceiue, that the whole Common-wealth relieth onke vpon you: and that to you it belongs not only to preserue, but also to exalt them to honorable estate, from whom the beginning of libertie is deriued. But of these things, so farre as I hope, it will not be long; ere we discourse presentially. In the meane while; seeing you preserue the Common-wealth, and vs, attend with singular care, to preserue your selfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto. Epist. 15.

I will answer two of your Epistles: one, that I receiued three daies since from *Bethus*; another, which *Theleros* the Poaste brought me. By the first, I vnderstood, that you were well pleased, to heare me so inquisitiue of your sicknes. And I am glad, that you conceiue my affection towards you: though I assure you;

you; that you could not so well apprehend it by my letters, as it is in effect. For, perceiuing my selfe to be honoured, and beloued of many; (for I cannot say otherwise;) amongst all those, there's not any one, more deare vnto me then you are: not onely because you loue me, and haue loued me of long time, and with perseuerance: (which, though it be a great, and peraduenture a verie extraordinarie matter: yet is it common to you, with many others:) but also, because your selfe is so amiable, sweet, and euery waits courteous: which is a part proper to you alone: to which we may adde, a manner of teasting, not according to the *Attick*, but conformable to the ancient *Romane* vse, more ingenious then that of the *Attick*s. And I, (make what reckoning of me you please) am wonderfullie delighted with wittie conceipts, especiallie with ours of *Rome*: which heretofore lost a great deale of their lustre, when our Citie came to be ouer-thronged with forraine nations; in that the title of Citizens, which then was belonging only to the *Latine* people; now conferred vpon nations, which come from beyond the mountaines, is the occasion that it daily looseth that ancient facetious manner of speaking: so that almost no footsteps thereof remaineth. Wherefore when

I ſee you, me thinkes I ſee all the *Grauis*, all the *Lucilij*, and alſo to ſpeake, as it is, all the *Craſſi*, and *Lælij*. I would I were dead, if beſides your ſelfe, I ſee any left me, in whom I can diſcerne any ſimilitude of thoſe ancient pleaſant ſtraines of wit. Whereunto adding, ſo great loue, as that is, which you beare mee: doe you wonder, that I was ſo troubled for your grieuous, and dangerous maladie? And whereas in the other Epiſtle you excuſe your ſelfe, by ſaying, that you neuer diſwaded me, from the purchaſe that I would haue made at *Naples*, but that you aduiſed mee to continue at *Rome*: neither did I euer vnderſtand it otherwiſe. In deed I conceiued that, which by theſe letters I apprehend, that you thought it was not good for me, as I alſo thought, to depart from hence; not altogether; but yet with a determination, to returne hither ſeldome. You ſpeake to me of *Catulus*, and of thoſe times. What conformitie is there? Then, it diſliked me to remaine long time farre of, from the cuſtodie of the Common-wealth. For we ſate in the ſterne, and gouerned the Rudder: but now we haue ſcarcely any place about the pumpe. Do you thinke now, though I ſhall bee at *Naples*, that for this cauſe they will forbeare, to paſſe decrees in the Senate? when being at *Rome*, & attending to publicke affaires; the

the decrees of the Senate are registred in a friends house of thine, my familiar; and when they please, they subscribe my name thereto, as if I had beene present. And I sooner heare of some decree, transported into *Armenia*, and *Syria*, which seemes to be passed according to my minde, then word is delivered to me thereof. And thinke not, that I speake this in craft: Because you must note, that letters are already brought me from the furthest distant Kings that are; wherein they thanke me, for giving them in the Senate, the title of Kings: the which I had not onely, not done; but scarcely knew there were any such in the world. What must be done then? So long as that our maister of ceremonies remains here, I will nevertheless doe as you counsell me: when he is gone, I'le come to your Mothromes. If I shall have an house; the charge which the law loadeth vs for one day, I'le distribute moreten: but if I cannot meet with a feate, that contents me; I am determined to lie with you. For I know I cannot better gratifie you. About *Sulla's* house, I had now almost lost all hope, as I last wrote vnto you: but yet I have not altogether lost it; I should be glad, that you as you write, had viewed it in the companie of some Masons, for if there be no fault in the walles,

walles, or the roofe, the reſt will like me well enough. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto. Epiſt. 16.

YOur letters pleaſed me: and firſt, I was glad to vnderſtand, that the affection you beare me, induced you to write vnto me, doubting leſt *Trimo*, with the newes he brought mee, might haue put mee to ſome trouble of minde. About which thing, you wrote before vnto me, twice after one manner: ſo that I eaſily conceiued your diſlike: and I had diligently returned anſwer thereunto, to the end, that ſo well as in ſuch an occaſion, and time I was able, I might, at the leaſt, in part, if not altogether diſpoſſeſſe you of your ſorrow. But ſeeing in theſe laſt letters alſo, you ſhew what a care you haue of it: be aſſured of this, my *Pæto*, that, whatſoeuer could bee done with Art, (for now counſell ſtaues not the time, ſome new policie muſt bee inuented) I ſay, what by Art may bee attempted, or inuented, to purchaſe the loue of theſe *Cæſarians*: that haue I laboured, and procured with all diligence poſſible: and in my opinion, very ſucceſſefully. For,

For, I am so honoured, and reuerenced by them, to whom Cæsar wisheth well, that I beleeue I am beloued of them. For, though I could hardly discerne true loue from fained, except vpon some occasion, wherein, as gold by the fire, so true loue may bee tried, and knowne by some danger; for other, are but common signes: nouertheleſſe, I build vpon this, rather then any other thing, to thinke, that I am heartily, and truely beloued: that, both my fortune, and theirs is such, as there is no cause to dissemble. Then, as for him, who is Lord of all, I see not why I should feare; except in that, there is no security, where reason hath no authority. Neither can one promise any thing certaine to himselfe, where, on others will (not to terme them appetites) euery thing dependeth. Notwithstanding, I haue not offended his minde in any thing: and therein I haue carefully vsed all my dexterity and prudence. For, as other whiles I thought, that it rather appertain'd to mee, then any other, to speake freely; so to him, that had beene a preſeruer of the common liberty: so now, seeing it is lost, I thinke it not fit for me, to speak any thing, w may offend either Cæsars minde, or his friends. But, if I should omit the occasion, of some excellent saying, I should lose the opinion conceiued of my wit: the which,

if

it I could, I would not refuse to doe. But yet *Cæsar* himselfe hath a very good iudgement. And euen as your brother *Seruius*, whom I take to haue beene very learned, would readily say, this verse is not of *Plautus*, thus is; because he was accustomed to read Poets, and to note their passages: so I vnderstand, that *Cæsar*, hauing of himselfe, made volumes of worthy sayings, if any thing bee presented him for mine, which is not, he vseth to reiect it: and he doth it now much more, because his most familiar friends, leade their whole life almost with me. Now many things fall, in sundry discourses, which perad uenture, after I haue vttered them, yeeld some sauour of learning and vnderstanding; these are offered to him, together with other conceipts, which daily are inuented: For, to hee hath commanded. From hence it proceeds, that, if afterwards hee heare any thing of me, hee thinkes it not worthy to bee giuen eare vnto. For which cause, I make no vse of your *Enemies*, though by way of merriment, you haue added thereto the verses of *Accius*. But what enuy is there? or, what thing is there in me, for which I should be enuied? But suppose, that it is, as you say: I see, that it so pleased the Philosophers, that is, those that seeme alone vnto me, to vnderstand the force of vertue: it pleased them,

them, I say, that a wise man should not bee bound, to render accompt of any thing, but of offence: from which I perceiue my selfe free, two wayes: First, because I always had an vpright mind: next, in that when I saw, there was no meanes to defend our opinions, my concernment was, that we ought not to contend with the more mighty. I cannot therefore certainly bee blamed in the office of a good Citizen. It remaines, that I neither doe, nor say any thing rashly, or foolishly against them, that gouerne the Common-wealth. And this also, I deeme to bee a poynt of a wise man. For other things, that which another sayes I haue spoken, or how *Cæsar* construes my sayings, or with what fidelity they liue with me, which daily court, and honour mee, of this I cannot be secure. And thus I comfort my selfe, partly with the memorial of my life past, and partly by liuing now moderately: and that similitude, which the Poet *Attius* makes, I attribute not onely to enuie, but to fortune also: the which, as a weake thing, should be vanquished, and broken by euery valiant minde; no otherwise, then as a waue, is broken by a rocke. And in truth, the *Greeke* stories making mention; how, wise men haue alwayes supported the dominion of Tyrants, either in *Athens*, or *Syracuse*; hauing beene in some sort

free,

free, during the seruitude of their Cities: I'le not imagine, that I can so preserue my state; that it neither offend the minde of some man, nor diminish mine owne honour. Now I come to your pleasant conceits: seeing, after *Attius* his *Oenomaus*, you bring in, not as they were wont, *Attellanus*, but as the custome at this day is, *Mimus*. What *Potellum*, or *Dionysium*, doe you tell me of? What dish of strong cheese? out of my ingenuous disposition, I hitherto supported these things; now the matter goes otherwise; I haue schollers in speaking, and masters in eating, *Hetrichs* and *Dolabella*. For, I suppose you haue heard (if peraduenture all things come to your hearing) how they continually declaime in my house; and I eat at their house. And it boots not you to sweare, that you want the meanes: for, when you were addicted to gather wealth, by my reasons, you made your selfe more studious therein: now, in that you consume your substance with such patience; doe not beleeue, that I'le come into your house, like a Iudge to correct you. And if I endamage you any thing: it will be a lesse euill, to bee damnified by a friend, then by a debtor. Neither doe I expect from you, such sumptuous suppers, that there remaine great superfluities. The meats that are, let them be exquisite, and well drest. I remember,

ber, you were wont to tell me of a supper of *Phamea's*: Let yours bee made more moderately, but after the same manner. And though you go about to inuite me to supper at your mothers, it shall also content me. For, I will see this bounty of minde, that dares put before me such things, as you write of, or else a *Tolipus*, as red, as that [miniated] *Jone*, which stands in the *Capitoll*. I am of opinion, that you dare not performe so great matters. Before my comming, the report will come to your eare, of the delicate meats, I begin to feed vpon; you'l admire at it: and looke not I should rest contented, with that mingled beuerage of wine and honey: for I will by no meanes, abide to see it. I care no more for your Oliues, and Salcicia's: But why discourse we of these things? I would wee might once come thither: I will content my selfe with that salt cheese, which you were wont to vse: and I'le put you, (for I'le rid you out of paine) to this onely charge, to cause of necessity, the Bath to be heated. For other matters; follow our ordinary custome. These former things I vttered by way of mirth. As for the *Silician* Farme, you haue done me diligent offices therein, and written most pleasantly thereof: so that I meane to leaue it: for the place is very pleasant. but there are few persons

ſons there, like vnto the place. Fare-well.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto.
Epiſt. 17.

YOu are a good man ſurely; ſeeing our *Balbus* lying with you, you would vnderſtand from mee, what will become of theſe lands, and townes. As if I knew any thing he knew not; or if I doe at any time know any thing, that I vſe not to haue from him. Nay, and if you loue me, procure that I may vnderſtand, what will become of vs. For, you had *Balbus* vnder your power, of whom you might haue knowne it. If not when hee was ſober, at leaſt, when you ſaw him well tipled. But I hunt not my deere *Pæto*, after theſe newes: firſt, becauſe we haue now liued foure yeeres by gettings, if one may terme it getting, or this may be called a life, to fortune the Common-wealth: then; in that I ſuppoſe I know, what will fall out: For, that ſhall fall out, which they affect, that are moſt powerfull; and armes are euer moſt powerfull. Wee muſt therefore be contented with that, which is granted vs. And hee that could not ſatisfie his minde with this, did well to dye. They fall a meaſuring

the Territorie of *Veia*, and *Capena*, which is not verie far from my *Tuſculanum*: yet I feare nothing: I enioy my ſelfe, while I am able, and deſire to be able alwaies. The which, if it may not be: neuertheleſſe, conſidering that I, who am a man of a great ſpirit, and a Philoſopher, haue thought life verie precious; I cannot but loue him, through whoſe benefit, I now liue. Who, though peraduenture, hee deſire that the Common-wealth ſhould bee ſuch, as he would, and all wee ought to wiſh for: yet can he diſpoſe of nothing, hee is ſo colleagued with many. But I range too far, and I doe it, becauſe I write to you. This I tell you in concluſion, that not onely I, who am not preſent at conſultations; but not ſo much as the great man himſelfe knowes, what is to enſue. For, we ſeeke him; he, the times: and ſo neither he can conceiue, how the times will ſort; nor wee, what he thinketh. I wrote not backe theſe things formerly vnto you; not becauſe I vſe to bee negligent; eſpecially in writing; but hauing nothing of certainty; I would not perplex you, with ambiguities, nor put you in hope with my affirmations. I will notwithſtanding adde this, which is moſt true; that in theſe troubles, I haue hitherto heard nothing of this danger: yet, out of your accuſtomed diſcretion; you ſhould

ſhould with the beſt, forecaſt the worſt, and ſupport what commeth. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto.
Epiſt. 18.

BEing idle in *Tuſculanum*; becauſe I haue ſent my Diſciples to meet *Ceſar* their acquaintance, with hope by this meanes, to recouer me his fauour; I receiued your moſt pleaſant letters: by which I vnderſtood, that my counſell pleaſed you. For, as *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, being driuen out of *Siracuſa*, ſet vp, as is reported, a ſchoole, at *Corinth*: So I, Courts of Iudgement being put to ſilence; and my Kingdome, of pleading cauſes, loſt; haue applyed my ſelfe, as it were, to keep a ſchoole. What deſire you more? I am alſo glad I run this courſe. For, I come by this meanes, to obtaine many things: firſt, that which principally, at this inſtant, is neceſſary; I fortifie my ſelfe againſt this terrible ſeaſon: I know not how good the way I hold is; but well I ſee, 'tis not worſe, then that which hath been held by others: except peraduenture it had beene better to dye: in ones bed, I le grant: but this came not to paſſe: and at the battaile I was not.

others, [as] *Pompeius*, your *Lentulus*, *Scipio*, [and] *Afranius*, dyed reproachfully; but *Cato* honourably: And this questionlesse, when wee will, wee may doe: yet let vs endeuour; as wee doe, that it may not be so necessary for vs, as for him. This is therfore the first thing, which I purchase: and there is yet another, that I grow better; first, in my health, which giuing ouer exercise, I had lost; then, that fluent vtterance, which I was wont to haue, (if I euer had it) if I had not beene reduced to these exercises, would haue been impaired. The last gaine I make; which peraduenture you'l esteeme, aboue all the fore-mentioned, is this; that by this time, I haue eaten more Peacocks, then you haue done Pigeons. Make your selfe merry there, with *Asterian* broth, I'le be [merrie] here, with that of *Hirtius*. Come therefore, if you be a good fellow, and learne, now at length, to liue as you desire. Though I consider, I teach the *Dolphines* to swim. But seeing I perceiue, that you cannot sell the possessions had of your debtors, for payment, according to *Cæsars* valuation; nor fill a pot with money, it behooues you to returne to *Rome*. I hold it farre better, that you should dye here with eating too much; then there, for want of meat. I see you haue consumed that, which you had. I hope your friends haue

haue done the like: you are therefore blowne vp, if you looke not to your ſelfe. You may ride to *Rome* vpon that Mule, which you ſay, is left you, ſeeing you haue eaten your Gelding. You ſhall haue a place in the ſchoole, as an Vſher, vnder me, and withall, you ſhall haue a cuſhion. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto. Epiſt. 19.

AND yet you leaue not your wonted malice. You write that *Bulbus* was contented with a verie little: as minding to inferre; that if *Bulbus* bee contented with leſſe then indifferent ſuppers, much more ought I to be therein ſatisfied, who am in reſpect of him, as one that hath beene Conſull, is in reſpect of a King, much inferior. You know not, that I haue wrung euery thing out of his mouth: you know not, that he came preſently, to light at my houſe. neither do I wonder ſo much, that he lighted not rather at yours, as, that he went not vnto his own. So ſoon as I ſaw him; ſaid I, what doth our *Pæto*? and he ſware vnto me, that he neuer was more willingly in any place. If

you haue made him this man with words, I'le frame my eares as apt to to heare you as his : but if with good cheere : Let me in fauour requeſt you, not to thinke, that the *Bælis* are more worthie, then the eloquent. Euery day ſome impediment growes vpon mee: but if I can ſhake off matters, ſo, that I may come thither : I will worke after ſuch a ſort, that you ſhall not be able to excuſe your ſelfe, that you were too late aduertiſed. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto. Epiſt. 20.

YOur letters affoorded me a double contentement; both becauſe I haue laughed ; and in that I vnderſtood, that you, at length, can laugh. Neither am I diſpleaſed, that like a bad ſouldier, you haue loaded me with apples : but I am ſorrie, that I could not come thither, as I determined. For, not for few daies, but continually, I would haue lodged with you. And thinke not, that your diſh of wine and honie, ſhould more haue ſeru'd my turne; From an egge to roaſted veale, that is, from the beginning of ſupper, euen to the laſt, you ſhould haue ſeene me rauen like a Wolfe.

Wolfe. You were wont to commend me as a man eaſily to be ſatisfied, and with a ſlender meale: now, I am wholhe chang'd. For now, I thinke no more on the Common-wealth; nor, what opinion I ſhould deliuer in the Senate; nor, how I am to plead, and handle cauſes: I applie my ſelfe to an *Epicurean* life: not to the diſſolute [life] at this day: but to that delicate, and moderate one, which you vſed, when you had plentie to ſpend: though at this time, you haue more Farmes then euer you had. So that, bee prepared: you haue to doe with a man, that can eate ſoundly, and that now at length vnderſtands ſomewhat: and men that haue learned late, you know how troubleſome they are to content: and you muſt forget your banqueting diſhes, and daintie Cakes. We are now come to that point, that we dare enuite to ſupper, your *Verrius*, and *Camillus*: and you know, what delicate fellowes they are. But, obſerue yet, a further preſumption: I inuited *Hirtius* alſo to ſupper; but he gate no Peacockes. And at this ſupper, my Cooke, (beſides hot broth,) ſent vp no diſhes, like to thoſe that were vſuall at *Hirtius* ſuppers. This therefore is now my life. In the morning, I viſite at home, many honeſt men, but in miſerable condition; and theſe ioyfull Conquerors: Who in

troth, verie courteouſlie, and louinglie entertaine me. After this my viſitation, I ſhut my ſelfe vp to my ſtudies: either I compoſe ſomething, or elſe I read. Some alſo come to heare me, as a learned man, becauſe I am a little more learned then they are. Afterwards, all the reſt of the time is ſpent, about bodilie health. I haue lamented my countrie, more bitterly, and longer time, then euer Mother lamented her onely childe. If you wiſh mee well, procure your health: to the end I may not deuour your ſubſtance, while you are ſickelie. For I am reſolued not to ſpare you, be you neuer ſo diſeaſed. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæte. Epiſt. 21.

IS it poſſible? doe you thinke you are I fooliſh, in ſeeking to imitate me, in the flaſhes (for ſo you tearme them) of my ſpeeches? you ſhould be fooliſh indeed, if you could not attaine thereunto: but, ſeeing in this, you doe not only equalize, but exceed mee; you ſhould ſcoffe rather at me, then at your ſelfe. That ſaying of *Trabea*, concurres not with you: I am hee that labours

bours in vaine. But tell me a little? What ſeeme I to you, in my Epiſtles? doe you not thinke, I diſcourſe with you, in vulgar tearmes? For wee muſt not alwaies ſpeake after one manner. It is one thing, to write an Epiſtle; another, to pleade a cauſe; another, to ſpeake to the people. Nay, the cauſes themſelues are not to be handled after one faſhion: In priuate matters; and not in all; but in thoſe of light importance, euery thing muſt more nicely be ſcanned: but where a mans perſon; his goods; or his honor is queſtioned; greater ornament of eloquence is required. Epiſtles are wont to be framed of words dailie vſed. But I pray you, my *Pato*, how came it into your minde to ſay, that there was neuer any *Papirius*, which was not a plebeian? For, meaner families, haue beene of the Patrician order. The firſt of them, was *Lucius Papirius Mugillanus*, who was Conſull, with *Lucius Sempronius Atratinus*, hauing beene before Cenſor, with the ſame [colleague] 312 yeares after the building of *Rome*. But then, you were called *Papiſii*. After theſe, there were no more, which obtained of the higher dignities, before *Lucius Papirius Craſſus*, who was the firſt that gaue vnto her the name *Papyſius*. This man was dictator, and had for captaine of the ranke Maiſter, *Lucius Papirius Curſor*,

425. yeeres after the building of *Rome*: and foure yeeres after he was Consull, with *Cæso Duillio*. After these came *Cursor*, a verie honourable man: then *Lucius Massa*, who in demaunding the Ædileship died. After him, many *Massiues*: of which Patricians, I would haue you reserue pictures in your house. Then follow the *Carbones*, and the *Turdi*: these were Plebeians, of whom I would haue you make no account. For besides this *Cneius Carbo*, who was slain by *Damasippus*, none of the *Carbones*, euer benefitted the Common-wealth. We knew *Cneius Carbo*, and that his infamous brother. Who can bee more wicked then they were? of this friend of mine the sonne of *Rubria* I say nothing. There were three brethren, *Publius*, *Caius*, *Marcus*, surnamed *Carbones*. *Publius*, accused by *Placcus*, was condemned. *Marcus* fled out of *Sicilia*: *Caius* being accused by *Lucius Crassus*, as 'twas said, poysoned himselfe. This man was a seditious Tribune of the people, and was reported to haue murdred *Publius Scipio Africanus*: but in my iudgement, there neuer liued a verier villaine then this fellow, that was slaine by our *Pompeius* at *Lilibæum*. And also his father, accused by *Marcus Antonius*, it is not well knowne after what manner hee came to bee absolued: wherefore my opinion is, that you

ſhould cleaue to the Patricians, for you ſee, what bad members the plebeians haue proued. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto.
Epiſt. 22.

I Loue the modeſtie; but rather the libertie of ſpeech. And *Zeno* was of this opinion, a very ingenious man queſtionleſſe; but greatly oppoſite to our *Academians*: But as I ſay, the *Stoicks* are of opinion, that euery thing ſhould bee called by it owne name: affirming, that in it, is neither obſcenitie, nor inciuilitie: and they proue it by this argument. If there be any obſcenitie in ſpeech, it muſt needs be either in the thing ſignified; or the word ſignifying; it can be no where elſe. In the thing ſignified it is not; And therefore we ſee, that not onely in Comedies, the act is plainly expreſſed, as it is: whereupon *Lucilius* in his *Demiurgus*, brings in one vttering theſe words: which peraduenture you haue heard vpon the ſtage, & you may call to mind *Roſcius*, when he recited them. *He left me lately naked in ſuch faſhion*: where the ſpeech in reſpect of the words, is altogether modeſt; as for the matter, a little immodeſt. But in Tragedies

gedies also: what thinke you of that verse;

What woman's that, that I see lie with him?

And of that other;

Who with another did desire to lie?

And of this;

How could this man, be so presumptuous:
As to enioy great King Pheretus *wife?*

Or of these other:

Though I vnwilling, once in maids estate,
Withstood him; yet, he did me violate.

In stead of violate, he might haue vsed another word, signifying the same thing: but it would haue sounded too immodest. You see therefore, that a thing is not dishonest that is vttered with honest words: and yet the words alter not the signification: which is a signe, that euery thing is honest by nature. And therefore, if there be no dishonesty in things, much lesse in words. So that, if the thing signified be not dishonest, the word that signifies, cannot be dishonest. You doe not say *anus*, but you terme it by the name of some other thing. Why? if the thing signified bee dishonest; expresse it with what words you will, the matter shall euer be dishonest: if it be not? Why doe you not terme it by it owne proper name? Anciently *caudæ* was called *penis*, from whence the word *penicillus* proceedeth; because it hath some similitude of that

Cauda,

Cauda, or taile: but at this day, the word *Penis*, is accoũted among strude words, or dishonest: & *Piso Frugi* in the bookes of his Histories complaines, that young men are dedicated to [that] *Penis*. That which in your Epistle, you terme by it proper name, hee couertly cals *penis*. Which word being growne common to so many; is now accounted as dishonest, as that you vsed. Now, what shall we thinke? Whereas vulgarly men say: *Cum nos te volumus conuenire*, Appeares it not obscene to say, *Cum nos*? I remember that a wise Consular, speaking in the Senate, vttered these words: *Hanc culpam maiorem, an illam dicam*? Could he haue fallen into greater obscenitie? You will say it was no obscenitie: because hee vttered it not in that sense: words therefore are not they which make obscenitie: and, that things make it not, it is manifest by that which I haue before deliuered. We must therefore conclude, that the same not being in words, nor in things, is no where. To *endeuour to get children*, is so honestly spoken, that Fathers themselues are wont to put their children in minde thereof: but the proper terme of such *endeuour*, they dare not vtter. *Socrates* learn'd the Art of playing vpon an Instrument, of an excellent Musitian, whose name was *Connus*: take you this to be an obscene word? When we say,

Terni,

Terni, we speake not vnmannerly; but when *Bini*, it is immodest. To the *Gratians*, you'le say. There's therefore no dishonestie in the word: For I vnderstand *Greeke* also: and yet I say vnto you *bini*: and you performe it, as if I had spoken it in *Greeke*, and not in *Latine*. *Ruta*, and *Menta* be honest words: but if I would terme the little *Menta*, after the same manner as we say *Rutula*, it would not doe well. You say, *bella tectoriola*: giue me therefore the diminutiue of *pauimenta*, 'twill sound ill. Now you see, al these are but fooleries: & that there is no obscenitie in words; much lesse in things; from whence it followes, that it's no where. Therefore let vs couch dishonest things vnder modest words. For I would know; is not *Diuisio* a modest word? but some immodest sence is included in it: and *Diuisio* belongs to the agent; *intercapedo* to the patiēt. Are such words vpō this occasion, dishonest? And we cockscombs, if we say, *Thū man strangled his Father*, we put not in before, *Sir reuerence*: but if we would nominate *Aurelia*, or *Lollia* being Harlots, before we name them, we must say, *with reuerence*. And certainely, words modest, are vsed sometimes for immodest. To say, *Batuit*, it seemes vnciuilly spoken: *Depsit*, more vnciuillie: and yet nor the one, nor the other is dishonest. The world is full of fooles.

ſooles. *Teſtes*, in place of iudgement, is a very honeſt word; in another place it is not ſo: you may alſo honeſtly ſay, *Calei Lanarini*: but *Clunes ini* cannot bee ſo modeſtly ſpoken. And not onely words, but things alſo, are ſometimes honeſt, ſometimes diſhoneſt. To ſay, *ſuppedis*, is an obſcene ſpeech: but let a man ſpeake it of one, that is naked in a Bathe, and 'tis not obſcene. You haue heard the *Stoicks* reaſons. If you bee wiſe, you'le ſpeake ciuillie. I haue made a long tale, vpon one word onely of your Epiſtle: I am glad, that you take leaue to ſpeake with me, without reſpect. I like, and euer will like to follow the modeſtie of ſpeech: as *Plato* accuſtometh. Whereupon I haue treated of this argument, with ſhrouded words, which the *Stoicks* handle very openly: but theſe men affirme alſo, that *farting* ſhould be as free, as *belching*. I haue therefore vſed this reſpect, in reuerence of the time preſent. Vouchſafe to loue me, and be carefull of your health. The firſt of March. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Papirius Pato. Epist. 23.

YEsterday I came to *Cumanum*: to morrow peraduenture I'le be with you: and, if I come, you shall know of it a little before. Though, when *Marcus Coparius* met me in the wood *Gallinaria*, and I demanded of him, what you did; and he told me, you kept your bed, by reason you had the gowt in your feete: I was questionlesse sorrie, as reason required. But notwithstanding, I am reio'u'd to come & see you, as well to visite you, as to sup with you. For, though you haue the gowt in your feet; your Cooke, I hope, hath it not in his hands. Expect me therefore, but as a man of spare dyet, and an enemie to sumptuous suppers. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pato. Epist. 24.

THough I had bin offended by this *Rufus*, your friend, of whom you haue now twice written vnto me: yet would I not forbeare to fauour him, in what I were able; seeing you are so careful!

carefull of his occaſions: but hauing now both by your letters, and alſo by thoſe which he ſent me, gathered and iudged, that hee entirely affected my ſafetie; I cannot but be a friend vnto him; not onely for your recommendation, the which, as reaſon requires, is of great force with me; but withall, thorough mine owne inclination, and vnderſtanding. For I would you ſhould know, (my Pato) that the originall of my iealouſie, and the diligence, that I vſed in looking carefully to my ſelfe; grew from your letters: to which the letters of many others, were afterwards conformable. For both in *Aquisgrum*, & *Fabrateria*, there were practiſes againſt me; which I ſee, you came to knowledge of. And they, as it were, preſaging, how troubleſome I ſhould be vnto them, minded nothing, but to oppreſſe me. Whereof, I hauing no iealouſie, peraduenture I might haue fallen into ſome danger, if I had not beene by you aduertiſed. And therefore this your friend, with me, needs no recommendation. I deſire nothing now, but that the fortune of the commonwealth proue ſo, as he may acknowledge me for an excellent paymaſter. But enough of this. I am ſorrie, you haue giuen ouer going to banquets. Firſt, becauſe you haue depriued your ſelfe of a ſingular delight and contentment; and then (for

(for betweene our ſelues we may ſpeak truth) becauſe I feare, you'le loſe what before you had learned; & that you will forget to make thoſe delicate ſuppers. For if, when you had one to imitate, you profited not much; what may I thinke you will now doe? when I had told *Spurina* the matter; and explained the cuſtomes of your life paſt; verilie, he demonſtrated, that the Commonwealth vnderwent a great hazard, if at the beginning of the Spring, you returned not to your former vſe of banquetting: but now while winter laſteth it might be endured. In good earneſt, I adviſe you; if you meane to leade an happie life; to keepe companie with your good, pleaſant, and louing friends. [For] nothing more befitteth life, nothing affordeth greater happineſſe then it. Neither ſpeake I this, in reſpect of the pleaſures, but in reſpect of liuing, and eating together, and the libertie of minde: which is more enioyed in familiar diſcourſe, then any way elſe, and this is moſt pleaſing at inuitements: ſo that our countrie men, named it much more wiſely then the *Gracians* did: they call'd it *συμπόσια*, or *συνδεῖπνα*, which ſignifie to drinke, and ſup together, our countrie men tearmed them *Conuiuia*, becauſe then eſpeciallie men liue together. Doe you obſerue how I by Philoſophicall reaſons, labour to re-

duce

duce you, to your old custome of feasting? Regard your health: wherein nothing will more helpe you then to go often abroade to supper. But if you wish me well, suppose not, though I write ieastingly, that I haue laid aside the care of the Common-wealth. Be perswaded of this my *Pæto*, that day, and night, I attend and sollicite, no other thing; but that my Citizens may be safe, and enioy their libertie. I omit no occasion to admonish, endeauour, and prouide. I haue finally propounded to my selfe, to repute it for my greatest Fortune, if need were, to lay downe my life, in this care, and administration. Once more Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto.
Epist. 25.

YOur letters haue made me a very valiant Captaine. Questionlesse, I knew not, that you vnderstood so much, of the art of warre: I see you haue read, and read ouer againe, the bookes of *Pyrrhus*, and *Cyneas*. Whereupon I am resolued to obey your precepts: and moreouer, to haue a little barke readie vpon the coast. And they say against the *Parthian* Cauallerie, there

there cannot be found a better armour. But why iest we? You know not with what a Captaine you are to buckle. I haue put in practise, whatsoeuer I read in *Xenophons Cyrus*, which booke I had worne out with continuall reading. But wee'le treat another time at our meeting; and ere it be long, as I hope. Now come to be commanded, (as the old saying was) or (to speake more plainely) to obey me. I hold an inward amitie, with *Marcus Fabius*, as I thinke you know: and I loue him exceedingly; first, for the rare bountie, and singular modestie, I discerned in him; then, because in these controuersies, which I entertaine, with the *Epicureans*, your table associates; I am wont to reape from him great furtherance. He comming therefore to me at *Laodicea*, and I desiring, that he would remaine with me; he was presently stroken with terrible letters; wherein was written: how the *Herculanensian* grange of his brother *Quintus Fabius*, was exposed to sale; though it belonged not to him onely, but was common betweene them both. Whereat *Marcus Fabius*, was deepely discontented: and grew to be of opinion, that his brother, as a man of small vnderstanding, was thereunto induced by his enemies. Now, if you loue mee my *Pate*, take vpon you this whole busi-

buſineſſe, and remoue *Fabius* out of this perplexitie. You may herein further vs, with your authoritie, councell, and fauour. Permit not, that two brothers goe to ſuite, and conteſt, to the ſhame, and preiudice of them both. Enemies to *Fabius*, are *Matho*, and *Pollio*: What needes more wordes? Vndoubtedlie, I cannot write vnto you at full, what a pleaſure you ſhall doe mee, in drawing him out of this labyrinth. Which hee vnderſtands to lye in your power; and makes me alſo beleeue it. Farewell.

Cicero to Papirius Pæto.
Epiſt. 26.

I Was ſet at the table, about nine of the clocke, when I wrote to you this preſent letter. You'l ſay, Where? In the houſe of *Volumnius Eutrapelus*: and there were, your two familiar acquaintances, *Atticus*, and *Varrius*; *Atticus* aboue, and *Varrius* beneath mee. Doe you wonder, that being heretofore ſo regular, I ſhould now bee ſo much delighted

lighted with merrie entertainments? What should I doe now? I aske counsell of you, who heares a Philosopher. Should I burie my selfe in thoughts? Should I excruciate my selfe? What might I get [thereby]? And then, to what end? you might liue, you'l say, in letters. Thinke you, that I doe not so? I could not liue, if I sought not to liue in letters. But euen of those, there is also, not a satietie, but yet a measure, or proportion. Whereunto, when I haue a while bent my minde, I repaire to inuitements, because I know not what else to doe, before bed time: Although inuitements (wherein your controuersie grew with *Dion* the Philosopher) are of no great esteeme with mee. Hearken to the rest. Vnder *Europelus* was plac't *Cytheris*; Oh! you will here cry out, that, that *Cicero* should neuer haue gone to such an inuitement;

Whose presence when the Grecians did beheld;
They daunted fled. [*How fast, cannot be told.*]

I must confesse, I knew not of her being there. But, neither did the *Socratike Aristippus* so much as blush, when it was cast in his teeth, that hee kept *Laida*: I keepe *Laida*, said he, but *Laida* keepes not mee. This sounds better in *Greeke*. Doe you, if you please, expound it. But none of these things euer

moued

moued me in my youth, much leſſe in old age. I am delighted in meetings: there I freely ſpeake, what I will: and I turne my bitter teares into laughter. Now, ſee if you can lead a better life then this? You once brake a ieſt vpon a Philoſopher, who expoſing himſelfe to reſolue any doubt ſhould bee propounded to him: you demanded of him, where you might get a ſupper, that might dure as long, as from morning to night. The ſilly man thought, that you would haue demanded of him, whether there were but one, or innumerable heauens: What good was that to you? But tell me truely, did the ſupper doe you good? eſpecially from a Philoſopher? Now this life paſſe wee: euery day, we read, or write ſomewhat: then; to entertaine time alſo with our friends, we meale together; yet not ſo, that our inuitements exceed the limits of the Law (if now, there bee any Law,) But rather 'tis leſſe, then the Lawes tolerate. Therefore you need not ſtand in feare of my comming: you ſhall lodge a man, that eats not much, but will be very iocund.

Farewell.

THE

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Lucius Plancus, Imperator, elected Consull. Epist. 1.

I Was departed from *Rome*, to goe into *Greece*: when in the mid-way, imagining I was recalled, as by some voyce of my Countrey, I tooke a course to returne. Since which returne, *Marcus Antonius* hath held mee in continuall turmoyles: who is, I will not say, so insolent,

insolent, (for many haue this defect) but so wicked, and cruell, as hee would not, that any man, not onely in words, but not so much as in shew, should enioy a freedome. Whereupon, I remaine in great perplexity; not about my life; to which, by yeeres, and endeauours; and, (if it ought auailed) I may tell you, that euen with glorie also, I haue giuen satisfaction: but I greeue for my Countrey, and principally, for the expectation of your Consulship: which is so prolonged, as wee may desire, [but] to liue till that time. And what hope remaines, if all matters bee bee ouerswayed by the armes of the most insolent, and most vnbridled man that liues? If the Senate, and people, be of no force? If the authority of the Lawes, and Tribunals, is fallen? If there bee no more, either forme, or foot-step of a Common-wealth? But because it imports not, that I should write vnto you all particulars: they hauing been specified vnto you by others: I will acquaint you with that, which loue moues mee to tell you of, which I haue borne you from your child-hood; and haue euer, not only preserued, but augmented it: remembring, and exhorting you, to embrace with all study and care the Common-wealth: which, if it continue till the time of your Consulship, it will be no great trouble to go-

uerne

uerne it: but to procure, that it may ſo long continue; there is required, not onely ſpeciall diligence, but alſo no little fauour of Fortune. Yet I hope, wee ſhal enioy you ſo what ſooner. And beſides that I am bound, to giue aſſiſtance to the Common-wealth; your honor doth ſo neerely touch mee, that I will therein employ all my councell, endeuours, offices, labour, paines, and diligence, to augment your reputation. By which meanes, I know I ſhall eaſily diſcharge my ſelfe, both to my Country, which to me is moſt deere; and to our amitie; which in my eſteeme, ought by vs moſt ſacredly to be obſerued. I wonder not, but reioyce, that you carrie your ſelfe towards our friend *Fortune*, as his courteſie, and place requireth. And be aſſured, that I will hold that eſteeme, of whatſoeuer you doe in honouring, or beneſiting him, as if you had honoured, and beneſitted mine owne perſon. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancius.
Epiſt. 2.

I Would not haue failed to employ my ſelfe in your behalfe, in reſpect of our inward amitie, if I could haue come in-

to the Senate, either ſecurely, or with honour. But no man, that thinks freely of the Common-wealth, can without danger converſe in the middeſt of armes, and ſuch extreme licenciouſneſſe: neither doe I iudge it befitting my quality, to ſpeake in the occaſions of the Common-wealth, in a place, where armed men may better, & neerer at hand, heare me then Senators. Therefore in priuate occaſions, I will neuer faile you, either in offices, or fauour: nor yet in publike, will I euer be wanting, though with perill; if there be any buſineſſe in hand, that requires my preſence; to maintaine your dignity. But in ſuch matters, as without my being there, may be brought to effect, I will requeſt you, to be content, that I may haue reference to mine owne ſafety and reputation. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancus.
Epiſt. 3.

I Met with *Furnius*, to my great contentment, for his owne ſake: but much greater, in that hearing him, me thought I heard you ſpeake. He declared vnto mee, how valiantly you beare your ſelfe in the warre; how vprightly

you

you gouerne the Prouince; and finally, what prudence you manifeſt in all your actions: yeelding withall a teſtimony, both of your humanity, well knowne to me before, in our familiar conuerſation; and of your ſingular courteſie vſed towards him. All which things haue afforded me great delight; but the laſt, together with delight, contentment. I retained neere vnto, my *Flaccus*, with your Familie, ſomewhat before you were borne: I loued you, from the tender yeeres of your infancie; and in confirmed age, we held familiar conuerſation; proceeding from the loue I bare you, and from the good opinion, you conceiued of me. And for theſe conſiderations, I wonderfully affect your aduancement; the which I eſteeme to be common betwixt vs. Fortune, but rather your owne vertue, hath exalted you to high degrees of honour, you being yet but a young man. From whence, the come of many, which you haue outſtripped by wit, and induſtrie, proceedeth. Now, if you'l follow my rule, who loue you equally, to anie other olde friend of yours whatſoeuer: From this time forward, ſeeke to purchaſe all honour, from a well reformed Common-wealth. You know, (for being wiſe, what know you not?) how there was a certaine time, when men ſuppoſed, that you too much followed

the qualitie of the times. Which I should also surmize, if I thought you approued the things you tolerated. But, I, conceiuing what you thought: supposd you prudently obseru'd that which you could. Now, all things are carried after another fashion. Iudgement is your owne, and free: you haue beene elected Consull in your riper yeeres, with notable eloquence, when the Common-wealth stood in greatest need of such like persons. Bend your selfe, I beseech you, to that care, and cogitation, which may bring you the highest of esteeme, and glorie. And to ascend soone to renowne, especially in these times, when our Countrey hath beene now for manie yeeres so incumbred; there is onely one way: to bee a good Citizen in publike incrests. I thought good to write these things vnto you; rather instigated out of loue, then that I supposed you to haue need of my admonitions, and documents. For I knew, that you had them from the same fountaine, from whence my selfe formerly drew them. Therefore I'le end. Thus much I thought good to deliuer vnto you, rather to signifie my affection, then to manifest anie wisdome. In the meane while, with all affection and diligence I will that waies bend mine endeauours, wherein, I suppose, I may

adde

adde anie thing to your reputation. Farewell.

Planeus to Cicero.
Epiſt. 4.

YOur letters were verie acceptable to me; which, as *Furnius* words did intimate, I conceiue, were written with your owne hand. I had written to you before now, but that I underſtood, you were departed from *Rome*: and I was aduertiſed of your returne, not long before the receit of yours. Mee thinkes I cannot omit anie office, that concernes you, how ſmall ſoeuer it bee, without great blame. Whereunto I am bound for manie reaſons; for friendſhip paternall; for my ancient obſeruance; and for the loue you beare me, equall to that which I beare you. Wherefore, perſwade your ſelfe, my *Cicero*, that onely you, as a Father, I muſt deuoutly honour: in that for your yeeres alſo, you may be a father to me; I, a ſon to you. Whereupon it comes to paſſe, that all your counſels, ſeeme vnto me full, not onely of ſingular prudence, which exceedeth; but of fidelitie, which I meaſure by mine owne conſcience. And if I were of a contrary

opinion to yours, your instructions doubtles might change my mind: & if I were doubtfull of anie thing, I would vpon your exhortations, dispose my selfe, to follow what course gane you best satisfaction; But now, my opinion is wholly conformable to yours. What fortune hath allotted me, and what by mine owne endeuour I haue obtained; though you, blinded with loue, iudge it to be more, then in effect it is; yet, it is so much in any mans iudgement, though he were my verie enemie, that besides a good name, I see not what is wanting. And therefore, hold this for certaine: that, what I am able with my power to effect, with my counsell to prouide; or with my authoritie to moue; it shall euer bee wholly applied to the benefit of the Common-wealth: your minde lies not concealed from me: and if I could bee neere you, as questionlesse I would desire: In eurie thing I would follow your counsell. And now, I will endeuour so to order the matter, as you shall not bee able in reason, to reprehend anie action of mine. I looke for aduertisements, from all parts, by which I may vnderstand, what is done in the hither *Gallia*; and what passeth in *Rome*, in the moneth of Ianuarie. In the meane while, I am here, in great perplexitie; for feare, lest these people, among others defects,

may

may take ſome euill opportunities from our countrie men. But if Fortune fauour me, according to my deſert; you ſhall ſee, that I will giue good ſatisfaction; both to your ſelfe; which I exceedingly deſire; and to all men of honeſt meaning. Haue a care of your health, and loue me, as I doe you.

Cicero to Plancus Imperator, elected Conſull. Ep. 5.

I Receiued two letters from you, of one tenour; which was vnto me a manifeſt ſigne of your diligence. For I perceiued, how much you deſire, that your letters more then any other thing by me expected, might be deliuer'd me. I ſay therefore, they were moſt welcome to me: and they haue made mee doubtful, whether I ſhould hold dearer; your loue towards me; or the affection you did manifeſt towards the Commonweal-th. Certainely as I iudge, affection borne towards our countrie, is a matter of great moment; but the loue, and coniunction of two mindes, comprehends a greater delectation. That part therefore, where you commemorate the friendſhippe I had with your father, and the loue which from

your childehood, you bare towards me; and somewhat more, which you haue written to that purpose, afforded me infinite contentment. On the other side, it was pleasing to me, to behold how well you were disposed, both now, and euer to assist the Commonwealth. And this my contentment was the greater, because it was annexed to the matters aboue mentioned. Wherefore, I doe not onely exhort you my deare Plinius; but effectuallie I entreat you; as I did in those letters, to which you so courteouslie made answer; that, with all your vnderstanding, and the whole force of your minde, you will studie to procure the good of the Commonwealth. There is nothing, that can redound to your greater benefit, and glorie. And of all worldly things, there is not any one more excellent, and honourable, then to be beneficiall to our countrie. I speake freely to you, because I thinke that you, like an affable and wise man, will accept of it as hitherto you haue done. By the helpe of Fortune, it seemes you haue obtained great honors. The which, though without vertue, you could neuer haue atchieued: yet, in all mens opinion, Fortune, and the qualitie of the times, haue had the greatest hand therein. But now, that the commonwealth stands so afflicted; euery helpe which you shall

ſhall adminiſter, will only be attributed to your ſelfe. It is an incredible thing, how odious *Marcus Antonius* is to all Citizens; except to thoſe, who together with himſelfe, haue betrayed their countrie. We hope much, in you, and your armie, and promiſe much to our ſelues. vnderſtand, I beſeech you, how to apprehend the opportunitie of ſuch a Fortune, and ſo great glorie. I admoniſh you as a ſonne: I wiſh the ſame to you, that I doe to my ſelfe: If I incite you to Action, my countrie, and the great loue I beare you, moues mee thereunto. Farewell.

Cicero to Planeus Imperator elected Conſull. Ep. 6.

THe matters which our *Furius* hath deliuered touching your affection towards the Commonwealth, were verie acceptable to the Senate, and highly pleaſing to the people of *Rome*. But the letters openly read in the Senate, ſeemed not to confront with *Furius* ſpeeches. For in them you exhorted to peace; now, when *Decimus Brutus* your colleague, a renowned perſon, is beſeaguered by wicked Citizens: who; armes being laid apart, either ought to ſtrike

seeke peace; or, if they demand it with armes in hand, this peace must be obtained with victorie, and not by way of accord. But *Lepidus* letters, and yours concerning the perswasion of peace; how farre they were accepted of, you shall vnderstand from your brother, an excellent man; and from *Caius Furnius*. I, for the affection I beare you; although you neither want counsell, neither is the loue and prudent fidelitie, of your brother, and *Furnius*, euer like to faile you: neuertheleſſe, infinite reasons of our Friendſhip leading me thereunto, am alſo mooued, out of the intereſt I haue in you, to ſet you downe ſome inſtruction. Beleeue therefore, my deare *Tiberius*, that all the degrees of honour, you haue hitherto obtained, (and you haue enioyed the greateſt) will be no true honours, though they carrie the title, If you ioyne not your life with the liberty of the people of *Rome* and the authoritie of the Senate. Many in the commotions of our Common-wealth, were Conſul's: but he that wrought nothing worthy of his Conſulſhip, was neuer held for Conſull: Such an one therefore, it is fitting that you ſhould be. *Firſt*, that you fall off from the league of wicked citizens, much vnlike your ſelfe; Then, that your ſolue, to be head, principall, and conductor of the Senate, and all

not

good men: [and] laſtly, that then you iudge it to be a peace; not when armes are laide downe; but when all feare of armes, and ſeruitude is remoued. If you performe, and approue of theſe things, you ſhall then not onely bee Conſull, and Conſular; but alſo a great Conſull, and a great Conſular. But if otherwiſe; theſe ſo much reputed titles of honor, will not onely not honour you; but call vpon you great diſhonor. The loue I profeſſe vnto you, hath made me peraduenture, to write too freely; but you ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue ſpoken the truth, if you make thereof but that triall, which is requiſite. Farewell.

Plancus Imperator, elected Conſul, to Cicero. Epiſt. 7.

I Would write more at large vnto you, of my counſells; and I would giue you a particular accompt of all things; that you might the better conceiue, that I, both according to your inſtructions, and mine owne prouide, haue done what I am able for the benefit of the Common-wealth: for I euer deſired as well your good opinion, as your loue; and my intention was not

not to be defended by you in errours, but for my deserts to be commended: but I intend to be briefe for two causes: one is, because in my publike letters, I haue particularlie set downe all things: another, by reason, that to *Marcus Varisidius*, a *Romane* knight, and my friend, I haue giuen order, that he should come of purpose to finde you out, and that he should informe you of whatsoeuer had occurred. Certainely I felt extreame griefe, seeing others enioyed the possession of praise: But I would attempt no enterprise, determining to prepare my selfe thereunto after such a manner, that I might atchieue something, which might be worthie of my Consulship, and your expectation. And if Fortune deceiue me not, I hope my disseigne will fall out as I would haue it: that euery one, may both now perceiue, and hereafter remember, that I haue giuen great ayde, and assistance to the Commonwealth. I beseech you be fauourable to my dignitie; and endeauour, that those rewards may bee yeelded me, which you propounded vnto me in recompence of my commendable labours: which doing, you shall more incite me hereby, to the defence of my countrie. I know that your power herein, is equall to your desire. Be carefull of your health, and loue me, as I loue you.

Lucius

Lucius Plancus Imperator, elected Consull; to the Consulls; Prators; Tribunes of the people; Senate; people; and Communaltie of Rome.

Epist. 8.

IF some peraduenture thinke, that I haue held too long in suspence, the expectations of men, and the hope, which the Common-wealth had of me: I suppose it, first requisite for mee to excuse me to these men; before I promise, that from this time forward, I will discharge my durie. For, I will not appeare to haue corrected an error committed: but I would it should bee knowne, that hauing alwaies borne a readi minde; now, when I found a conuenient time, I haue discouer'd it. I vnderstood my selfe thus farre; that in so great troubles, and in such a tumultuous estate of the Cittie, it was very profitable to giue a testimonie of an affectionate Citizen: and I saw diuers had receiued great honours; vpon the like occasion; but Fortune hauing brought me to that passe; that if I manifested my selfe for you, too soone, I should frustrate my designes, and lose the hope I had to assist the

the Common wealth; and in not laying my selfe open, I might haue greater oportunities to doe you seruice; I made choice to haue a regard to common safetie, more then to mine owne estimation. And what man in the world, in the fortune I haue had; after I had liued, as euerie one knowes I did liue; being in the hopes that I am in; could euer support anie base action, or desire anie, which might be dangerous? But, time, great labour, and mighte expence, was requisite; to performe that, in effects, which I to the Common-wealth, and all good men had promised; and to repaire to the ayde of my Countrie, with such forces, as were answerable to my intention. It was behouefull for me, to confirme the Armie, tempted oftentimes with great rewards; and to induce it, rather to hope for moderate matters from the Common-wealth, then infinite bounties from one alone. It was conuenient to confirme diuers Cities, the which our enemies, the yeere past, by large donatiues, had obliged to themselues: whom it was expedient to perswade; that they should not esteeme gifts, which proceeded from men of that condition; and that it were more commendable for them to receiue the same benefits, from persons, that bare a better minde towards the Common-wealth. Be-

sides

ſides this, It was behouefull, by policie, to win the hearts of others, which had the gouernment of neighbour Prouinces, and of the Armies: to the end they might eſteeme it better, to defend generall liberty in the companie of many; then with a few, to obtaine a victory lamentable to the whole world. And beſides the things forementioned, it was neceſſarie that I ſhould fortifie my ſelfe by ingroſſing the Armie; and, to multiplie ſuccors: to the end; that when afterwards I openly reuealed my minde; then, though ſome tooke it ill, there might be no danger to make knowne, what part I would defend. Therefore, I will neuer denie, that I fained diuers things againſt my will; and diſſembled many with my griefe; to attaine my end of ſuch deſignes For, how dangerous it was, for a good Cittizen, before due time to manifeſt himſelfe; by my Colleagues caſe, I had conceiued. And for this reſpect, to *Caius Fannius*, my Legate, a valiant, & reſolute man, I gaue more commiſſiõs by word of mouth, then in writing: to the end, they might more ſecretly be to you cõueied; & my ſelf remaine more ſecured. I alſo informed him of the prouiſions, which to ſecure the common ſafetie, and to arme vs, is behouefull. From whence it may be collected, that long ſince, the defence of the cõmon wealth had

had in my heart made deepe impreſſion. Now, through the Gods benignitie, I being well furniſhed of all things: I deſire, that men would not onely hope well of me; but ſettle on me a ſecure, and infallible iudgement. I finde my ſelfe to haue fiue Legions, vnder their Standards; for their fidelitie, and valour, much affected to the Common-wealth; and, through the bountie I haue vſed to them, as ready at my command as poſſible may be. I retaine the Prouince, together with all the Cities well affected; and more then carefull to diſcharge their duties: [And] as many horſe and foot, as theſe nations can raiſe; to defend their ſafetie and common libertie. As for me, I am ſo encouraged, either to defend the Prouince, or to goe whither the Common-wealth ſhall ſummon me, or to reſigne, the armie, ſuccors, and Prouince; that I refuſe not to take vpon my ſelfe, euen the whole brunt of the conflict: ſo that, by my ruine, I might but confirme my countries ſafetie, or abate the peril. If I make theſe offers (euery thing being now ſetled, and in a peaceable eſtate of the Cittie,) with the preiudice of mine owne praiſe: yet ſhall I reioyce in the benefit of the Common-wealth. But if the ſame dangers ſtill remaine: I referre my ſelfe to iuſt Iudges; that may defend me from the malignitie of thoſe, that

enuie

enuie me. A large satisfaction for my endeuours, shall be the fauour of the Common-wealth. I thinke good to entreat you, that you would take these souldiers to your speciall recommendation; who mooued by my authoritie; but much more, trusting in your fidelitie; haue suffered themselues to be deceiued with no hope, propounded to them; nor with any danger haue beene daunted. Farewell.

Plancus Imperator, elected Consull to Cicero. Ep. 9.

I Am glad, that neyther I, wrot rashly to you; nor you promis'd any thing to others ceremoniously, concerning me. Certainely, you haue so much the greater testimonie of my affection; by how much I desired my designes might bee knowne sooner to you, then to any other. But I hope you perceiue well, how my deserts towards the cómonwealth, grow euery day greater: and I assure you, you shall continually better know it. As for me, my *Cicero*, (to the Common-wealth may be freed by my helpe from imminent ruine) I in such manner value your honors, and rewardes; worthie questionlesse to bee paralel'd with

with eternitie; that I will notwithstanding, without them, abate nothing of my courage, or of my constancie. If, amongst many excellent Citizens, the resolution of my mind appeare not singular, and the effects remarkeable: I will not, that one iot be by your favour added to my dignitie. Now, I aske nothing in mine owne behalfe, rather, I affect the contrarie. But, I am content, you should be the man, to dispose of the time, and affaires at your pleasure. The reward, which a Countrie gives to a Citizen, ought to seeme neither late, nor little. I passed over *Rhodanus*, with mine Armie, the xxvj. of Aprill. I sent a thousand Cauliers before, to *Vienna*, by the shorter way, and by great dayes iourneyes I, not being hindred by *Lepidus*, will be answerable in expedition. But if he oppose himselfe to mee in the way, I'le take a course as the time permits me. I lead such an Armie, as giveth great hopes; both for valour, number, and fidelitie. I pray you loue me: because you may perceiue your selfe beloued of me. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancus Imperator elected Conſul. Ep. 10.

THough I vnde ſtood ſufficiently by our friend *Furnius*, what your determination, and aduice was, about the Common-wealth. Neuertheleſſe, hauing read your letters, I more manifeſtly diſcerned your whole intention. Wherefore, though the whole fortune of the Common-wealth depends onely vpon one battaile; which queſtion leſſe, I did thinke by that time you ſhould come to read this letter, would be determined: Notwithſtanding by the fame onely, that is diſperſed of your good meaning, you haue gained great commendation. Whereupon, if the Conſull had beene at *Rome*: the Senate to your great honor would haue manifeſted, how acceptable your force was, and preparation: of which, the time is not onely not paſt, but hitherto, ſo far as I can iudge, not come. For that onely was wont to appeare vnto me, true honour, which is conferred vpon valiant men; not through hope of future benefit, but for a recompence of worthie actions. Wherefore, ſo there bee any Common wealth, wherein honour may be reaped; be ſecure, you ſhall obtaine all honours. And in my opin-

on,

on, that which is beſtowed vpon men, to inuite them to noble attempts, cannot truely be termed honour: but honor is that, which is beſtowed for deeds performed. Therefore, my Plancus, ſtriue by all meanes, to get praiſe eternall. Reſcue your Countrie: ſuccour your Colleague. Aſſiſt this affection, this miraculous league of all the nations: I le helpe you in your occaſions, I'le further you in your honors, and in all occurrents, I'le be moſt louing and faithfull to you. For, to the many reaſons, which are betweene vs, of true and ancient amitie: there is annexed the ioynt affection we both, beare to our Countrie: And this is the cauſe, that I preferre your life, before mine owne. Farewell. The 29. of March.

Plancus to Cicero. Ep. 11.

I Giue you, and while I liue will giue you infinite thankes: for, to returne you deſerts I dare not promiſe: becauſe I thinke not my ſelfe able to counteruaile you ſo many kind offices: except peraduenture (as you gratiouſly, and prudently haue written) you are of this opinion, that to remember an obligation, be a rendring of good turnes. If there had beene an occaſion, touching the

the honour of your owne son; doubtlesse, you could not more affectionately haue laboured therein. Your first motions; by which you sought to procure me infinite rewards: those that followed; where you applied your selfe to time, and the opinion of friends; your continuall, and perpetuall discourse of me; your contestations made with admiration in my defence, are verie well knowne vnto me. So that, I must take no slender care, to shew my selfe towards the Common-wealth, a citizen worthie of your commendations; and to your selfe, both mindfull, & thankefull. For the rest; prosecute that which you haue begun: and if in effect, and triall, I proue such an one, as you haue striuen to set me forth; defend me, and take me into protection. Hauing passed my men ouer the riuer *Rhodanus*, and sending my brother before, with three thousand horse; In my way towardes *Mutina*, I heard of the battaile fought; and how *Brutus* was freed from the siege of *Mutina*. I considered that *Antonius*, and those men that remained with him, had no other receptacle but these quarters; and, that they might haue two hopes; one, of *Lepidus*, and another of his army: one part of which, carries no better mindes, then the followers of *Antonius*. So that I caused my Cauallerie to returne. I, stayed vpon the

the territorie of the *Allobroges*, that I might be readie, as occasion serued. If *Antonius* retire hither, without Forces (my mind giues me he may eafily be refiſted; and, we may effect that for the Common-wealth, which you deſire, though he ſhould be receiued by *Lepidus* armie But if he bring men with him: and, if the old tenth Legion, the which by my meanes, with the others, betooke themſelues to our defence, ſhall againe rebell yet I will haue an eye, that no great damage ſhall accrew: and this I hope to doe, till ayde may come from thence, and ſo being all ioyned together, we may more eaſily extirpate the ſeed of wicked Citizens. In concluſion I promiſe you thus much, my *Cicero* that neither courage, nor diligence, ſhall be wanting on my part. To ſpeake truth, I deſire, to take away all trouble remaining: but if any be left; I will giue place to no man; neyther in reſolution, affection, or patience in your ſeruice I endeuour alſo what I can, to draw *Lepidus* to ioyne in this enterpriſe: and I offer my ſelfe readie alſo to be at his command, ſo he will ſtand for the Common-wealth I vſe here in the helpe and meanes of my brother, of *Lucceius*, and our friend *Furnius*. Particular hatreds ſhall be no hindrance to me, but that with my greateſt enemie I will agree, for the

ſafetie of the Common-wealth. And in caſe I ſhould doe no good; I will not abate my courage; and I will be more readie, and hardy then before: and peraduenture, it may redound to my greater glorie, that I haue defended the Common-wealth with mine owne forces onely. Looke to your health, and to loue me, as I doe you. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancius Imperator, elected Conſull. Ep. 12.

THough I ought to reioyce in the behalfe of the Common-wealth, that in times of ſuch neceſſitie, you haue ſo greatly aſſiſted her: Neuertheleſſe, may Fortune ſo grant, that I may embrace you a Conqueror, in the happie ſtate of the Common-wealth; as great part of my ioy, proceedeth from your dignitie, which I know now, to be very eminent, and will alſo be ſo hereafter. For I aſſure you, that more acceptable letters then yours, were neuer recited in the Senate. And this happened, both through a ſingular greatneſſe, of the good, that you haue done in the Common-wealth; and alſo, through the grauitie of the words, and ſentences. Which queſtionleſſe, ſeem'd

no new thing vnto me, who was well informed of your valour; and called to minde, what you promis'd me, in the letters you sent me; and had fully also by our *Furnius* beene aduertised of your designes. But the Senate, apprehended greater matters, then were expected: not that it euer doubted of your disposition, but it had not full information, neither what you were able to doe, nor what you intended to attempt. Wherefore *Marcus Varisidius*, hauing deliuered me your letters, on the vij. of Aprill in the morning; I tooke, in reading them, infinite contentment: and a great multitude of excellent Cittizens accompanying me out of my house, I presently made them all partakers of my contentation. Afterwards came our *Munatius*, out of his wonted custome, to see mee, and I shewed him your letters; for as yet he knew nothing, because *Varisidius* came first to me: and he said, that so you appointed him. A little after, *Munatius* gaue me those letters to read, which you sent both to him, and to the publicke state. We thought good presently, to goe and present the letters to *Cornutus*, Prætor of the Cittie: who, because the Consuls were out of *Rome*, according to the ancient custome, supplyed their place. The Senate was forthwith conuented: and almost all the Senators assembled, through the fame and ex-

pect ition of your letters. Which being recited, *Cornutus* had a scruple of conscience, by reason the *Tullianæ* soothsayers tooke notice, that he had not vied requisite diligence, in making the diuinations. And this was approued by our College. Whereupon the businesse was deferred till the day following. On which day, I contended much in defence of your honour with *Seruilius*. who hauing by fauour obtained, that his opinion should first bee heard: the greater part of the Senate opposed him and my opinion, which was the second, to be moued, being allowed of by the greater part of the Senate: it *Seruilius* entreatie, *Publius Titius* spake against it. The matter was referred ouer to the next day. *Seruilius* came prouided with an vniust minde, euen against *Ioue* himselfe: in whose Temple the mater was heard. Now, how roughly I handled him, and how roundly I cut of *Titius*, that oppos'd himselfe against vs, I wish you may vnderstand by other mens letters. take this onely from mine: That the Senate could not bee more graue, more constant, nor more fauourable to your praise, then at that instant it shewed it selfe. And yet, the Senate was not more friendly to you, then the whole Cittie. For there was a wonderful accord to deliuer the Common wealth: and all the people of Rome

concurre to this enterprise: prosequute therefore, as you doe, and make your name eternall: and all these semblances of glorie, rais'd from vaine appearances of renowne; contemne them as short, flitting, and transitorie things. True honour consists in vertue: which illustrates it selfe more then any way els, by effecting great services for the Common-wealth: whereof Fortune sets before you, a most admirable opportunitie. Which having once embraced, suffer it not to flie from you; but procure that the Common-wealth may be no lesse bound to you, then you to her. As for me, you shall perceiue, that I will not onely be fauourable to you in honour, but I will also seeke, how to augment it in you: not to faile in the office I owe, as well to the Common-wealth, which I loue about my selfe; as also to our vnfained amity. And in those courses which I haue vndertaken for the aduancement of your honour, I take great delight; for, the fidelitie, and wisedome of *Titus Manlius*, other wise hath beene well knowne vnto me, and euidently perceiued, in the loue and diligence he hath vsed in your occasions. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Plancus Imperator, elected Consull. Ep. 13.

WHensoeuer occasion was offered me, to aduance your honour, I omitted nothing in your commendation; labouring, that your valour might be as well exalted with words, as acknowledged with rewards: as by the Senates decree it selfe, you may perceiue. For so was it recorded in writing, euen as I reading the written paper of mine owne hand had perswaded: and the greater part of the Senate, followed my opinion, with singular desire, and generall consent. Though I, by the letters you sent me, vnderstood, that you were more delighted with the approoſe of good men, then with outward appearance of glory neuertheles, I thought fit we should enter into consideration, though you demanded nothing, how farre the Common-wealth was indebted to you. Finish you that, which was begunne by others. And whosoeuer suppresseth *Marcus Antonius*, that man shall finish the warre. And therefore *Homer* called neither *Aiax*, nor *Achilles*, the bane of *Troy*; but *Vlysses*. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancus Imperator, elected Consull. Ep. 14.

O Acceptable newes, two dayes before the victorie: of your succour, endeuour, expedition, and armie. Vnderstand, that though your enemies be discomfited: yet all hopes remaine in you: it being informed, that from the battaile of *Mutina*, the principall Captaines of the aduerse party are fled And it will be no lesse acceptable to make an end of the remainder of this wicked warre, then to haue repelled it at the beginning. I, questionlesse, together with many others, expected ere this your letters: and I was in hope, that *Lepidus* also, admonished by the sequell, would haue vnited himselfe with you, and the Common-wealth. Prosequute it therefore, my *Plancus*, to this issue; that not a sparke of that abhominable warre, may remaine vnquenched, which if you procure, the Common-wealth shall acknowledge from you an infinite benefit, and your selfe shall purchase eternall glorie. Farewell.

Plancus

Plancus Imperator to Cicero. Epiſt. 15.

HAuing written theſe letters, I thought it imported the commonwealth, that you ſhould vnderſtand what followed. My carefulneſſe, as I hope, hath produced good effects, both to my ſelfe, and to the commonwealth. For by daily meanes, I wrought with *Lepidus*, that al priuate conteſtation laid apart, and being reconciled with me; with ioynt affection we might ſuccour the commonwealth; and that he ſhould make more account of himſelfe, of his children, and of his countrie; then of a wretched, and baſe robber: and that in ſo doing, he ſhould diſpoſe of me in all things at his leaſure. I haue therefore obtained my purpoſe by the meanes of *Laterenſis*. He hath giuen me his fidelitie, that he will perſecute *Marcus Antonius* with armes, if he cannot keepe him farre from his Prouince. Entreating me withall, that I would approch, and ioyne my forces with his. And ſo much the rather, becauſe it was reported, that *Antonius* was ſtrong in Cauallerie, and *Lepidus* hath but a ſmall troope of horſe: and of thoſe few he had; not many dayes before, ten of the beſt came away from him, into my

Campe. Which when I heard, I made no delay, ſuppoſing it requiſite, that I ſhould ayd *Lepidus*, while he had ſo good an intention. I ſaw, what benefit my armie all would procure, either becauſe with my Cauallerie, I might purſue, and defeate *Antonius* horſe; or becauſe that part of *Lepidus* armie, which had beene ſeduced, and alienated from the Common-wealth, by the preſence of my Armie, might be bridled, and kept vnder. Whereupon, making a bridge, in one day, ouer *Iſara*, a great riuer, that runnes vpon the confines of the *Allobroges*, I paſſed ouer with my Armie, the xii of May. But it being told me that *Lucius Antonius*, ſent before with horſe and foot, was come into *Eporedia Italy*, the xiiij. of May I ſent my brother, with foure thouſand horſe, to affront him. And I by ſpeedie dayes iourneies, with foure expedite Legions, and with the reſt of the horſe, will follow after. If the fortune of the common wealth afford vs neuer ſo little fauour, we ſhall here make an end of the inſolencie of theſe raſcalles, and our owne trouble. If that theeſe, vpon our comming begin againe to retire himſelfe into *Italie*; It will be *Brutus* part to confront him: to whom I know, neyther courage nor counſell will be wanting. Notwithſtanding my ſelfe, if this happen, will ſend my brother with the horſe,

horſe, to purſue him, and to defend *Italie* from forraging. Haue a care of your health, and as I loue you, loue me. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancus.
Epiſt. 16.

DEare *Plancus* I haue ſeen nothing euer happen more glorious, nothing more acceptable, nor in reſpect of the time it ſelfe alſo, more oppertune then your letters. For in a full Senate, they were preſented to *Cornutus*, at the ſame inſtant, when hee had read the moſt inconſtant, and cold [letters] of *Lepidus*. After which, yours were preſently recited, whereupon great ſhouts aroſe. For, beſides their being moſt acceptable for the matters they contained, and for your benefits, and affection towards the Cómon-wealth, they were repleniſhed with moſt graue words, and ſentences. The Senate importuned *Cornutus*, that he would preſently propound about your letters. He ſayd he would conſider thereof; whereupon receiuing a great cheere from the whole Senate, but Tribunes of the people, conſiſted of them. *Servius* at the inſtance of ſome others, pro-

longed the matter. I deliuered ſuch an opinion, that all agreed thereunto. Of what tenour it was, by the Senates decree you ſhall vnderſtand. you, though you need no counſell, but are rather fit to counſell another: muſt neuertheleſſe beare this minde; not to referre any thing hither: and vpon theſe ſo ſuddaine, and vrging accidents, not to thinke to demand Councell of the Senate. Be you a Senate to your ſelfe: Whither ſoeuer the benefit of the Commonwealth calls you, goe that way: and procure that we may heare of ſome notable action, before we can ſuppoſe, you went about it. I aſſure you, that whatſoeuer you atchieue, the Senate will approue it, not only as loyall, but wiſely vndertaken. Farewell.

Plancus Imperator to Cicero. Epiſt. 17.

ANonius the xv. of May, came with his vaunt-guard into *Forum Iulij*. *Ventidius* lies two daies iourney from him. *Lepidus* is expected at *Forum Voconij*. Which place from *Forum Julij*, is foure and twentie miles diſtant. There he meanes to attend me, as he hath written to me. Whercupon, if no alteration

teration grow, either from him, or Fortune; vpon my credit, I promiſe you, preſently to accompliſh this enterpriſe, according to your deſire. I wrote laſt vnto you, how my brother, ouercome with continuall trauaile, and poſting vp and downe, was grieuouſly ſick: neuertheles ſo ſoone as he was able to march; eſteeming that he was recouered, not ſo much for himſelfe, as for the Commonwealth, he refuſed not to be the formoſt in all dangers. But I haue not only exhorted, but enforced him, to repaire thither: firſt, becauſe being yet weake, he might rather preiudice himſelfe, then further me: and then; becauſe I thought that the Commonwealth remayning naked by the lamentable death of the Conſuls, might haue need of ſuch a Cittizen to be Praetor in the affaires of the city. wherein, if any of you commend me not: know, that ther wanted prudence in me to aduiſe him, and not any fidelity in him towards his country. *Lepidus* hath in concluſion performed that, which I deſired, In ſending me *Apella* for hoſtage of his fidelity: and of the league concluded betweene vs in defence of the Commonwealth. *Lucius Gellius*, one of the three *Siganian* brethren, hath made me vnderſtand his good diſpoſition therein: and laſt of all I haue vſed him as a meanes with *Lepidus*. Of whom I willingly

lingly giue testimony, and will euer render it to them that deserue well. Be carefull of your health, and loue me in the same manner, that I loue you: and take my honour to your protection, as hitherto most lowingly you haue done.

Plancius to Cicero Epist. 18.

WHat I was resolued of, when *Lucius*, and *Nerua* departed from me; by the letters I gaue them, as also by themselues, you may apprehend: who were present, at all my Actions, and at all my Counsels. That, hath befallen mee, which to a man zealous of his honour, and desirous to satisfie the commonwealth, and all good men, is wont to happen: That, to discouer my good intention, I followed a course which was rather dangerous, then secure; which by malignant minds might be controuled. Whereupon after the departure, of the Ambassadours, seeing that *Lepidus* with two letters, one after another, entreated me to come: and *Lutatius*, much more feruently as it were with teares, coniured me to the same: for no other cause, but in that he feared the instability, and infidelity of his

his armie; of the which I also stand in feare: I thought it fit to succor him; and to expose my selfe to danger, for his safety. though I knew, it had beene a farre more secure course to haue bin attending vpon *Isara*, while *Brutus* had passed ouer his Armie, and ioyned with him, as the custome of the wars is, to haue marcht against the enemie. But if *Lepidus* being well affected, had re eeiued the least preiudice, I saw all this would haue beene ascribed, either to my obstinacie, or feare: to my obstinacie; because it would haue beene sayd, that I had abandoned a good cittizen, for some particular enmities: for feare; because in so necessarie a warre, I had auoided battaile. So that, I left that secure course; supposing it better to expose my selfe to daunger, that with my presence, I might defend *Lepidus*, and ouer-awe his armie; Questionlesse I thinke, there neuer was any man, more sorrowfull, for defects that were not his owne. For whereas, the matter was no waies doubtfull: now, when the Armie of *Lepidus* failes, it driues me to great care, and seemes vnto me, as it is; a point of great importance. For if I had beene the first to encounter with *Antonius*: he should not doubtlesse haue held out an houre: so confident I am in my selfe, and so much I contemne his shack-ragge people, and

those

those of *Pontidius* the Mule-driuer. But I cannot but greatly feare, being ſuſpitious, leaſt vnder the skinne there bee ſome hidden wound, the which may feſter, before it can be diſcouered, or cured. But certainly, if we encamped not both in one place, both *Lepidus* himſelfe would be in great danger, and that part of the armie, which is well enclined towards the Commonwealth. Our wicked enemies had alſo made great profit, if they had gleaned any men from *Lepidus*. Which diſorders, if by my arriuall I do remedie, I ſhall thanke Fortune, and mine owne conſtancie, which incited me to make this triall. Wherefore the xxi of May, I remoued the Campe, from the River of *Isara*, leauing the bridge yet ſtanding there, which I made vpon it, with two Towers, at each end one; and with a ſtrong guard: to the end, that to *Brutus*, who was comming; and to his armie, without any delay, the paſſage might be readie. I hope within eight daies after the date of theſe preſents, I ſhall vnite my ſelfe with *Lepidus* forces. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Plancus Imperator. Epiſt. 19.

THough my deſire was not, that you ſhould thinke me; knowing, how exceeding thankefull, both in thought, and deedes themſelues, you are: yet, (I muſt confeſſe,) it contented me aboue meaſure. For I haue ſeene, as men with the eye behold obiects; that you loue me. You'le ſay, what did you before? To deale truelie, I alwayes ſaw it; but neuer more apparant. Your letters are wondrous well-come to the Senate; aſwell for the affaires themſelues, which were waighrie, and great; compaſſed by an inuincible ſpirit, and with deepe conſideration: as alſo, for the grauitie of the words, and ſentences. But, noble *Plancus*, ſtriue to the vtmoſt of your power, to bring this warre to a period. Thus ſhall you arriue vnto the depth of fauour, and the height of glory. I wiſh all good vnto the Commonwealth: but I giue you my faith, that finding my ſelfe now wearied out in conſeruing her, I doe not much more ſeeke her profit, then your glorie. Of which the eternall gods hauing, as I hope, offered you all opportunitie; embrace it I beſeech you For, it is he ſhall make an end of this moſt impious, and dangerous

dangerous warre; that subdues *Antonius*. Farewell.

Cicero to Plancus. Ep. 20.

ALL newes were so vncertaine, that came from thence, as I knew not what to write vnto you. For sometimes we heard such things of *Lepidus* as we wished, other whiles the contrary. Of you notwithstanding, there was a constant report, that none can either deceive, or vanquish you. In the one of which things Fortune hath a hand; the other is proper to your owne wisedome. But I received letters from your Colleague, dated the xxv. of May: wherein was contained, how you had written to him, that *Lepidus* gaue no entertainment to *Antonius*. The which will be more certaine if you write the same vnto vs. But you dare not peraduenture do it, by reason of the vaine ioy of the letters past. But, as you might well erre, my *Plancus*, (for who is hee that erres not?) so 'tis well knowne to euery one, that it was impossible you should be ouer-reached. And now, you cannot easily, not be deceiued, but you can no more erre; because the verie vulgar reprehends that man, who stumbles

ſtumbles twice vpon one and the ſame ſtone. But if the matter ſo ſtands, as you write to your Colleague; We are rid of all care: but to aſſure our ſelues ther-of, we expect your letters. This, in briefe, as many times I haue written vnto you, is my opinion: whoſoeuer cuts off the reliques, he will carry away the glorie, to haue ended the whole warre. Which honor, I wiſh, may bee yours, and I am confident, it will be ſo. Touching the diligence I haue vſed in your affaires; which vndoubtedly could not be greater; I am exceeding well pleaſed that you take it in ſo good part: and I wonder not, for I conceiue as much. But if matters paſſe well there, you ſhall obſerue my diligence to be greater; and in fatre greater effects. Farewell. The xxix. of May.

Plancus to Cicero.
Epiſt. 22.

I Should bee aſhamed of the inconſtancie of my letters, if it had not growne from anothers leuitie. I haue aſſayed all meanes, to vnite my ſelfe with *Lepidus*, in defence of the Common-wealth: to the end, that with your leaſt moleſtation, wee might bee able

able to resist wicked Citizens. All things he demanded, I haue promised, and proferred him of mine owne good will. And I wrote vnto you two dayes since, how I trusted, that *Lepidus* would helpe me; and follow the warre with common consent. I gaue credit to the letters of his hand, vpon *Lucretius* affirmation, being present: who then was with mee, and entreated mee to bee reconciled to *Lepidus*, and to giue him credit. I could not long conceiue this good hope of him. I looked narrowly to the matter; and will bee carefull, that through my credulitie, the State of the Common-wealth suffer no detriment. Hauing passed the ruer *Isara* with my armie, a bridge being in one day made ouer the same, and vsing expedition therein, according to the importance of the businesse; hee hauing requested mee by letters, that I should hasten my comming; his messenger came to me, with other letters; wherin he aduised me, that I should not come: for, hee could performe the seruice of himselfe: [and] in the meane while, I should stay for him, at *Isara*. I will lay open vnto you the rash course I had meant to haue vndertaken. I, notwithstanding was resolued to goe; imagining, that he was not desirous to haue anie companion in the glorie [of the seruice. Yet] concerning that he

was beyond meaſure, ambitious of this honour: I would not attempt any thing therein, but onely lye in places neere hand; to the end, that if need required, I might be able without delay to ſuccour him. This I ſimply caſt in my head: but behold, *Laureas*, a ſincere man, wrote vnto me with his owne hand, and to my friends in like manner; ſhewing, that he had no more hope of himſelfe, nor of the Armie, or of *Lepidus* fidelitie; and lamenting, that hee was betrayed. wherein hee plainely admoniſht mee, that I ſhould take heed of being deceiued: that hee was no more bound to that, he promiſed: that I ſhould not bee wanting to the Common-wealth. I haue giuen the copie of his letters to *Titius*, the Originals themſelues, and thoſe to which I giue credit, and thoſe to which I ſuppoſed no credit was to bee giuen, I will deliuer to *Lucius Caſſius*, to bee conueyed: who was preſent at all theſe things: To helpe the matter; *Lepidus* ſpeaking in publique; his ſouldiers wicked, and diſloyall of themſelues; and being alſo corrupted by the *Roſtri*, and *Camilli*, their Commanders; and by others, whom, when time ſerues, you ſhall know; cried out, (See the charity of men) that they would haue peace; and, that they would not fight with anie, hauing ſeene the death of two famous

meus Consuls, and of so many Citizens for their Country; and the Commonwealth having banished, as rebellions, all *Antonius* followers, and confiscated their goods: and *Lepidus* never punished them, for this their disloyalitie, nor did hee in anie sort remedie the same. And, had I come thither, and vnto two Armies lying together, exposed a loyall, and faithfull Armie; great succors; the Princes of *Gallia*; and the whole Prouince: I saw, what a wonderfull folly and temeritie it would haue been: and, that when I had beene defeated, and had with my selfe ruined the Common wealth, there was none that in my death, wo'd haue afforded mee anie honour; nor haue had so much as compassion of me; whereupon I am to returne backe: nor will I endure, that vagibonds shall haue so great a fortune. I will seeke to plant mine Armie in places of aduantage, to defend the Prounce; though *Lepidus* Armie doe rebell against vs; [and] to preserue euerie thing in it present state and condition, till you, from thence, send succours; and may with equall felicitie here also defend the Common-wealth. Neither to fight, if occasion serue; nor to endure a negotiation be necessarie: nor to dye, if the case so fall out, in your seruice; shall anie be more ready then my selfe. I exhort you therefore, my

Cicero,

Cicero, to procure, that fresh men bee sent out of hand, before the enemie grow stronger, and wee more danted. Wherein, if expedition bee vsed, the Common wealth shall remaine in possession of victorie, and the wicked bee extirpated. Bee carefull of your health, and wish me well. I think I shall not neede to excuse my selfe to you; though my brother, a valiant Citizen, and ready for all seruices, be not come thither. By running vp and downe, he hath getten a continuall feuer, and very troublesome. As soone as hee can, I will procure him to come without delay: that he may in no place faile the Common wealth [of his seruice]. I pray you, bee tender ouer my reputation. It is not requisite that I should desire any thing at your hands, knowing that you doe and may, as I desire, infinitely loue me. Your kindnesse toward me, how great you will it shall be, and in what time demonstrated, I leaue to your consideration. Now my desire is, that you would procure me *Hirtius* place, for the loue that you beare me, and for the obseruance that I owe you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Plancus.
Epist. 22.

ALL our hope is in you, and your Colleague: and wee attend good effects from diuine fauour. Your agreement, which the Senate vnderstands by your letters, hath giuen wonderfull contentmēt, both to the Senate, and also to the whole Citie. What you writ vnto me about the diuision of the Campes; if the Senators had been soliciteed for their opinions, I should haue ioyned with him, that had yeelded the honourablest opinion of you: which sentence, I my selfe would haue pronounced: but, seeing that the time would draw vs on too long, by reason of the opinions deliuered in sundry matters, of which, none concluded any thing; it seemed verie conuenient to mee, and to your brother *Plancus*, to make vse of that decree; about which, who, was an impediment, that it was not made according to our minde, I suppose, by the letters of your said brother, you haue vnderstood. But, if you desire any thing, either in the Senates decree, or in any other respect: bee perswaded of this, that the affection, all good men beare you is so great, that you can imagine no kinde of hon-

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how great ſo euer, which you may not eaſily obtaine. I expect, with great deſire, your letters; and expect them, ſuch as I exceedingly deſire, they ſhould be. Farewell.

Plancus to Cicero.
Epiſt. 23.

I Will neuer repent, my *Cicero*, to haue vndergone great perils, for my countrie; ſo that, when any misfortune befals me, I may not be taxed with temeritie. I would confeſſe I had erred through indiſcretion, if I had euer of mine own head giuen credit to *Lepidus*: for credulitie is rather an error, then an offence: and indeede it eaſilie fals into the minde of all honeſt men. But this was not the defect that had almoſt deceiued me. For I knew *Lepidus* too well. What was it then? the regard of my honor, which in the warres, is of great importance, vrged me to expoſe my ſelfe to this danger. For if I ſhould not haue vnited my ſelfe with *Lepidus*, I feared, leaſt ſome maligne fellow might haue ſuggeſted, that I made more account of that priuate enmitie which was betwixt vs, then of the intereſt of the Commonwealth; and alſo

so that I nourished the warre, by my protraction. Whereupon, I lead my men, almost in sight of *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, encamping my selfe some fortie miles from them; with dissigne, that I might presently make an approach, or retire my selfe, without losse. I had these respects, in making choyce of the place. First, to haue the riuer before me, where as they should stay to passe ouer. Then, that the *Vicentij* should be neere me, that so I might securely march with my men, through their countrie. *Lepidus*, being out of hope of my comming; the which he watched carefully, to surprise me; ioyned with *Antonius*, the xxix. of May: and the verie same day, they moued their Campe towards me. When they were within twentie miles of me; I heard thereof. I laboured by the gods helpe, with celeritie, so to retire my selfe; without making shew of flight; that not a Soldier, foot, or horse, nor any of the carriages might be lost, or intercepted by those iniurious thecues. Whereupon the iiij. of Iune, I passed ouer *Isara*, with all my men, and I cut downe the bridges, I had made thereon: to the end that my people might haue time to be reincouraged: and that in the meane while I might ioyne with *Brutus*, whom I expected three daies after the date of this present

sent, I must euer confesse, that our *Laterensis*, was of a singular fidelitie, and courage towards the Commonwealth; but certainely, his too great trust in *Lepidus*, permitted him not to foresee the danger, which might ensue; who seeing himselfe deceiued, and betrayed by *Lepidus*, would haue slaine himselfe with his owne hand: seeking to doe that to his owne bodie, which he should haue performed vpon *Lepidus*. In which case he being hindred, he yet liueth, and as it is said, he will escape it. But neuertheless, of this, I haue little certaintie. I, to the traytors great griefe, haue escaped their hands. For they came enraged against mee, with the same furie, that they came against their countrie. Whereunto they had fresh prouocations: because I had continually solicited *Lepidus* to end the warre: because they reproud the meetings heio [to this end] because I denyed the Ambassadors, to come into my presence, which were sent vnder *Lepidus* safe conduct; because I intercepted *Caius Cantinius Vestinus*, Tribune of the souldiers, sent vnto him from *Marcus Antonius*, with letters. Wherein, I take this contentment; that certainly, the more they sought to entrap me, the more griefe 'twas to them, that they had no successe therein. Looke you, my *Cicero*, to doe that which hitherto

you haue done, [that is] carefully, and ſtoutly to fauour vs, that follow the warres. Let *Cæſar* come, with all his mightie forces; or if any thing hinder him, let his armie be ſent: conſidering that he alſo is in great danger. Whatſoeuer force this accurſed ſocietie could make againſt their countrie, is by this time at the higheſt. And for the Cities ſecuritie, why ſhould we not vſe all our forces? I certainely, for what concernes my ſelfe, if you that are there ſafe not, will euery way giue ſufficient ſatisfaction to the Common-wealth. Queſtionleſſe, deare *Cicero*, my loue to you daily increaſeth, and the benefits you daily conferre vpon me, augment my care, that I may not looſe a iot, either of your loue, or opinion. I deſire, that in preſence, with my obſeruance, and endeauour, I may now at length ſhew you, that I am mindefull of your deſeruings: to the end that you may remaine ſatisfied for that, which you haue performed in the behalfe of my honour. Farewell: the vi. of June from *Cicero*, on the confines of the *Allobroges*.

Plancus

Plancus Imperator, elected Consull, to Cicero. Epist. 24.

I Cannot but giue you thankes, for all your fauours, and deserts: but in truth I am ashamed to doe it. For neither to so great a friendship, as you haue pleased to hold with me, seemes it that ceremoniall offices are befitting; neither doe I, for to great benefits receiued from you, seeke willingly to giue you words for recompence. I had rather personally, by obseruing you, by pleasing you, and by being continually about you, giue you to vnderstand; that I thinke vpon my obligation. But while life lasts me, I will exceed all acceptable amities, and religious affinities, in obseruing, pleasing, and courting you. For the loue you beare me, and the opinion you retaine of mee, whether it will procure me more perpetuall honor, or more daily content, I cannot easilie determine. Concerning the benefit of the soldiers, I see you haue had a care: whom I; not by reason of my greatnesse, (for I am prone to mine owne minde, that I affect nothing, which is not profitable) haue sought they may be rewarded by the Senate: but, first of all, because I iudged, that they had so deserued; and

then, in that my intention was, that vpon euery occasion, they might haue beene more engaged to the Common-wealth: and finally, that alienating their minds, from whomsoeuer would attempt to corrupt them, I might still vphold them in that good affection towards you, wherein hitherto they haue continued. We haue as yet kept things in the state they were. Which course of ours; though I conceiue, how desirous men are of such a victorie, (and not without reason;) yet I hope, by you 'twill be approu'd. For, if any discomfiture should light in these Armies, the Common-wealth hath no great succours on foot, by which, the sudden violence, and impious wills of traytors might be resisted: and I thinke my forces are well knowne vnto you. In my Campe there are three old legions, and one of fresh men, flourishing aboue all the rest: and in *Brutus* Campe one old Legion; another of souldiers of two yeares standing; and eight, of new supplies. And so the armies mightie in number, and little in power. And in battailes, what confidence may be put in fresh souldiers; experience hath too much taught vs. With these forces of our Armies, if the *Aegyptian* host, which is of old souldiers; or that of *Octauianus* were conioyned, we would willingly come to a battaile, and expose

poſe the Commonwealth to hazard. It is true, that for what belongs to *Octauian*, we do ſee the effect ſomething neere. I haue not failed to perſwade him by letters: and he hath alwayes affirmed, that he would come without any delay: and now I perceiue, that, changing this reſolution, he enters into other deſeignes. Nuertheleſſe, I haue ſent vnto him our friend *Furnius*, with commiſſion and letters, to ſee whether he can worke [any thing with him.] You know, good *Cæſar*, touching the louing of *Octauius*, that I accompanie you: either becauſe being familiar with *Cæſar*, when he liued, it was then fit for me to embrace and loue him: or elſe becauſe he, ſo farre as I could diſcerne, was of a moſt diſcreet, and affable condition: or elſe, in that I hauing entertained ſo inward amitie with *Cæſar*, me thinkes it were a brutiſh thing, not to retaine *Octauius* in the ſame degree: who by his, and your iudgement, was adopted in place of a ſonne. But while I write vnto you, I ſweare, I rather write it out of griefe, then any rancour. That *Antonius* at this day liues; that *Lepidus* is ioyned with him; that they haue armies of no ſmall account; that they hope; that they dare attempt; they may acknowledge it wholly from *Octauius*. Neither will I rip vp things paſt; but at the ſame inſtant

when hee offered to come, if hee had come; the warre had either now beene finiſhed, or out of *Italie*; and to their great preiudice reduced into *Spaine*, which is their greateſt enemie. Now, what reaſon mou'd *Octauianus* (or who aduiſed him, that from ſo great a glorie, and ſo neceſſarie for himſelfe, and his ſecuritie, he fell off, and turn'd his minde; to demand ſo fooliſhly [or with ſuch an inſulting importunitie] the two moneths Conſulſhip, to the great amazement of men; I cannot imagine. And as for the preſent neceſſitie, I am of opinion, his friends may moue him readily, no leſſe to his owne, then the benefit of the common-wealth. Your ſelfe may alſo doe much, as I thinke: from whom he hath [receiued] as great benefits, as any man liuing, except my ſelfe. For I will neuer forget, how I ſtand bound vnto you, for infinite reſpects, and of greateſt moment. I haue enioyned *Furnius* to treate with him of theſe things. And if he will beleeue, and follow my counſell, as hee ought: he ſhall thereby reape a great aduantage. In the meane while wee ſuſtaine the warre, vpon hard conditions. For neither doe we iudge, that we may very ſecurely come to battaile; nor yet, by auoyding it, would we giue occaſion, that the Common-wealth might receiue greater preiudice. But if *Octauian-*

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Caius haue any regard of his honour; or that the *African* Legions come out of hand; Wee will worke so, that you shall bee secure in these parts. I pray you loue me, as you haue begunne; and perswade your selfe, that I am yours as much, as your owne neerest proprieties. This xxviij of Iulie, from the Campe.

Cicero to Caius Furnius. Epist. 25.

IF it import, as men suppose, that you, as you haue begun, and hitherto haue done, should endeuour your selfe for the benefit of the Common-wealth; and be conuersant in waightie employments, which belong to the extinguishing of the reliques of the warre: it seemes you cannot vndertake any thing better, more commendable, or more honest. And I am of opinion, that this your endeuour, diligence, and affection towards the Common-wealth, is to be preferred before the Prætorship: the which, not being vertime, you sue for. For I would haue you vnderstand how great praise you haue purchased, the which certainely is in a manner equall

to that of *Plancus*; and by *Plancus* own teſtimonie; and beſides, by fame; and the knowledge of euerie man. Wherefore I aduiſe you, not to depart from thence, till euerie ſparke of the war remaining, be extinguiſh'd: for, nothing can procure you greater honour. And you know, honor ſhold aboue all things be preferred. And when you think you haue giuen full ſatisfaction to the Common-wealth; then, I would counſell you, to come out of hand, and demand the Prætorſhip; in that Prætors are ſhortly to bee created. But take heede, that this ambitious haſte, diminiſh nothing of that glorie wee haue attained. Manie men of renowned fame, being abroad in the ſeruice of the Common-wealth, forbare to come to *Rome*, that yeere, that was allotted them, to ſtand for Magiſtracie. Which you ſhould ſo much the rather do, becauſe this is, not your proper yeere: but if you had been Ædile two yeeres ſince, then this had beene your yeere. Now, though you ſhould forbeare to demand the Prætorſhip, it will not ſeeme that you haue omitted a moment, of the vſuall and ordinarie time of demanding it. And when *Plancus* ſhall bee Conſull, though without his helpe, you might eaſily obtaine it; neuerthleſſe, I ſee, that then your demand will bee, with far greater reputation; ſo that, matters there

there succeed, as they are wished. I know 'twas not necessarie, for mee, to speake much to this purpose; knowing you to be wise, and of profound iudgement: but I was desirous you should vnderstand my opinion; of which this is the sum: that I would wish you to be carried, rather by true honour, then ambition: and to esteeme greater benefit to consist in the perpetuitie of your praise, then in the hastning of a Prætorship. These verie poynts haue I discussed at home, in the presence of my brother *Quintus*, and of *Cecina*, and *Caluisius*, your dearest friends; *Dardanus* your free-man, being there, at the same instant. All of them thought, that I was herein of a sound opinion, yet I refer my selfe to your mature iudgement. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Furnius. Epist. 26.

HAuing read your letters, wherein you intimated, that it was requisite, either to let the *Narbonenses* depart, or with danger to ioyne battaile: I was much perplexed through doubt of the fight: and now, I am glad to vnderstand, that you haue shunned it. As

touching that you write vnto mee, about the concord of *Plancus* and *Brutus*: Therein repose great hope of victorie. Of the affection of the *Galli*, wee shall one day vnderstand, as you write, who was the principall occasion. But, I assure you, wee know it alreadie. Whereupon, reading your most pleasant letters, I was, towards the end, a little moued, in that you wrote; that if the creation of Prætors were put ouer to the moneth of August, you would come out of hand: and sooner, if they were created alreadie; not to appeare more foolish with your owne perill. Oh, my *Furnius*, how ill, you mannage your owne occasions. Considering, that you so easily learne to prosecute another mans. You suppose now, that you are to bee one of the elected, to stand for the Prætorship: and you resolue, either to come in all poste, to be at the Creation, or else it being past, to come, to remaine at your owne house. And this you write, you'l do; affirming, that to proceed anie further in the dangers of the warres, were but a meere folly, for it would cost you too deere. I thinke you speake not in good earnest, knowing you, to bee desirous of true praise. But if your minde bee answerable to your words, I reprehend not so much you, as my selfe, which before this time, could no better looke

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into you. To obtaine then a Magistracie before the time, which is ordinarily bestowed on euerie man; and is of no great reputation, being attained vnto, as the most part doe; would you lose so manie attributes of honour, by which euerie one deseruedly, extols you to the skies? It precisely importeth you, rather to be made Prætor at this creation, then at that which is to come. The maine point is, that you so steed the Common-wealth, that afterwards, all honour and Magistracie may bee due vnto you. Doe you not see now, to what an high degree you are mounted? or care you not for it? If you perceiue it not, I hold you excused: the blame is mine. But if you discerne it; how is it possible, that you can prefer this Prætorship, either before a dutie, which euerie man stands bound to pay vnto his Countrey? though few doe pay it; or to renowme? which vsually is deerest to all men. In this, I, and *Cæsius*, a verie wise man, and your great friend, condemne euerie day your iudgement. And yet with all our power, wee labour, to prorogue the Creation, till Ianuarie; we iudging, that for manie respects, it may redound to the benefit of the Common wealth. Conquer therefore, and liue in health.

Cicero

Cicero to Marcus Lepidus. Epist. 27.

HAuing, in respect of the infinite loue I beare you, an hearty desire, that you should attaine to some supreme, and high degree of honour: I tooke it ill, that you returned not thankes to the Senate; hauing beene preferred, by those orders, to eminent honours. That you are desirous to labour a peace betweene fellow Citizens, I am glad; If you can but quit that peace from seruitude, you shall benefit the Common wealth, and your owne honour. But if this peace be, to re-establish that same bad fellow, in the possession of his vnbridled dominion; conceiue that all good men are of this resolution, rather to dye free, then liue in seruitude. And therefore in my iudgement, you shall doe farre more wisely; not to interpose your selfe in this accord: of which, neither Senate, people, nor anie honest man receiues contentment. But these matters you shall vnderstand from others, or else be certified of them by letters. You, according to your accustomed wisdome, may bee able to resolue, what is best. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Trebonius. Epiſt. 28.

OH how I wiſh't, that you had inuited me, to that ſame glorious banquet of the xv. of March: none of thoſe reliques ſhould haue remained, which put vs now to ſo much trouble, that, that diuine peece of ſeruice of yours, perform'd in behalfe of the Commonwealth, is accompanied with ſome blemiſh. And becauſe that wicked wretch, was taken at one ſide by you, (though I know, you did it to a good end) and [that] through your fauour, this peſtilence yet liues though I ought not, yet, I cannot chooſe ſometimes, but I muſt be halfe angrie with you. For, you haue left more moleſtation to mee alone, then to all others whatſoeuer. Becauſe, ſo ſoone as after the reprochfull departure of *Marcus Antonius*, the Senate could freely be aſſembled; I returned to defend the Common-wealth, with that vndaunted mind, I was accuſtomed; for which, you, together with your Father, a moſt noble Citizen, haue euer commended, and loued mee. By reaſon, that the Tribunes of the people hauing ſummon'd the Senate, the xx. of December, and another buſineſſe being propounded, I ſpake in generall, touching the ſtate of the Commonwealth:

mon-wealth: and my courage transporting mee further then my wit, I so effected, that the Senate, now crazie, & languishing, seem'd to reassume its former vigor, & custom. This was the first day, that the people of *Rome*, moued by the efficacie of my words, and actions, conceiued some hope of recouering their libertie. And yet after that, I omitted no time, not onely to bethinke me, but to endeuour something also for the benefit of the Common-wealth. And, if I thought not, that you had particular aduertisement, by some other meanes, of that which passeth in *Rome*: I, though most busied, would not bee wanting therein, to giue you satisfaction. But I know you shall haue notice thereof, by the letters of some of your other friends: from mee you shall vnderstand some few matters, and that briefly. We haue a worthie Senate; the Consulars partly fearefull, and partly ill affected. Great preiudice did accrue by the death of *Seruius Sulpicius*. *Lucius Cæsar* carries a verie good mind: but because hee is *Antonius* Vncle, hee proceedeth not so freely. The Consuls can be no better then they are. *Decimus Brutus* beares himselfe wondrous well: and so does *Cæsar* the youth: who, I hope, will prosecute, as he hath begun. Bee assured of this; that if hee had not presently taken into pay the old companies;

pine; and if two Legions of *Antonius* Armie, had not come vnder his command, and that this tenour had not oppoſed him; there is no impietie, or cruelтie, which *Antonius* would not haue committed. Though I ſuppoſed you had heard of theſe things, yet I was willing to lay them more open vnto you. I will write more at large, when time permits me. Farewell.

Cicero to Ampius. Ep. 29.

VVIth what care I haue laboured about your affaires, and ſafetie, I ſuppoſe your friends haue certified: who I know on my part remaine well ſatisfied. Neither will I yeeld to them, though they beare you ſingular loue, that they ſhould affect your good aboue my ſelfe. But neceſſarily they muſt graunt this vnto me, that now, I can doe you more good, then they can. Which certainely I haue not failed to performe, nor euer will. And I haue already diſcharged it in a moſt important matter, & laid the foundations of your ſafetie. Be of good cheare, and rouſe vp your ſpirits: being moſt aſſured, that I will neuer faile you, in any occurrent whatſoeuer: the firſt of July. Farewell.

Ser-

Sernius Galba to Cicero.
Epist. 30.

THe xvj. of Aprill, on which *Pansa* should haue bin in *Hortium* Campe, with whom I was, (for I went an hundred myles to meete him, that he might come the sooner;) *Antonius* with two Legions, the second, and the fiue and thirtith, and two Prætorian Cohorts, one, his owne, another of *Silanus*, and a part of the extern, or oulandish souldiers, came marching towardes vs: imagining that we had onely foure Legions: But *Hirtius* sent by night, the *Martian* Legion, which was wont to be vnder my command, and two Prætorian cohorts, to the end we might come more securely to his Campe. At the discouery of *Antonius* Cauallerie; the *Martian* Legion, and Prætorian cohorts aduanced & prest on. And we of force followed, because we could not retaine them. *Antonius* had his men at *Forum Gallorum*; neither would hee haue had it knowne, that he had the Legions: onely he made a shew, of his Cauallerie, and of some light armed troupes. When *Pansa* saw the Legion aduance without his leaue, he commanded that two Legions of new souldiers should follow them. When we had passed

ſed the narrow itraights of the mariſhes and woods, we order'd a ſquadron of twelue cohorts. The two Legions were yet ſcarce come vp, when *Antonius* conducted his people out of the Borrough, and without delay came to an aſſault. At the beginning, they fought ſo, that they could not on either ſide haue fought more fiercely. But the right wing, wherein I was, with eyghe cohorts of the *Martian* Legion, at the firſt charge, put to rout, the thirde fifth Legion of *Antonius*, ſo that from the place where the fight begin, it purſued them aboue halfe a myle. Whereupon the Cauallery intending to inuiron or hem our wing about, I begin to retire, and to oppoſe my light armed, to the *Mariſh* horſe, to the end they might not aſſaile our men in the rere-gard. In the meane while I perceiued, that I was in the middeſt of *Antonius* troupes, and that behind, *Antonius* himſelfe, was not farre of. I preſently ſpurred to wardes that freſh Legion, which came from the Campe, clapping my ſhield to my Backe. *Antonius* trooyes purſued me, and our owne men beginne to throw darts at me: and it was great fortune that I eſcaped, had not our companies preſently diſcouered me. Alſo in the way *Amila*, where *Cefars* Praetorian cohort was, they fought a long time. The left wing, which was very weake, wherein

wherein were two cohorts of the *Martian* Legion, and the Prætorian cohort, beganne to retire, being inuironed with the Cauallerie, wherein *Antonius* is very ſtrong. When all our ſquadrons were retired, I my ſelfe alſo began to retire vnto the Campe. *Antonius* as Conquerour, thought he might haue ceaſed on our Tents: whereunto being come, he there loſt many of his men, and did otherwiſe no good. When *Hirtius* heard of this ſucceſſe, with twentie olde cohoites, he came and aſſailed *Antonius*, as he returned to his Campe: and hewed all his men in peeces, and put them to flight, in the ſame place, where they fought at *Forum Gallorum*. *Antonius* foure houres after Sunne-ſetting, with his Corners retired to his tents at *Mutina*. *Hirtius* betooke him to thoſe lodgings from whence *Panſa* iſſued; where he had left two Legions, which were confronted by *Antonius*. And ſo *Antonius* hath loſt the greateſt part of his old ſouldiers; but not without ſome weakening of our Prætorian Cohorts, and the *Martian* Legion. We won two Ægles, and threeſcore colours of *Antonius*; the victory was ours. This twentith of April. From the Campe. Farewell.

Caius

Caius Aſinius Pollio to Cicero. Epiſt. 31.

YOu need not maruile, that I haue not written any thing vnto you, about the Common-wealth, ſince the warre beganne. For the *Caſſalonenſian* foreſt, which hath euer ſtaied our poſts, though it be now fuller of theeues then euer; yet procures it not ſo much delay, as they doe, who being diſperſed in all quarters, by the one, & other ſide, ſeeke after Poſtes, and detaine them. For which cauſe, if letters had not bin conueyed by Sea, I could haue knowne of nothing, that paſſed with you. Now, hauing found opportunitie, in that they begin to goe by ſea, I will very willingly, and as oft as I can write vnto you. There is no feare that I ſhould be moued to diſcourſe of his workes, who, though there be none, that can abide to ſee him, yet is he not ſo hated of men as he deſerueth. For I ſo abhorre him, that I account euery thing odious, in which he hath a fingers and my nature, & ſtudies draw me to a deſire of peace, and libertie. Whereupon, I often bitterly bewayled that beginning of the ciuill warre. But being enforced to betake my ſelfe, to one of the parts, for I had great enemies of all ſides: I fled that Campe,

Campe, wherein I knew I could not be ſecure from the complots of mine enemie. Being driuen thither, whither I would not: not to be in the number of the laſt, I courageouſly expoſed my ſelfe to daungers. But becauſe *Caſar*, in ſo great a Fortune, hauing knowne me but a little before, held me in that eſteeme he held his auncienteſt familiars, I loued him with the greateſt affection and fidelitie I could. Thoſe things which I could diſcharge according to mine owne minde, I ſo performed, that euery honeſt man commended me: and that which was impoſed on me, I effected after ſuch a faſhion, as it was well knowne, that I did it as conſtrained, and againſt mine owne inclination. The hatred of which actions, vniuſtly borne me, might well teach me, how faire a thing libertie was, and how vnhappie that life, which is led vnder an *Arbitrage*. And therefore if now men ſtriue, that once againe, euery thing ſhould be reduced vnder a *Monarchie* whoſoeuer hee bee, I proteſt my ſelfe an enemie to him: neither is there any daunger, from which I withdrew my ſelfe, in the proſecution of libertie; or whither, I ſeeke not to be ſent. But the Conſulls, neyther by the Senates decree, nor by their owne letters, gaue me commiſſion what I ſhould

should doe. For I at the last receiued but one letter after the xiij of March, from *Pansa*; wherein he aduised me to write to the Senate, that I remaine at his command with the Armie. Which was nothing to the purpose; *Lepidus* affirming in his publick declamations, and writing to euery one, that he stood for *Antonius*: For with what prouision in his despight, could I conduct the Legions through his Prouince? Or, if I had passed the rest, could I also ouer the *Alpes*, which were garded by his people? Besides, letters could by no meanes, haue had secure passage. For in infinite places, men lay hold on the currier's, and they are also detained by *Lepidus*: No man can doe either at *Cordoba*, speaking to the Armie, I spoke this: that I was not to resigne the Prouince, but to him, that by the Senate's order was come for that purpose. For, to assigne ouer the thirtieth Legion, how great instance was made vnto me, I cannot sufficiently set downe in writing: the which, if I had resigned, I knew how much more weake I had remain'd for the seruice of the Commonwealth. For, doe not imagine, that any greater courage, or expedition in fight can be requir'd, then is in this Legion. Wherefore, retaine this opinion of me, that I first infinitely desire peace; (for certainly I wish the preseruation of all

Citizens)

Citizens) and next of all, that I am prepared to restore the cõmon wealth, and my selfe to libertie. Whereas you write that you hold my domesticall acquaintance, in the number of yours: it pleaseth me beyond your owne valuation. And yet I cause him, that he walks and iests with you. You'le demand, how much I esteeme of this? if ever I be permitted to liue in a reposed life, you shall know it. For I will not start an inch from you. I much wonder, that you wrote not vnto me; whether remaining in the Prouince, or leading mine Armie into *Italie*, I might giue best satisfaction to the common cause. For my part, though it be more secure, and lesse laborious to remaine: neuertheleſſe, because I see, that in these troublesõe times, you haue much more need of Legiõs, then of Prouinces; especially which may be recouered, without any trauaile; I haue propounded at this time, to depart with my forces. You shall hereafter vnderstand all, by the letters, which I haue written to *Pansa*: for I haue sent you a copie of them. The xvi. of March: from *Cordoba*. Farewell.

Caius

Caius Asinius Pollio to Cicero. Epist. 32.

B*Albus* the Quæstor, by recouering publicke duties, hauing amassed together, a great quantitie of readie coyne; a great weight of gold, and a greater of siluer, without so much as disbursing to the souldiers their pay; still, and closely departed from *Gades*: and for the space of three dayes, being detained by tempest at the [illegible] *Calpe* the first of Iuno [illegible] to *Bogud's* kingdome, exceeding well furnished with money, [illegible] being, whether he will returne to [illegible] to *Rome*, (for vpon euery blast of neyves, he shamefully alters his resolution.) I doe not yet know. But besides his courging the companions of the people of *Rome*; besides thefts & rapines; he hath also don these things that is (as he was wont to boast) the same that *Caius Cæsar* did. In the publick fest [illegible] that he celebrated at *Gades*; hee brought in, *Herennius Gallus*, the Comedian, the last day of the shewes, giuing him a ring of gold, to set in the fourteenth degree: (for so many seuerall degrees had he made, for the ranking of the knights.) He prorogued the *Quatuor virat*: The solemne elections of two

years,

yeares, he dispatcht in two dayes: that is, he created them to be officers, whom he thought good: he called home the banished men; not of these times, but of those, when the Senate was hewen in peeces, and expelled by seditious persons, *Sextus Caesar* being vice consull. But this he did not after *Caesars* example. For in his sports, he represented his voyage in a Comedie, when he went to assaile *Lucius Lentulus* the Consull and moreouer in the recitall thereof, he wept, as moued at the memoriall of his executions. Afterwards, in the encounters of the Fencers, because on *Fadius*, *Pompei's* souldier, hauing twice fought without reward, being vrged by another into the listes, at his request would not fight; and made his refuge to the people: first he set *Gaudish* horsemen against the people, (for he had stones cast at him, when *Fadius* was drawne by force) afterwards, dragging him away, within the listes, he put him in a pit, and burnt him aliue. At which time he hauing dined, hare sported, vnbraced, with his hands bound him, he strutting, walked vp and downe; and, to that poore wretch, who lamenting sayd; I am a Citizen of *Rome*, he made answer, Now goe, crane fauour of the people. Besides this, he cast vnto the wild beasts *Romane* Citizens. And amongst these a certaine out-cryer, a man verie well

knowne in *Hispalis*, he gaue to be torne asunder by the same Beasts; for no other cause, but that he was deformed. I haue had to doe with this monster. But when we be together, we will talke of him more at large. Now, more to the purpose; ordaine what I should do. I haue three Legions of valiant souldiers. One of which, that is, the eight and twentith, *Antonius* in the beginning of the warre, hauing called it to him, with this promise, that the same day it arriued in his Campe, he would giue them fiue hundred [*Romane*] pence a man: and in victory; the same rewards, as to his owne Legions. Which largesses, would haue beene infinite, and beyond all measure. It being very desirous to haue gone to him, I detained it, [but] hardly vndoubtedly. Neither could I haue detained them, if I had had them all in one place; considering that some of those cohorts mutined, though they were remote, one from another. The other Legions, he hath not ceased, to intice by letters, and large promises. As also *Lepidus*, hath vged me both by his owne, and *Antonius* letters, to send vnto them the thirtieth Legion. Whereupon, if this Armie which I haue, I would neither sell for rewards, nor diminish, for hatred of those dangers, of which, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, remaining Conquerours, I might

be in iealousie. you may well iudge, that it was by me detained, and reserued for the seruice of the Commonwealth, and [you may] hold for most certaine, that I would haue performed whatsoeuer you had commanded me to doe, perceiuing I had done that, which you imposed vpon me. For, I haue kept the Prouince in quiet, and the armie vnder my power. I neuer went beyond the extent of my Prouince, to goe any whither. I neuer sent a souldier into any part, not onely of the Legions, but not so much as of strangers, or those that haue colleagued themselues: and, if I found any horseman stealing away, or parting, I haue punished him. For all which actions, I shall thinke I haue receiued a great guerdon, if the Commen-wealth continue. But if it, and the greater part of the Senate, had well knowne me, I might ere this, haue done them greater seruice. I haue sent that Epistle to you, which I wrote to *Balbus*, while he was yet in the Prouince. In like manner, the Comedie, if you please to read it, call for it from *Gallus Cornelius*, my friend. This seuenth of Iune, from *Corduba*. Farewell.

Caius

Caius Aſinius Pollio to Cicero. Epiſt. 33.

LEpidus, by having detain'd my poſts for nine dayes, was the occaſion, that I had more late aduertiſement of the battailes fought vnder *Mutina*; although we ought to deſire, that the newes of ſo great a loſſe to the Common-wealth ſhould arriue very ſlowly; eſpecially to them, that can no wayes helpe vs, nor giue vs any remedie. And I would to God, that by the ſame decree of the Senate, with which you called *Plancus*, and *Lepidus* into *Italie*, you had likewiſe impoſed vpon me to come thither. Vndoubtedly the Common-wealth had not receiued a wound ſo dangerous. Whereat, if any at this preſent reioyce, for it ſeemes that the Captaines, and old ſouldiers of *Cæſars* partie are dead: neuertheleſſe, they muſt afterwards needs lament, when they ſhall behold the ruine of *Italie*. For the very ſtrength and race of good ſouldiers is extinguiſhed; if the newes we heare be in any part true. And I know it euidently, that if I had ioyned with *Lepidus*, I ſhould wonderfully haue aſſiſted the Common-wealth. For whereas he hunge eff, and was doubtfull, what part to cleaue vnto, I would

by all meanes haue perſwaded him, to haue reſolued on a courſe, eſpecially with the ayde of *Planeus*. But he writing vnto me ſuch letters, as you ſhall peruſe; and like to the open ſpeeches, which they ſay, he vttered at *Narbone*; it was neceſſarie, I ſhould draw him on with faire words, if I meant to get proviſion, marching through his Province. Beſides this, if the battaile had beene fought before I had effected my determination, I doubted that my good intention might by mine aduerſaries haue been diſcouered, & miſconſtrued; conſidering the acquaintance I haue had with *Antonius*: which notwithſtanding, was no greater then what *Planeus* had alſo with him. Whereupon, at *Gades*, in the moneth of Aprill, I embarqued two meſſengers, in two ſhips, and I wrote vnto you, to the Conſuls, and to *Ollaeian*, that you would informe me, how I might be beſt ſeruiceable to the common-wealth. But according to my accompt, on the ſame day that *Panſa* ioyned battaile; on the very ſame, the ſhips ſet out from *Gades*: For ſince the Winter, there was no ſetting of Saile before that day. And in truth not ſuſpecting, that any ciuill tumults would haue growne, with a ſetled mind, I had billeted my Legions in *Luſitania*; to the end they might lie there all ye winter. But both of them after ſuch a manner

found t

sought to fight, as if their greatest feare had beene, that the warre could not be ended, without the vtter ruine of the Common wealth But, if there were occasion of hast. Then, I see that *Hirtius* in al things demean'd himselfe, like a most valiant Captaine. For these things were written and certified vnto me, out of *Gallia*, which is in *Lepidus* gouernment: that *Pansa's* Armie was hewen in peeces; *Pansa* himselfe slaine, with manie wounds; the *Martian* Legion destroyed in the same battaile; together *vt Lucius Fabatus, Caius Pedaceus, & Decimus Carsulenus.* Then, that in *Hirtius* battaile, both the fourth Legion, and generally all those of *Antonius*, passed the edge of the sword. In like maner, *Hirtius* fourth Legion, hauing ceas'd vpon *Antonius* tents, were cut in peeces by the fift Legion: and here also *Hirtius*, and *Pontius Aquila* perished. And I heare, it is reported, that *Octauianus* was there slaine: which newes if they be true, (as God forbid,) I shall be infinitely sorrowfull. Moreouer, that *Marcus Antonius* dishonourabli: left the siege of *Mutina*: but that the Cauallerie, and three armed legions vnder their Standards, & one of *Publius Vagienus*: with a great number of disarmed men, and that *Ventidius* also is vnited with him, with three Legions, ẏ seuenth, the eight, and the ninth: and that if *Lepidus* faile him, in whom he

hath great hope, he will betake him to his laſt refuge; and will raiſe not onely the nations, but euen the very ſtones. I vnderſtand alſo, that *Parma* hath beene ſacked; & y *Lucius Antonius* poſſeſſeth the *Alps*. Which things if they be true, it is not fit that any of vs, ſhould ſtand at the gaze, or expect, what the Senate will determine. For euery one that affects the ſafetie of the Empire, or finally the *Romaine* name, is enforced to giue preſent ſuccour; ſeeing *Brutus*, as I heare, hath no more, but ſeuenteene cohorts, and two imperfect Legions of new ſouldiers, which *Antonius* had entertained. And yet I make no doubt, but all the remainder of *Hirtius* Armie will make head with him. For of leuying of new forces, I thinke there is no great hope: eſpecially there being nothing more dangerous, then to giue *Antonius* time, to be refortified: and the ſeaſon of the yeare, the rather inuites me thereunto, becauſe the corne is either in the fields, or in the villages. Therefore in my firſt letters, I will ſet downe, what I meane to doe. For I will neither be wanting, to the Commonwealth, nor ſurname her. But yet I grieue without meaſure, that my iourney will be ſo long, and dangerous; for all aduertiſements come to me aboue fortie dayes after the execution. Farewell.

Marcus

Marcus Lepidus, Imperator the ſecond time, & Pontifex Maximus, to the Senate, and people of Rome. Epiſt. 34.

IF you, with your children be in health, I am glad: my ſelfe alſo am ſo: I call to witneſſe, both gods and men, (O conſcript Fathers) of what intention, and affection I haue euer beene towards the Common-wealth, and how light I haue ſet by all other things, in reſpect of common libertie, and lat tie. The which I had very ſhortly made manifeſt vnto you, if Fortune had not by force diuerted me from the diſſigne, I had intended. For all the Armie comming to a mutinie, would maintaine their auncient cuſtome, in preſeruing Citizens, and embracing peace with all men: and to ſay truth, it hath enforced me, to vndertake the protection of the ſafetie, and preſeruation of ſo great a multitude of *Romane* Citizens. Wherefore, I beſeech you, and entreat the gods (O conſcript Fathers) that, laying apart all particular hatred, you will prouide for the State of the Common-wealth, and not repute our clemencie, and the mercie of our Armie in a cruell diſcord, for diſloyaltie. And, if you haue reſpect to the honour, and

safetie of all men; greater benefit will redound both to you, and the Common-wealth. The xxix. of May, from *Pont Argentens.* Farewell.

Marcus Lepidus Imperator the second time, Pontifex Maximus, to Cicero. Ep. 35.

IF you be in health, I am glad, for so am I also: Having heard, that *Antonius*, with his forces, sending *Lucius Antonius*, before with a part of the Caualleric, came into my Prouince; I departed with my companies from that place, where *Plancus* meetes with other Armies, and tooke my way towardes them. And so by a continuall march I came to *Forum Voconij*: and a little beyond, along the riuer *Argentea* I encamped against the two *Antonies*. *Publius Ventidius* ioyned with him his three Legions, and pitched his Tents aboue me. He had before that, the second Legion, and out of other Legions a great multitude, but disarmed. He hath a strong Caualleries for he lost but few of them, in the battaile: in so much, as they are aboue thirtie thousand horse. So that diuers of his souldiers, both foote and horse, departing from

from him, are come to my campe. And day by day, his men diminiſh. *Silanus*, and *Cales* haue left him. We, although mightily offended with them, becauſe they went to *Antonius* againſt our will: neuertheleſſe, out of our humanitie, and loue, we haue thought good to ſaue them. And yet we employ them not, nor doe we keepe them in our Campe: nor haue we giuen vnto them any command. As touching this warre, wee will neither be wanting to the Senate, nor Common-wealth. Of what wee haue ſince that time done, we will aduertiſe you. Although at all times, betweene vs, for the familiaritie we haue had together, there haue paſſed great demonſtrations, and effects of loue, either of vs ſtriuing to exceed the other: Yet, I make no doubt, but that in ſo great, and ſuddaine a commotion of the Common-wealth, by malignant minds, ſome things haue bin reported to you of me, altogether falſe, and vnbeſeeming me; which haue much moued your minde, out of the affect on you beare to the Common-wealth. And to ſuch relatio us, I am certified by my Agents, that you gaue no great credit; nor thought you good, ſo lightly to beleeue them. Which things, as they deſerue, are moſt acceptable vnto mee: as alſo I remember thoſe fauours, which in times paſt, moo-

ued out of loue, you performed, to encreaſe my honour and reputation Whereof I will neuer be forgetfull. I requeſt you, my *Cives*, of all fauour; if, in my life, and care, which I haue alwayes in times paſt, moſt diligently employed in the gouernment of the Common-wealth, you haue knowne me for ſuch an one, as is fit I ſhou'd be; that you would expect the ſame, and alſo better performance hereafter: and the more I am bound vnto you for benefits receiued, the more ſtudious be you, with your authoritie to defend me. Farewell.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M.T. CICERO.

Decimus Brutus, to Marcus Brutus, and Caius Cassius. Epist. 1.

THis shall serue, to informe you, in what state we stand. Yesterday in the euening *Hirtius* was with me, and declared vnto me what *Antonius* meaning was; as bad as might be, and most trecherous.

cherous. For he ſaid, that he could not giue ouer the Prouince to me: neither thought he that any of vs, could remaine ſecurely in *Rome*: becauſe the mindes of the ſouldiers, and plebeians were terribly prouoked. Both which things, that they are falſe, I thinke you very well conceiue; and on the contrarie, that, that is true, which *Hirtius* related; that *Antonius* ſcares, if our dignitie get neuer ſo little aſſiſtance, no place would remaine for him in the Commonwealth. Finding my ſelfe in theſe perplexities, I thought good to demand a free Embaſſie for my ſelfe, and for our other friends, to finde ſome honeſt meanes for our departure. Which hee hath promiſed me to obtaine. And yet I am not confident, that he can procure it: ſo great is mens inſolencie, & their perſecution of vs. And yet if they ſhould graunt this Embaſſie; neuertheleſſe I ſuppoſe, that not long after wee ſhould be eſteemed rebells; and they will publiſh ſome proclamation to interdict vs fire, and water. What is therefore your aduiſe? We muſt yeeld to Fortune; leaue *Italie*, and goe to *Rhodes*, or into ſome other part of the world. If better fortune preſent it ſelfe, wee will returne to *Rome*: if indifferent, we will liue in exile: if the worſt of all, we will haue recourſe, to the laſt refuge. Here, peraduenture ſome of you will ſay:

wherefore

wherefore will you attend while the last cast, rather then presently attempt some thing? Because wee know not whither we should goe, but to *Sixtus Pompeius*, and *Bassus Cecilius*: who I suppose hearing this newes of *Cæsar*, will collect greater force. Wee shall come to them time enough, if we once know what they can performe. If you will haue me promise any thing for eyther of you two, I will passe my word: for *Hirtius* requires me to doe it. I pray, write backe vnto me without delaie; For I make no question, but *Hirtius* will aduertise me of the foresaid matters, within the compasse of foure houres. Returne me answere in writing, where we shall meete, and whither I must come. After *Hirtius* last discourse, I thought good to demand, that we might haue leaue to remaine in *Rome* with publicke guard: the which I thinke they will not graunt vs. For all *Rome* would become their enemie, if it saw that we could not remaine secure without a guard. I haue notwithstanding preferred all those requests, which I iudged reasonable. Fare ye well.

Marcus

Marcus Brutus, and Caius Cassius Prators, to Marcus Antonius Consull. Epist. 2.

IF we made any question of your loue and fidelitie towards vs, we would not haue written these things vnto you: the which we are assured you will take in very good part: being, as you are, our friend, and a man of sincerest loyaltie. We are informed by writing, that a great multitude of old souldiers, are now come to *Rome*, and that the first of Iune there will be a farre greater number. If we either doubted or suspected you, we should doe contrarie to our iudgement, and vsuall custome. But certainly, we hauing been in your power; and by your aduise dismissing our municipall friends; and performed this not only by edict, but also by letters; we are worthie to be made partakers of your intention; especially in a matter wherein we are interessed. Whereupon we request you, to let vs vnderstand, how you stand affected towards vs; and whether you thinke we may liue secure, in so great a recourse of old souldiers: who, as we heare, are determined to set the pillar vp againe. Whereunto if you consent; it seemes not that any man can thinke it well done, that hath any respect

respect of our honour, and safetie. The successe hath shewed, that from the beginning wee aimed at quietnesse; and sought no other thing but common libertie. None can deceiue vs heerein, but your selfe; which were farre from your worth, and fidelitie. Neither hath any man else any meanes to deceiue vs. For in you onely we haue, and must put our confidence. Our friends though they well know your constancie, yet they are much perplexed for vs; considering that the multitude of old souldiers, may more easilie by any other be excited, then by you curbed. I pray be pleased to answer vs particularly to euery thing. It were a great follie to beleeue, that these old souldiers are called to *Rome*, because in the moneth of Iune, you were to take order in the Senate, about their aduancement. For, what can you thinke should hinder you herein, being assured, that in this we no waies meane to oppose you? Wee ought not to seeme ouer desirous of life to any man; in that no mischiefe can fall on vs, without the ruine, and confusion of all things. Farewell.

Brutus

Brutus, and Caſſius Prætors; to Antonius, Conſull. Ep. 3.

WE haue read your letters, very conformable to your edict; outragious, threatning, and altogether vnworthie, both of your ſelfe, and vs. *Antonius*, wee haue no waies iniur'd you: neither did we thinke, that you would haue wondred, that, being Prætors, and men of that qualitie, we had by edict demanded any thing of the Conſull. Wherfore though you take it in diſdaine, that we were ſo bold as to do it: [yet] giue vs leaue to grieue, that you ſhould not vouchſafe this fauour to *Brutus*, and to *Caſſius*. For, whereas you ſay you complained not, concerning the leuying of ſouldiers, and impoſing of tributes, muſtering of armes, and ſending of meſſingers beyond ſea: we eaſily beleeue you, that you did it out of a good intention: neuertheleſſe we confeſſe not, that euer wee did any of theſe things: and wee wonder at you, that, hauing conceal'd theſe matters, you could not ſuppreſſe your choller, which hath [ſo farre] tranſported you [as] to caſt in our teeth the death of *Cæſar*. But how that may be ſupported, Imagine you: that, the Prætors reſoluing, for concords ſake, and libertie, by

way

way of Edict; may not leaue their own right in the gouernment they haue, but the Conſull ſhould threaten them with armes. It importeth not, that you through confidence you haue in them ſhould goe about to terrifie vs. For it is not well done; nor is it fitting that we vpon any danger whatſoeuer ſhould be frighted. Neither ſhould *Antonius* ſeeke to command them, by whoſe action he himſelfe hath freedome. If we were induced by others occaſions to raiſe a ciuill war; your letters could be of no effect: they, bearing little reſpect to threats, who preferre libertie before all things. But you know well, that we cannot be prouoked to any noueltie. And peraduenture you threaten vs, by reaſon that what we doe out of iudgement, you ſuppoſe proceedes from feare. Our minde is this: that we deſire ſo long as the Common-wealth may be alſo Free, that you ſhould therein be both great, and honourable: our deſire is not to haue any enmitie with you: but yet we make more account of our owne libertie, then of your amitie. Conſider well what enterpriſe you vndertake, and what forces you haue to ſupport it, and thinke not how long *Ceſar* liued, but how little he raigned. Wee deſire the gods, that your deſeignes may be beneficiall to the Common-wealth, and your

your selfe: If otherwise; we wish, that, with the safetie, and honour of the Common-wealth, they may be little preiudiciall to your selfe. The fourth of August.

Decimus Brutus Imperator, to Cicero. Epist. 4.

IF I made any question of your affection towards me, I would intreat you in many words to defend mine honour. But doubtlesse that is true, which I perswade my selfe; which is; that I haue a great place in your heart. I went against the *Transalpine* with mine Armie, not so much to obtaine the title of Imperator, as to satisfie the souldiers, and confirme them in defence of our cause: the which in my opinion I haue obtained. For they haue had a triall both of our liberalitie, and affection. I haue encountred with people warlike aboue all others: I haue there taken many Castles, and sacked many, I wrote not to the Senate, without iust cause, that they would afforde me the honour of that I sue for by supplications. Helpe me to obtaine it: for you shall performe a matter profitable

also

also to the Common-wealth. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epist. 5.

LVpus our familiar friend being come from your parts; and remaining at *Rome* some pretie time; I was [retired] in a place, where I thought my selfe secure. For which cause *Lupus* returned to you, without my letters, having neuertheleſſe procured me to haue yours. Now, I am come to *Rome* the ninth of December, and I desired nothing more, then to go presently and finde out *Pansa*: from whom I heard those things of you, which I desired greatly. Whereupon, though I know that I neede vse no prouocation of words to incite you, hauing of your selfe effected such a matter, as in the memorie of man, there was neuer any more famous: yet I thought good to certifie you briefely, how the people of *Rome*, expect all things from you; and that in you it reposeth all hope, that once it shall recouer it lost libertie. Now, I make no doubt, that, although day, and night you should call to minde, (which I am sure

ſure you doe) how great a matter you haue accompliſh'd; [yet] you cannot be forgetfull, how great thoſe things are, which you muſt yet compaſſe. For if it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, that *Antonius*, ſhould deprive you of *Gallia*; (to whom doubtleſſe, I was euer a friend, till I perceiued, that he not only openly; but alſo wilfully, makes warre againſt the Common-wealth;) there would remaine no refuge for our ſafety. Wherefore, I requeſt you; as alſo the Senate and people of *Rome* intreat you, that you will for euer redeeme the Common wealth, from tyranny, that the end may be anſwerable to your beginning. This is your office: this is required, and this I will not ſay is expected from you, but euen challenged, not only by our Citie, but by all the world. Although, you needing no exhortations, as I haue before written; I will vrge this point no further, I will doe whatſoeuer belongs to me; and to promiſe you all offices, fauours, endeauours, and counſells; wherein ſoeuer it occurres, that by them your praiſe, and glory may bee aduanced. And therefore I would haue you ſtedfaſtly beleeue, that I, as well in reſpect of the Common-wealth, which is more deare vnto me then my life; as alſo becauſe I affect your honour, and the augmentation of your dignitie, will

neuer

neuer faile, in your honest designes, and in your greatnesse, and renowne to further you. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Ep. 6.

OVr friēd *Lupus* arriuing at *Rome*, the sixth day after his departure from *Mutina*, came the morrow after betimes to finde me; and carefully deliuered vnto me, what you had committed to him; and gaue me your letters. Whereas you commend vnto me your honor; I esteeme, that at the same instant you recommend vnto me mine owne: which certainly is not deerer to me then yours. And therefore, you shall performe a thing acceptable to me, if you assure your selfe, that neither my counsell, nor diligence shall bee any where wanting to your commendations. The Tribunes of the people intending, that the Senate should be assembled the xx. of December; and I determining, to consult about a guard for the designed Consulls: though I resolued not to come into the Senate, before the first of Ianuarie: notwithstanding, because your edict was published the fifteenth day, I thought it very

very vnhappy, that there should either be a Senate, wherein your diuine merits towards the Common-wealth should be forgotten, (which would haue been look't vnto, though I had not beene present) or that any thing should bee spoken in aduancement of your honor, in which I had not beene there assistant. And therefore in the morning I went to the Senate house. Which being obserued: a great number of Senators repaired thither: and what I effected for you in the Senate, and deliuered afterwards in speech vnto the people, in the presence of an infinite audience, I had rather you should vnderstand by others letters. This I desire you would bee perswaded, that, all those things, which shall appertaine to the increase of your dignitie, (which of it selfe is very great) I will always with especiall care embrace, and defend. Wherein though I perceiue I shall haue many associates; yet will I endeuour after such a manner, that the first place shall remaine to my selfe. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epiſt. 7.

LVpus having call'd together mee, *Lobo*, and *Servius* your cozen, at my houſe; what my opinion was, I think you haue vnderſtood from *Cneius Seius*, who was preſent at that conſultation. The reſt, though *Gracchus* came a while after *Seius*: nuertheleſſe, from *Gracchus* you may vnderſtand it. But the ſum is this; which I would haue you well to note, and keepe in minde: That in preſeruing the freedome, and ſafetie of the people of *Rome*, you ſhould not attend vpon the authoritie of the Senate, not yet at liberty. (For, this were a controlling, and reuocation of what you haue done: for, if you ſhould reduce the Commonwealth to liberty, this you had done by no publique counſell, but of your ſelfe: and therfore 'twas your greater praiſe.) and you ſhould inferre, that young (or rather the childe) *Cæſar* did fooliſhly, to embrace ſo publique a buſineſſe vpon his priuate counſell. Finally, you ſhould make ſhew, that firſt you held all the olde ſouldiers, your war-aſſociates, for fooles; ruſticall men; but valiant perſons, and excellent Citizens: as alſo the *Martian*, and fourth Legion, who denounced

denounced their Consull, Rebell; and reuolted, to defend the safety of the Common-wealth. The will of the Senate must bee held for authority, when authority is by feare hindered. Last of all, you haue now twice taken the enterprise vpon your selfe: Wherefore, you must sticke to what you haue done, First, the thirteenth of March; and then againe lately; because you assembled a new Armie, and new forces. And therfore you must be so prepared, and prouided for euerie thing, that you stand not vpon commission, in performance of euerie seruice: but, that you effect those matters, that may with wonderfull admiration, of euerie man, haue allowance. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epist. 8.

WHen *Paula*, your wife, gaue me to vnderstand, that if I would write any thing to you, I might doe it: I then had nothing to write. For all things hung in suspence, by reason of the expectation of the Ambassadours, from whom, as yet, there was no newes, what they had effected. Yet I thought good, to write this vnto you: First, that the

the Senate, and people of *Rome*, doe thinke of you, not onely in respect of their owne safetie, but also for your dignitie. For, all *Rome* is wonderfully affected to your name, and beares you singular loue; hoping constantly, that as before you freed the Commonwealth from a Tyrant, so at this present, you will deliuer it from Tyrannie. There is a presse of souldiers in *Rome*, and thorowout all *Italy*, if it may bee termed a presse, when all men willingly offer themselues: so great a feruencie is entred into the minds of men, through the desire of libertie, and out of the hatred, of so long a seruitude. For the rest, wee must now depend vpon your letters, and bee aduertized what you doe, and our *Hirtius*, and my *Cæsar*: who, I hope ere long, will in your companie be victorious. It remaines, that I notifie vnto you in writing, that, of my selfe, which I hope and desire, you may vnderstand from your friends, that I neither am, or euer will bee wanting in anie thing, that concernes your honor. Farewell.

Ce Decimus

Decimus Brutus to Cicero.
Epist. 9.

YOu know what losse the Common-wealth sustained, by the death of *Pansa*, now it is requisite, that you, with your authoritie and prudence, should prouide; that our enemies, by the death of the Consuls, may not hope to recouer themselues. I will take a course, that *Antonius* shall not be able to stay in *Italy*. I'le pursue him without delay. These two things I hope to compasse: That neither *Ventidius* shall escape, nor *Antonius* plant himselfe in *Italy*. Aboue all, I entreat you, that you would send to that same wauering, or inconstant *Lepidus*, to the end he may not renew vs the warre, by colleaguing himselfe, with *Antonius*. For, touching *Pollio Asinius*, I suppose you conceiue, what he resolues on. The Legions of *Lepidus*, and *Asinius*, are verie manie, and mightie. Neither write I these things vnto you, because I know not, that you in like manner haue them in consideration; but, because I am assured, if perauenture ye should be doubtful; that *Lepidus* will neuer perso me the office of a good Citizen. I also pray you, so to worke, that *Plancus* may aide vs: who, I hope, now that

Antonius

Antonius is ouerthrowne, will not fall from the Common-wealth. If *Antonius* passe the *Alpes*, I am resolu'd to place a Guard there, and to aduertize you particularly of what succeedeth. The xxviij. of April, from the Campe at *Regium*.

Decimus Brutus to Cicero.
Epist. 10.

I Doe not think the Common-wealth more bound to me, then I am to you. And you see verie well, that I cannot be more gratefull to you, then they are to me malignant. And if it seeme, that I speak this, to apply my selfe to the qualitie of the times; I desire your iudgement, rather then all theirs of th'other side. For you, without all passion, and according to truth censure me: which they, hindred by extreme malice, and enuie, doe not. But let them gaine-say at their pleasure, that I may not bee honoured: so they prohibite not, that I may conuniently execute the affaires of the Common-wealth. The which, in how great danger it is, I will explaine vnto you, with the greatest brevitie I can possible. First, what a confusion growes in the Citie, by the death of the Consuls, and what a passi-

on men enter into, when that Magiſtracie is vacant, you know ſufficientlie. I make account I haue written to the full of thoſe matters, that may bee committed to letters, for I know to whom I write. Now I returne to the buſineſſe of *Antonius*. Who, after the diſcomfiture, finding his power to be but a ſmall band of diſarmed foot: by ſetting the bondmen at libertie, and preſſing by force all ſorts of men, hee hath drawne together a good number of ſouldiers. Whereunto the force of *Ventidius* was after ioyned; which with a moſt toilſome march, is arriued at *Pada*, beyond the *Appenine*, where it is vnited with *Antonius*. There are with *Ventidius* of old ſouldiers, and armed, a verie great number. *Antonius* intentions muſt needs be theſe; either to repaire to *Lepidus*, if hee can be receiued: or to lye vpon the *Appennine*, and the *Alpes*, and ſcowring the Countrey with his Cauallerie, which he hath in abundance, to ſucke thoſe parts, which hee ſcowreth: or to retire againe into *Hetruria*, becauſe that quarter of *Italy*, is without anie Armie. But if *Caſar* had paſt the *Appennine*, as I did counſel him; I had brought *Antonius* to that ſtreight, that hee ſhould rather by famine, then by ſword, haue periſhed. But neither can wee command *Caſar*, nor *Caſar* his Armie: which are two difficulties of great

great conſequence. Now matters ſtanding in theſe termes, I care not though men, in reſpect of my ſelfe, as before I wrote, doe croſſe me. But yet I feare, that either fit prouiſions cannot bee made, or, that when you ſhall make them, ſome obſtacle will bee interpoſed. I can no longer pay the ſouldiers. When I took in hand to free the Common-wealth, I had more then foure millions in readie money. Now, I haue not onely not anie part in mine owne ſubſtance; but all the friends I had, I haue engaged. I giue maintenance to ſeuen Legions; with what difficultie, imagine you. If I had *Varro's* treaſures, I could not defray the charges. As ſoon as I haue anie certaintie of *Antonius*, I will let you vnderſtand of it. Bee pleaſed to loue me, eſpecially, when in me you finde the like affection. This fifth of May, from the Campe at *Dertbona*. Farewell.

Decimus Brutus Imperator, elected Conſull, to Cicero.

Epiſt. 11.

I Receiued your letters, written after the ſame ſorme, as my ſeruants deliuered them. The debt I owe you is ſo

great, as I can hardly pay it you. I wrote vnto you of those things, which here troubled vs: *Antonius* is on his way: he goes to *Lepidus*: and, hee is not altogether hopelesse of *Plancus*, as I conceiue by his letters, which came vnto my hands: wherein hee made mention of some, that were sent to *Asinius*, to *Lepidus*, & *Plancus*. I, neuertheless, not hanging long vpon the matter, sent presently to *Plancus*; and within two daies, I expect Ambassadours from the *Allobroges*, and from all *Gallia*, whom I will send backe to their Countries well affected. Prouide, that all things needfull to be performed with you, may be dispatch't, according to your minde, and the occasions of the Common-wealth. And, if you can; oppose the maleuolence of men: if you cannot, comfort your selfe with this, that they shall not by anie outrages whatsoeuer, diuert me from my resolution. The seuenth of May, From the Campe, on the confines of the *Statielenses*.

Cicero

Cicero to Decimus Brutus, Imperator; elected Conſull. Epiſt. 12.

I Receiued in one day three letters from you: one, a ſhort one; which you deliuered to *Fiacius Valentinus*: [and] two verie long; one, brought me by the poſt of *Titus Vibius*; and the other ſent vnto mee by *Lupus*. By your letters, and *Graecius* reports, it ſeemes, that the warre is, not onely, not extinguiſh'd, but with a greater blaze againe inflamed. But, I, out of your ſingular prudence, aſſure my ſelfe; that you perceiue, if it fortune that *Antonius* recouer anie forces, that all thoſe your memorable ſeruices for the Commonwealth, are like to periſh. For, this newes came to *Rome*; all men were of this beleefe; that *Antonius*, with a few diſarmed men, dainted with feare, deſtitute of all hope to be himſelfe again, had eſcaped. Who, if he be in ſuch an eſtate, as to encounter him, as *Graecius* told mee, would bee dangerous: mee thinkes he is not fled from *Mutina*, but that he hath onely chang'd the place of war. Whereupon, men are in part aſtoniſhed, in part alſo they complaine, that you purſued him not. They beleeue, you might haue ſuppreſt him, had

you therein but vſed expedition. Queſtionleſſe, this is a defect of the people, and eſpecially of ours, to abuſe libertie towards him, by whom they haue obtained it. Neuertheleſſe, 'tis good to haue a care, that no iuſt complaint may be produced. Here lies the poynt: He ſhall bring an end to the war, that ſuppreſſeth *Antonius*. How much this imports, you may of your ſelfe imagine: for, I purpoſe not herein to make you a further declaration. Farewell.

Decimus Brutus, Imperator, elected Conſull, to Cicero.
Epiſt. 13.

FRom this time forward, it will not be fit, that I ſhould thanke you with words. For, if I can hardly with effects, returne you equall merit; how ſhould I thinke with words, euer to be able to requite you? I pray you conſider well, how matters now ſtand: for, being wiſe, as you are; reading diligently my letters, you ſhall vnderſtand euerie thing: I could not, my *Cicero*, purſue preſently *Antonius*, for the reaſons I ſhall alledge vnto you. I was without horſe; without beaſts for carriage; I knew not that *Hirtius* was ſlaine; I could

could not bee confident of *Cæſar*, before I came vnto him, and had talked with him; The firſt day paſſed after this manner. The day following I was by *Panſa* called earely to *Bononia*. Being on the way, newes came, that hee was dead. I poſted preſently to my poore companies; for, ſo I may truely terme them. They are wondrous bare, and through want of all things, in marvellous ill condition. *Antonius* got two daies iourney before me, making much more way in his flight, then I, in his purſuite: for, he fled at randome, and I followed in warlike ordinance. Whereſoeuer he paſſed, he ſet ſtones at liberte, and tooke by force, whomſoeuer he could: hee ſtaid in no place, till he came to *Vada*: which place I wil diſcypher vnto you. It lies between the *Appennine* and the *Alpes*, and is almoſt impaſſible. I being ſome 30. miles off him, and he having alreadie combined his forces, with thoſe of *Ventidius*, an oration of his was brought vnto mee: wherein hee began to entreat the ſouldiers, that they would follow him beyond the *Alpes*, by reaſon he held correſpondencie with *Lepidus*. At this, ſhouts were raiſed, and principallie by *Ventidius* ſouldiers, (for, of his owne, he hath verie few) that they were reſolued to die, or vanquiſh in *Italy*. And moreouer, they began to importune

him, that hee would goe towards *Pollentia*. He, not being able to withhold them, gaue order for his going thither, the day following. When I heard this newes, I presentlie sent fiue cohorts to *Pollentia*, before they should arriue there, and tooke mine owne way thitherwards. *Trabellius* arriuing with his horse at *Pollentia*, found my men, which I sent to defend it, there, an howre before: whereat I much reioyced. For, herein I thinke, consists the victorie. They conceiued some good hopes: for, they neither supposed, that *Plancus* fowre Legions, were equall to all their forces: neither did they thinke, that an Armie could so speedilie be conducted out of *Italy*. Against whom the Towne-men hitherto, ioyned with the horse I sent before, haue of themselues couragiously resisted: and at my arriuall, I hope they will yet more valiantlie oppose themselues. But if peraduenture *Antonius* should passe the riuer *Isara*, wee will labour with all our power, to make such defence, that hee may doe no hurt to the Common-wealth. Be of great courage, and good hopes, about the interests of the Common-wealth, seeing, that both we, and our Armies, vnited with singular concord, are prepared for all enterprizes, in your behalfe, and seruice. Neuertheless, you must vse your wonted diligence,

ligence, and procure, that there want neither men, nor anie other thing, which the neceſſitie of war requireth, to the end that with better confidence, we may fight for your ſafetie, againſt this impious conſpiracie of our enemies: who, on a ſudden, haue turned thoſe forces againſt their Countrey, which in long time, vnder colour of the Common-wealth, they had collected. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Ep. 14.

I Reioyce beyond meaſure my *Brutus*, that my opinions, and cenſures about the election of the Decemuiri, and about honouring the young man, were by you approoued. But what get I by this? Beleeue me, who am free from vaine-glorie, I know no more (O *Brutus*) what to doe. For the Senate was my organe, which now is wholie out of tune. That ſame notable enterpriſe of yours, when you ſallied out of *Mutina*, [and] *Antonius* flight with the diſcomfiture of his Armie, put vs in ſuch hope, of hauing abſolutely finiſhed the warre, as euerie one grew to be recomforted; and thoſe my contenti-

ons

ons heeretofore so violent, resembled skirmishes against the winde. But to returne to the matter: It is the opinion of such as well vnderstand the *Martian*, and the fourth Legion; that they cannot, by any meanes, be brought vnto you. Touching the money you demand, there is course taken for prouiding it, and it shall be dispatched. In the calling home of *Brutus*, and appointing *Cæsar* for the guard of *Italie*, you and I haue one opinion. But, as you write, you haue aduersaries: whom I withstand with small labour: yet they disturbe mee notwithstanding. The Legions are expected out of *Africa*: but euery one wonders, that the warre is renewed in those parts. There neuer hapened any thing so farre beyond expectation. For, the victorie being published on the day of your natiuitie, 'twas thought the Common-wealth should haue been put to no more trouble for many yeares. Now, these new occasions of feare, come to disanull matters alreadie performed. Though in those of the xv. of May, you write vnto me; how, not long before, you vnderstood by letters from *Plancus*, that *Antonius* was not receiued by *Lepidus*. Which, if it be so, all matters will goe well: but if otherwise, the enterprise will be difficult; whose end dependeth on you, to be brought about so, that I may

may no waies feare it. I can doe no more, then what I haue done: yet aboue all others, I deſire to ſee you, moſt reputed, and honourable; euen as I hope you ſhall be. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Ep. 15.

THough the contentment your letters yeeld me is verie great: yet this was greater; that, being infinitely employed, you appointed your Colleague *Plancus*, that he ſhould by letters excuſe you to me. Which he hath performed diligently. And certainely I could haue receiued no greater content from any thing, then from this your courteſie, and diligence. The vnion with your Colleague, and your mutuall concord, the which by both your letters, you haue intimated, to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, was moſt acceptable. For the reſt; goe on my *Brutus*, and henceforth, ſtriue not to ouercome another, but to goe beyond your ſelfe. I muſt be no longer in writing, eſpecially to you, whom I meane to imitate in breuitie. I expect with deſire your letters, and attend them of ſuch

such a tenor, as I heartily wish, and desire them. Farewell.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epist. 16.

IT much imports when this letter shall be deliuered vnto you: either when you haue some encumbrance, or else when you are free from all molestations. And therefore I enioyned him, whom I sent vnto you, that hee should obserue a due time, to present it you. For, euen as they, who personallie come to visite vs, at an extraordinarie houre, are many times troublesome: so letters offend, if they be not deliuered in due season. But if you be, as I hope, without annoyance, and without disturbance: and I trust, I shall easily obtaine, what I desire of you; If he, to whom I committed this care, tooke a fit time to come vnto you. *Lucius Lamia* demandeth the Prætorship: This, is one of the most intimate friends I haue; we haue of long time conuersed together, and knowne one another; and which is of speciall consequence; his familiaritie is, aboue all other things, dearest to me. Besides this, I stand bound vnto him for great benefits,

benefits, and deſerts toward me. For in the times of *Clodius*, he being head of the order Militarie, and defending my ſafetie moſt couragiouſly, was by Conſull *Gabinius* confined: which before that time in *Rome* neuer hapned to any *Romane* cittizen. The people of *Rome*, retaining this in memorie, it would be too foule a thing, that I ſhould be vnmindefull thereof. And therefore my *Brutus* make your ſelfe beleeue, that it's I, that ſtand for the prætorſhip. For, though *Lamia* be in wonderfull reputation, and fauour, hauing in the ſolemnities of his Ædilſhip vſed a very profuſe liberalitie: neuertheleſſe, as if it were not ſo, I haue in his preſent occaſion, taken vpon my ſelf the whole buſineſſe. Now, if you make that eſteeme of me, which vndoubtedly you doe; in that you may diſpoſe of the chiualrie as their commander: giue notice vnto our *Lupus*, that he may herein, procure vs their fauour. I will not vſe more words vnto you: this onely will I adde, which is moſt certaine, that, of all the pleaſures I looke for at your hands, you cannot doe mee a more acceptable. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Ep. 17.

Lælia is one of the neareſt friends I haue: I will not ſay his offices; but his merits haue beene very great towards me: and the people of *Rome*, can giue thereof good teſtimonie. This man hauing ſhewed extraordinary liberalitie and bountie, at the ſolemnities of his Ædileſhip, now demaunds to be Prætor, and euerie one knowes, that he wants neither reputation, nor fauour. But, it both appeares, that the people will be ſo bribed, that euery thing makes me feareſull; and, I muſt needs reſolue, to take this ſuite of *Lælia*, wholly vpon my ſelfe. Wherein I very well diſcerne, how far you may aſſiſt me: and yet I no waies doubt, how much you deſire to do me fauour. Wherefore my *Brutus*, perſwade your ſelfe; that neither I can deſire of you any pleaſure, more effectually; nor you, performe to me any thing more acceptable: [then] if with all your power, and endeauour, you ſhall but further this ſuite of *Lælia*. The which, I entreate you, by all meanes may bee effected. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Ep. 18.

THough by the commiſſions, which *Galba*, and *Volumnius* did on your behalfe expoſe vnto the Senate, wee conceiu'd, of what you thought wee ſhould be fearefull, and ſuſpitious: yet they appeared to bee more timerous commiſſions, then beſeemed your victorie, and the *Romane* people. And you muſt vnderſtand, my *Brutus*, that the Senate is reſolute; and ſo are they that gouerne it: and therefore, they tooke it ill, to bee reputed ſlacke, and timerous; by you, whom aboue all others they iudged to haue beene magnanimious. For euery one, when you were ſtirr'd vp, conceiuing wonderfull hopes of your valor, *Antonius* being then in his very Flower; who was he, that fear'd any thing when he was defeated, and you deliuered? neither did they feare *Lepidus*. For who would iudge him ſo fooliſh, that hauing affirmed he affected peace, in a time when the warre was at the hotteſt; now, that there is that peace which he deſired, he ſhould make warre againſt the Commonwealth? Neither doe I doubt but you are quickerſighted. But, the feſtiuitie being ſo freſh in memorie, which

which by vs in your name, through all the temples of the gods was celebrated; the renouation of feare, brought great disturbance. And therefore, I could wish, as I hope it will succeed; that *Antonius* were wholly abandoned and ouerthrowne: but if by misfortune, he hath recouered any force; that he might be made to perceiue; That, neither the Senate wants counsell, nor the people of *Rome* courage; nor, (while you liue,) the Commonwealth a Generall. The xix. of May. Farewell.

Decimus Brutus to Cicero. Epist. 19.

I Wish you might read the letters which I haue sent to the Senate before they are deliuered: and that if there be any thing, which you would haue otherwise, you would alter it. You, shall perceiue, that I haue written vpon necessitie. For, supposing I should haue had the *Martian* Legion, & the fourth; as *Drusus* and *Paulus* were contented, with whom your selfe accorded; I imagined there was no great care to be taken of the rest. But finding now, new souldiers about me, and those not pay'd,

pay'd, I must needs be very fearefull; as well for mine, as your occasions. The *Pisentines*, shew speciall honour to me, and *Marcus Brutus*. I earnestly pray you, that you will not permit any wrong to be done them in the Senate at the instance of most base fellowes. They haue equitie on their side, [and] deserue greatly of the Commonwealth, and [haue] for their aduersaries, men of no valour, and affecting innouations. The xxj of May, from *Persia*.

Decimus Brutus Imperator to Cicero. Epist. 20.

THough I be no waies afraid of mine owne occasions, yet, I am enforced, out of the loue I beare you, and for your many good offices, to feare yours. For it hath beene told me more then once, and I esteemed it not slightly: last of all, *Lucius Sequius*, a man most like himselfe, told me he had been with *Cæsar*, and how they had a long discourse of you: that *Cæsar* did not any thing complaine of you; but onely sayd that you should say, that the young man was to be praised, honoured, and taken off: And that he would not suffer himself to be taken off. But I beleeue that

that either *Labeo* reported these words vnto him, or else, they were not vttered by the young man, but rather feyned by himselfe. Besides this, *Labeo* would needes make me beleeue, that the Veteranes, spoke hardly of you, and that some ill would happen you by their meanes: and how they tooke it in despight, that neither *Cæsar*, nor I, were elected among the Decemviri: and all things went onelie thorow your hands. Hearing this, and being vpon my waie, I thought good not to passe the *Alpes*, before I first knew, what was done there amongst you. For, of your perill, be assured, that if they can but daunt you with braueries and threwes or by putting some crotchets into the young mans head; they hope some great profit will accrue vnto themselues thereby. And all this deuise, depends on the designe they haue, to gaine much. I would therefore haue you circumspect, and keepe your selfe from all embushments. For nothing can be dearer, nor sweeter to me, then your life. But take heed, that feare, be not occasion of a greater feare: and be suburable to the Veteranes, wherein you may. First, concerning the *Decem-viri*, doe what they would haue you. Then, for the remunerations, if you thinke good, procure that I, and *Cæsar*, may consigne vnto them, the lands of those veteranes, which

which followed *Antonius* partie. As touching moneyes, be not too hastie: and after you haue seene what quantity there is; you may tell them, the Senate will take some order therein. To the foure Legions, to whom you minde to allow partitions of land, or grounds, I see you may well allot them those of *Sitia*, and the Territorie *Campanum*. I am of opinion, 'twere good to distribute vnto the Legions their lands equally, or by lot. And thinke not, that I am mooued to write these things vnto you, to shew my wisedome. I am moued, because I affect you, and desire a generall peace: which without you cannot endure. I, if there be no extraordinary need, will not leaue *Italie*: I am about the arming of the Legions, and putting them in a readinesse. I hope to haue a braue armie, for all accidents whatsoeuer, and to resist any violence that shall occurre. *Cæsar* sends me not backe, that Legion of the armie which *Pansa* had. Answere me presently to these letters: and if there be any secret of importance, which you thinke fitting for me to know. Send to me of purpose one of your people. Farewell. The xxiij. of May, from *Epyrodia*.

Cicero

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epist. 11.

THe curse of the gods light vpon this *Segu'ius*, the veriest knaue that euer was, is, or shall be. You thinke peraduenture, that he onely spake with you, or with *Cæsar*. There's none, with whom he could conueniently talke, to whom he hath not spoken the selfe same things. But neuertheleſſe, my *Brutus*, I thinke my selfe as I ought much bound vnto you; in that you would haue mee know of these fables, be they whatsoeuer. For this was a speciall note of loue. And touching that, where he sayes, that the old souldiers complaine, because you & *Cæsar* are not in the number of the *Decem-viri*; I would to God, that neither I had beene of that number; for, what could haue beene vndertaken of greater vexation? notwithstanding, I hauing propounded, that it was necessary to nominate them that had Armes, Those very men that were wont, crying out, made opposition: so, that though I made great resistance, [both] you were excepted. And therefore, let vs giue no eare to *Segulius*, who affects new things; not because he hath swallowed the old; for, he had nothing to haue: but these which lately come

to

to his hand, he hath deuoured, and digeſted with a witneſſe. Then, whereas you write, that being no wayes affraid for your ſelfe, yet you feare for my ſake. I, my *Brutus*, whom I eſteeme the beſt man, and deareſt friend that can be found, will not haue you feare any thing at all for me. For in thoſe things which may be foreſeene, I ſhall not be deceiued: and for thoſe, which cannot come to notice, I care little. For, I were a foole, if I ſhould require more, then the very nature of things hath imparted to man. In that you aduertiſe me, to auoyd, that in feating, I be not conſtrained to a greater feare; you admoniſh me wiſely, and like a true friend. But be aſſured, that you, being to euery mans knowledge, endowed particularly with this vertue, neuer to feare, or be diſturbed; I in this vertue, almoſt equall you. And therefore I will not be afraid of any thing, and I will looke about me in all things. But take you heede my *Brutus*, that at length, my feare proceed not through your default. For though we were fearefull, neuertheleſſe, the hope, that we repoſe, in your forces and Conſulſhip, would expell all fearefulneſſe; eſpecially, euery one, but chiefely my ſelfe, being aſſured, that you beare vs a ſingular affection. Your aduertiſements, about the foure Legions, and about the referring of the diſpoſing of their

their lands, to *Cæsar*, and your selfe, seeme to me very good. And therefore there being some of our Colleagues, who were as glad of this charge of distribution of the grounds, as if they had already obtained it; I crost the matter, and reserued it wholly for you. If there be any secret occurrēce, or, as you write, any secret of importance, I will send purposely one of my men, that letters may the more faithfully be deliuered vnto you. Farewell. The 1ij of Iune.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epist. 22.

I Entertaine an inward amitie, with *Appius Claudius*, sonne to *Caius*, ratified by many kind offices, which we haue done one for another. I request you, as effectually as I may, that, either out of your humanitie, or for my sake, by the authoritie you haue, which is verie great, you will be pleased to take order, that he may be secure. I desire that you being reputed for a man most valiant, may be also esteemed most mercifull. The preseruation of this youth, will redound to your great honour: who, in truth, the rather deserues compassion: because being induced by tender loue, to reduce his Father from banishment, hee

hee followed the partie of *Antonius*. Wherefore, though you ſhould not haue ſo iuſt an occaſion, yet you may well finde ſome probable reaſon, to effect it: with a becke onely you may procure, that ſuch a perſon, [being] of a noble famile, of an excellent wit, very valorous, & beſides, moſt officious, and exceeding mindfull of benefits; may be permitted to liue in his country, with ſecuritie of his eſtate, and ſubſtance. Which I entreat you to performe, with all the poſſible deſire, and affection I am able. Farewell.

Decimus Brutus, to Cicero. Epiſt. 23.

WE proceed well enough here, and wee'le endeuour to doe it better: *Lepidus* ſeemes well enclined to vs. We muſt boldly proſecute the benefit of the Common-wealth. And though all other things were contrary vnto vs; yet conſidering we haue three Armies on foot, ſo great and mighty, for the particular ſeruice of the Common-wealth: you ought to haue that great courage, which you both euer had: and now, Fortune fauouring vs, you ought to increaſe it. The multitude

disperseth that, which I wrote last vnto you with mine owne hand, to affright you: but if you get but the bridle betwixt your teeth; let me not liue, if all of them, how many soeuer, haue power to quack, if you but speake. I, as before I wrote, till I receiue your letters, will make my residence in *Italie*. Farewell The xxv. of May: from *Epicardia*.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus. Epist. 24.

I Tell you, I was at the first halfe angry with you, for the breuitie of your letters: now me thinkes, that I, am too long. I will therefore follow your stile In how few words, how many things haue you intimated! that you doe reasonable well, and will endeuour to doe better: that *Lepidus* stands well affected: that hauing three Armies on foot, we ought to haue a constant hope in all things. Though I had beene timorous, yet with this letter you would haue made me couragious. But, as you put me in minde, I haue got the bridle betwixt my teeth. For, if I, when you were beleagured, reposed all my hope in you; now, that you are in the field with a victorious Armie, may I not re

pose

poſe a ſtorre greater? I deſire now at length, my *Brutus*, to reſigne ouer my vigilancie to you: but ſo, that I may not be held inconſtant. Whereas you write, you will reſide in *Italie*, till my letters come vnto your hand: if you can doe it, without any hindrance to the warre, I then requ to aduiſe you. For many matters are debated of in *Rome*: but if the warre may be finiſhed by your departure: attend this, rather then the other. The moneyes, which were readie, or conſigned ouer vnto you: *Seruilius* is yours moſt affectionate: I doe what ſo euer I am able. Farewell. The vj. of Iune.

Cicero to Decimus Brutus Imperator. Epiſt. 25.

I Expecting euery day your letters, our *Thebe* on a ſuddaine gaue me to vnderſtand, that if I would write any thing to you, I might: but I, though I had not whereof to write, knowing that you are aduertiſed of what is done in *Rome* and concerning, that letters without matter, are diſpleaſing to you: I meant to vſe all breuitie according to your cuſtome. Vnderſtand therefore that all hopes are in you, and your Col-

league. And as for *Marcus Brutus*, there is yet no certainetie knowne: I, as you enioyne me, doe not cease with my particular letters to inuite him, vnto a common warre. And I would to God, he were now, in these parts: we should the lesse feare that euill, which within the cittie is not little: but what doe I? I forget your *Lacunisme*; I haue already written one whole page. Vanquish, and Farewell. The xvij. of Iune.

Decimus Brutus Imperator, to Cicero. Ep. 26.

IN my extreamest griefe, I haue this consolation; that men know, that I feared not the euill which hath hapned without iust cause. Let them now deliberate, whether the Legions shall be transported out of *Africa*, and out of *Sardinia* or no: whether *Brutus* shall be sent for, or no; whether they will assigne a stipend to me, or no. I haue written to the Senate: and I tell you for a most vndoubted truth, that except the prouisions I write for be made, we shall all runne an infinite danger. I pray you be carefull, to whom you commit the charge, of conducting me, the Legions. There is required therein both fidelity, and

and expedition. Farewell. The iij. of Iune, from the Campe.

Cicero to Caius Matius. Epiſt. 27.

I Haue not yet fully determined, whether our *Trebatius*, a very officious man, and well affected to vs both, bring me more trouble, or contentment. For, comming in the euening to *Tuſculanum*, he, the day following, not yet well recouered, came in the morning to find me. And I chiding him, becauſe he had ſo ſlender care of his health; he anſwered, he was come, out of a deſire to ſpeake with me. And I, asking, what's the newes? He intimated vnto me your complaint, to which before I make anſwere, I'le deliuer ſome few things. For as much as I remember of the times paſt, I haue not an auncienter friend then your ſelfe: but, touching the time; there are many, that in ſome circumſtances are equall to you: touching the loue; none. I reſolu'd to loue you, the firſt day I knew you: and the ſelfe ſame day I was alſo of opinion, that you loued me. Afterwards, your departure from *Rome*, which was for a long time, & the courſe of my life vnlike to yours,

(I hauing liu'd in purſute of honours) permitted not, that our mindes might with ſtronger knot be vnited through conuerſation. Nuertheleſſe, I knew well your good affection towards mee many yeares before the ciuill warre, when *Caſar* was in *Gallia*. For you procured, that he wiſht me well; honored me; and held me for his owne: the which you thought, could not but turne to my great benefit, and to *Caſar* himſelfe rather profitable then otherwiſe. I omit, many things, which in thoſe times, we were wont moſt familiarly to talke of, write of, and communicate. Becauſe there are other poynts of farre greater conſideration. I remember alſo that in the beginning of the ciuill war, when you went towards *Brundoſium*, to finde out *Caſar*, you came to me in *Minturnum*. Firſt, what eſteeme ought to be made of this onely demonſtration, eſpecially in thoſe times? Then, doe you imagine, I can forget your diſcourſe; councell; and affection? At which, I remember, *Trebatius* was preſent. Neither are your letters out of my mind, which you ſent vnto me, at that time when I came to meete *Caſar*, (if I be not deceiued,) in the territory of *Trebula*. Then enſued that time, when I was conſtrained either by the zeale of mine honour, my dutie, or fortune, to goe to *Pompeius*. What office,

or

or favour left you vnperformed, eyther towards me absent, or my friends present. Whom did all my friends finde more kind to me, and them, then your selfe? I came to *Brundusium*: Now thinke you, that I haue forgotten with what celeritie you came flying to me, so soone as you knew it, from *Tarentum*? How great loue shewed you me, in your societie; discourse; and rectification of my minde; which was ouerlayed with extreame affliction, for the miseries of my countrey? Finally we began againe, to be resident together in *Rome*, where, in matters of great consequence, about the manner, how I should proceed with *Cæsar*, according to your aduise, I demeaned my selfe. And in other offices, you did afford this fauour to *Cæsar*, and my selfe onely; to come daily to our houses; and often to spend many houres, in acceptable discourse. At which time, if you remember, you vrged me to write these Treatises of Philosophie. And after *Cæsars* returne, you intended nothing more effectually, then to make me domesticall with him: Which you obtained. Now, to what end haue I made this discourse, longer then I thought to haue done? For this respect; because I much wondred, that you who cannot but remember these things, could beleeue, that I had wronged our friend-

ſhip. For beſides theſe which I haue re-
lated, which are cleare, and euident, I
haue many ſecret paſſages, which with
words, I can ſcarcely explicate. Your
whole carriage giues me ſatisfaction;
but aboue all, I am beſt pleaſed, partly
[with] your ſingular fidelitie in friend-
ſhip; your councell; grauitie; and con-
ſtancie: and partly [with] your mirth;
humanitie; and learning. Wherefore
now I returne to your complaint. Firſt,
I did not thinke, you had giuen your
conſent to that Law. Then; had I ſo
thought, [yet] I ſhould neuer haue
thought, you had done it, without ſome
iuſt occaſion. Your dignitie is ſo emi-
nent, that all mens eyes are fixed on
you; and mens malignitie is the cauſe,
that there is more liberall ſpeech of
you, then were befitting. And, if you
doe not heare of theſe mutterings, I
know not what to ſay. I, for my part,
when it is my chance to heare them;
defend you ſo farre, as I am ſure, you
are wont, to defend me againſt my ad-
uerſaries. And I defend you two wayes.
Some things there are, which I am ac-
cuſtomed abſolutely to denie: as parti-
cularly; for this giuing of your voyce:
ſome, which I demonſtrate that you
haue out of zealous loue, and tender-
neſſe performed: as in that, about the
charge of publicke ſports. But you,
who are moſt learned, know well, that

if

if *Cæsar* were a King, as I suppose he was, you may for the office you vndergoe be both prayſed, and blamed: prayſed; becauſe your faith, and humanitie is to be commended, for louing your friend after death; which reaſon I am wont to vſe: blamed; becauſe our Countries libertie ſhould be preferred before the life of a friend; vpon which your aduerſaries ground themſelues. I much deſire, that the controuerſies I haue had about theſe clamors, might be related to you. But amongſt others, there are two ſpeciall particularities in your commendation; which no man infers more willingly, or oftner then my ſelfe: which is, that you perſwaded more then any other, that the ciuill warre might be withſtood, and the victorie moderated. Wherein I neuer found any man, that was not of my opinion. Wherefore I thanke our *Trebatius*, who was the cauſe, that I wrote vnto you theſe letters. To which if you giue no credite, you muſt needs iudge me very diſcourteous, and inhumaine: which would wõdrouſly diſpleaſe me; and differ much from your owne diſpoſition. Farewell.

Caius Matius to Cicero.
Epist. 28.

I Tooke great contentment in your letters; becauſe I vnderſtood, that you retaine that opinion of me, which I hoped, and wiſhed you ſhould haue. Whereof, though I no waies doubted; yet in that I made great reckoning, that it might be entirely preſerued, it did a little touch me. 'Tis true, that I was priuie to my ſelfe, that I had committed nothing, that could offend the minde of any honeſt man. And therefore I did the leſſe beleeue, that, you being adorned with infinite and excellent ſciences, would be raſhly perſwaded to any thing; eſpecially knowing well, that I euer did, and doe beare you ſingular affection. Which, hauing ſucceeded, as I wiſht; I will anſwer to the falſe oppoſitions, againſt which you haue oftentimes defended me: performing an office, anſwerable to your moſt ingenuous condition, and worthy of our amitie. For I know what matters they obiected againſt me ſince the death of *Ceſar*. They accuſe me, becauſe I lament the death of a great friend, and that I am afflicted, becauſe a man is ſlaine whom I loued: affirming that my countrie ſhould be [illegible]

before any friendship: as if they had alreadie made triall, that such a death was beneficiall to the Commonwealth. But I will not argue subtilie. I confesse, that for mine owne part, I cannot perceiue it; and that I am not yet arriued to this height of wisedome. Neither did I follow *Cæsar* in ciuill discord: but in that he was my friend, though the course displeased me, yet would I not abandon him. Neither, did I euer approue the ciuill warre, much lesse the occasion thereof: hauing in the very infancie of it, applied all my endeuour, to extinguish it. And therefore in his victorie, though he was that great friend vnto me, that he was: I was neither delighted with honour, or monie. Of which rewards, others were insatiable, whose power was lesse with him, then mine was. And, on the other side, my goods by *Cæsars* law, were damaged: and by my fauour most of them, that reioyce at *Cæsars* death, obtain'd, that they might liue in their countrie. That the citizens who were vanquished, might be pardoned, I laboured no lesse then for mine owne safetie. I therefore, who laboured for euery mans preseruation, should I not greeue for his death, from whom I purchas'd it? especially being hated for their occasion, who murdred him? You shall therefore, vndergoe the penaltie,

(say

(say they) because you dare question that, that we haue acted: Oh pride, neuer heard of! that some may vaunt in their impietie, [and] others cannot so much as mourne without their ouerthrow. And yet in all ages, seruants haue beene allowed, to feare, to reioyce, and to greeue, rather when they saw good, then any other. The which libertie, they now, which make profession, to haue giuen it vs, (for so they often report) seeke violently to deprive me of, by threatnings. But they labour in vaine. There shall be no danger so terrible, that shall make me halt in my dutie, or humanitie. For I haue alwaies held, that an honorable death, should neuer be auoided, but rather oftentimes desired. But why should they be angrie with me, for desiring them to repent them of what they had committed? I confesse, I would haue euery man to be greeued for the death of *Cæsar*. Oh, But I am enioyned by the office of a good Citizen to desire the safetie of the Commonwealth. That this desire is in me, if it be not knowne without my relating it, both by those things which heeretofore I haue effected, and by those which hereafter I hope to performe; I am content that in defending mine owne causes, words may not auaile me. Therfore I earnestly entreat

you,

you, that you will conceiue better of my reaſons, then I am able to vtter them: and that you will thinke, if you be of opinion, that it is a good thing to doe well, that I can hold no manner of commerce with bad men. Were it peraduenture fit for me, now, that I am laden with yeares, to goe out of that path, wherein I haue led my youth, which carryeth with it ſome excuſe for error? ſhall I againe new mould my ſelfe? This error I will not commit: nor will I doe any thing that may diſpleaſe. Except I doe lament the vnhappie fortune of my deareſt friend, and ſo great a perſonage. And if I were of an other minde, I would neuer denie it: leaſt that, beſides my being reputed wicked in offending, I might be thought timerous, and a falſe diſſembler: True it is, that I had the charge, of the publike ſhewes, which *Caſar* the little youth made in honor of *Caſars* victorie. But this had reſpect to a particular office, not to the ſtate of the Commoo-wealth. In which charge notwithſtanding, both for the memorial I reſerue of ſo great a friend, and for the deſire I haue to honour him thus dead as he is, I could not be deficient. And the youth of ſuch great hopes, and ſo worthie of *Caſar*, requeſting me thereunto, I was conſtrained to accept of it. I alſo went many times

to

to the house of *Antonius* the Consull to salute him: to whom, you shall finde, that euen they, which beare me little affected towards my countrey, resorted daily, only to craue of him, or carry away some thing. But what an arrogancie is this? That *Cæsar* did neuer forbid me, to conuerse with whom I thought good, and euen with persons whom he loued not; and these men that haue here sued mee of my friend, by carping, or reprehending me, doe their worst to enforce me, nor to loue them that I like well of? But I know I haue hitherto liued so modestly, that hereafter euill tongues shall be little able to defame me: and, that also they who loue me not, because I still persuer in louing *Cæsar*, would rather wish to meete with friends, like me, then like themselues. For my part, if things fall out conformable to my desire; I meane to passe so much of my life as remaines, quietly at *Rhodes*: but if it so happen that any accident disturbe me, I will remaine in *Rome*, and remaine there alwaies, wishing that they may doe well. I giue great thankes to our *Trebatius*; because he plainely declared vnto me, how your minde stood towards me: which I discerne to be full, of sinceritie, and affection: and, because he was the occasion, that I hauing euer willingly loued you,

should

ſhould now alſo be further tyed, both to honour, and reſpect you. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Oppius.
Epiſt. 29.

I being, as our *Atticus* knowes, very doubtfull about this iourney. In that, my minde on either ſide ſuggeſted many reaſons: your iudgement, and counſell greatly induced mee to deliberate, and make my reſolution. For you both plainely wrote vnto mee what your opinion therein was; and *Atticus* related that vnto mee, which you had ſpoken vnto him thereof. I euer tooke you to bee wiſe in deliberating, and very faithfull in aduiſing: and I haue had good experience thereof, when, in the beginning of the ciuill warre, I requiring you by letters, that you would aduiſe mee what I ſhould doe, either in going to *Pompey*, or remaining in *Italie*: you perſwaded mee to doe that, that ſtood beſt with mine honour. By which I perceiued, what your opinion was

therein:

thereto: and I assured that you were of so great fidelitie, and in aduising mee to be milde a man; for, you thinking that the contrarie was desired by him that was your best friend, you had greater respect to my office, then his will, or pleasure. Certainely, before that fell out, I loued you: and euer knew that my selfe was by you beloued. And when I was absent, and stood in great danger, I remember, that in my absence you defended mee with great care, vsing the like humanitie, to all mine that were in Rome: and after my returne, how domesticallie you liued with mee, and what opinion I retained of you, and what things I diuulged: all those that vsuallie looke into such actions, can truelie testifie. But how faithfull in loving you, and how constant you reputed mee, you then euidently shewed, when after *Cæsars* death, you betooke you wholie vnto mine acquaintance. Which opinion of yours, if I by my deerest loue, and best offices doe not acknowledge, I shall not repute my selfe a man. Persever you, my *Oppius* in louing me, (although doubtlesse I write this vnto you, not that I thinke you stand in neede of any such remembrance, but because it is vsuall to write thus) and take all my affaires, into your

your protection. Whereof, that you may be fully informed, I haue giuen commiſſion to *Atticus*. And when I ſhall be at better leiſure, I will write vnto you more at large. Be carefull of your health. [For] you cannot doe me a greater pleaſure.

THE

THE TWELFTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius. Epiſt. 1.

BE aſſured *Caſſius*, that I neuer ceaſe to think vpon you, and our *Brutus*, that is, of the whole Cómonwealth; which hath repoſed all her hope, in you, and *Decimus Brutus*. And certainly from this time forward, I begin to conceiue better hopes: ſeeing my *Dolabella* hath performed ſuch materiall ſeruice to the Common-wealth. For that euill, which ſprung vp in the Citie, conti-

continually dispersed it selfe, and euerie day so encreated, that for my part, I held both the Citie, and the peace of Citizens, vtterly lost. But it is so stop't, that, as for that reprochfull danger, I suppose, wee may liue for euer secure. Other things, that yet remaine to bee acted, are important and many: but you must be the man, that must effect them all: Though we are intentiue to dispatch those, which are of greatest moment. For, touching that which hath hitherto beene done; wee haue freed our selues of the King; but not of the Kingdom. For, though the King be slaine, yet we put all that in execution, which the King appointed to be performed. And not onely this; but some things also, which hee himselfe, if hee had liued, would not haue acted; wee approue because hee designed them. And of this, I know not when wee shall see an end. New Lawes are propounded: exemptions are granted: great taxes imposed: banished men are restored: [and] false decrees of the Senate are produced: so as it seemes, that the hatred onely of that wicked man, and the greefe of seruitude is remoued; but the Common-wealth is still tormented with those troubles, whereinto hee brought her. Of all these things, you must make an end, of necessitie; and not suppose, that the Common-wealth hath

hath had alreadie from you what was sufficient. Shee hath indeed so much, as I would neuer haue hoped for: but shee is not content with this: and the greatnesse of your benefit and courage considered, shee expects, and desires frō you, greater matters. Hitherto, with the death of the Tyrant, and by your meanes, she is reuenged of her iniuries: but which of her ornaments hath shee recouered? Take you, peraduenture, these for ornaments, that shee obeyes him dead, whom liuing shee could not support? or, that wee defend his writings; whose Lawes we ought to abrogate? you'l tell me, we so determined. It is true: But wee did it, to giue way vnto the times, which in a Common-wealth, are of great force. But some, bearing themselues indirectly, and vngratefully, assume too much securitie, vpon our courtesie. Of which, and manie other things, we will shortly discourse at our meeting. In the meane while, perswade your selfe, that I, both in respect of the Common-wealth, which was euer most deare vnto me, as also for the loue we beare one another, haue an especiall care of your dignity. Looke vnto your health. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 2.

I Am verie glad, that my sentence, and Oration, giues you content. The which, if I could often vse, it would be no great labour to vs, to re-establish the Common-wealth in libertie. But this foolish, and debauched companion, (and a wickeder wretch, then hee was, of whom you were wont to say, that there was [illegible] an impious man,) seekes all meanes to procure a murder: and hee doth, for no other end charge me, that I plotted *Cæsars* death; but because the old souldiers might rise vp against mee. Which danger no wayes daunts me; so that I may also purchase praise for that, which you most gloriously haue effected. And thus, neither *Piso*, who was the first that spake against him, without any man to second him; nor I, who a month after, did the like; nor *Publius Seruilius*, who spake after me; can securely goe into the Senate. For, that bloudie fellow vseth all meanes, to procure some slaughter: and the xx. of September, he thought to begin with mee. And I can tell you, he came prouided into the Senate, hauing for many dayes, in *Metellus* village, well considered that, which hee

meant

meant to vtter againſt me. But, what ſound conſultations could hee haue a-middeſt wine, and brothels? and therfore euerie one thought, as before I wrote vnto you, that after his accuſtomed manner, hee would haue vomited, and not declaimed. Therefore, whereas you write, that you truſt, that ſome good may be done by our authoritie, and eloquence: in truth, ſome benefit, in reſpect of ſo many euils, hath beene alreadie wrought. For, the people of Rome know, that there are three conſular perſons, who, for having ſpoken freely, what they thought beſt for the Common-wealth, cannot ſecurely goe into the Senate. Neither muſt you expect any thing elſe. For, your greateſt friend ioyes wholly in his new affinitie. So that, he cares no more for ſports: and he burſts for enuie, ſeeing the fauour, which the people, with cheerfull ſhours, afford your brother. That other kinſman, is alſo pacified by the new Commentaries of *Caſar*. Theſe things are tolerable: but this is inſupportable; that there is one, who perſwades himſelfe, that in your yeere his ſon ſhould bee Conſull; and for this cauſe, he ſeemes diligently to court this villaine. *Lucius Cotta*, my familiar friend, through a certaine fatall deſpaire, as he ſaith, comes not much into the Senate. *Lucius Caſar*, an excellent,

lent, and valiant Citizen, is hindred by sicknesse. *Servius Sulpitius*, who is of great esteeme, and desirous of the generall good, is not in *Rome*: the others, except those elected, pardon mee, if I terme them not Consulares you know, who are the principall defenders of the Senate; who, if the Common-wealth were peaceable, were but a few: but, fewer now, when she is in molestation. Wherefore, all hope lies in you; the which, notwithstanding, lies not in you neither, if you remaine far off, for your securitie; but if you enter it to any enterprise worthie of your glorie; I would it might be compassed, with our safetie: If not; yet this is most certaine, that by your meanes the Common-wealth in shorr time shall be able to recouer her former beeing. I neither am, nor will be wanting to your friends: who, whether they seeke mee, or not, I will discharge those offices, for your sake, which may beseeme the trust, and loue I beare you. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 3.

YOur friend doth euerie day more then other, shew his madnesse and bestialitie. First, in the Statua, that he

erected

erected in the Rostra, he hath ingrauen these words. TO OVR BEST DESERVING PARENT. So that men thinke, that you haue not onely committed homicide; but that you haue betrayed your Countrey. Why doe I say, you? I should say, wee: for that furious fellow affirmes, that I was the Ring leader of that your notable seruice. I would I had beene: he should not now haue thus molested vs. But this concerned you. Which, seeing it happened not. I would to God I had counsell to giue you. But yet I doe not see, what I should doe my selfe; and what can bee attempted against force, without force? And all their designe is this, of *Cæsar*. Whereupon he, being by *Cæsarius*, conducted to speake vnto the people, the second day of October: in verie truth departed disgracefully. But yet he vttered [such] things of you, who haue preserued your Countrey, as should haue beene deliuered of one, that had betrayed it. Of my selfe hee spake this; that hee was most assured, that, as you heretofore; so now, *Cæsar* did all things by my directions. The rest, how it is, iudge by this; that they haue taken away the prouision from your Legate, which is vsually allowed, for his iourney. What is their meaning, thinke you, in doing this? Vndoubtedly, that he is the Legat, not of a

friend, but of an enemie to the Common-wealth. Oh wonderfull miserie! We could not support the Master: and now we serue our fellow-seruant. And yet, for all this, (though I desire more then I can hope for) there still remaines some hope in your valour. But where are the men? I conceale the rest: and leaue it to your selfe to bee considered. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 4.

I Would you had inuited mee to that Supper, on the xv. of March; not a dish of meat should haue remained. Now your reliques disturbe mee, more then anie man else. We haue Consuls of singular valour, but bad Consulars; the Senate is verie resolute, but those that are most resolute, haue least authoritie. You can desire no more of the people: they are most valiant, and singularly well enclined; and so is all *Italy*. On the contrarie, *Philippus* and *Piso*, Ambassadours, beare themselues after such a fashion; as there was neuer any thing more brutish, or impious [For] being sent to *Antonius*, to propound some things vnto him, in the behalfe of the Senate;

Senate; and he not willing to perform any of them: they, without the Senates order accepted from him, and brought vs intolerable demands. And therefore euerie one hath recourſe to me; and at length, in matter of publique ſafetie, I haue the loue, and concourſe of the people. But from you, I had no aduertiſements, neither what you did, or intended to doe, nor where you were. The rumour was, you were in *Syria*, but there was no certaintie thereof. Of *Brutus*, not being ſo farre off, the newes that come ſeeme truer. *Dolabella* hath beene much blamed by men of vnderſtanding, becauſe hee ſo ſuddenly ſought for the gouernment of *Syria*, your Prouince; you hauing not beene there full thirtie dayes. Wherefore, euerie man was of opinion; that he ſhould not be receiued by you there. Great commendation is aſcribed to you, and *Brutus*; becauſe men iudge, that you haue, beyond all hope, raiſed an Armie. I would write more at large, if I knew how things ſtood, and in what eſtate you were. And what I now write vnto you, I write out of the opinion of men, and according to fame. I deſirouſly expect your letters. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 5.

I Suppose, that hitherto the winter hath beene some hinderance, that we could not heare certainely, what you did; and least of all, where you were: neuertheleſſe, euerie one affirmed, (out of their deſire, as I ſuppoſe) that you were in *Syria*, and had forces. Which, was the more eaſily beleeued, in that it ſeemed probable. Our *Brutus* hath made purchaſe of ſingular praiſe: hauing performed ſuch great matters, and ſo far beyond the opinion of all men; that, beſides their being acceptable of themſelues; they are, for the expedition vſed therein, much more welcome. Wherefore, if thoſe places bee in your power, which wee ſuppoſe; the Common-wealth is fortified with great defences. For, euen from the firſt limits of *Greece*, as far as *Ægypt*, wee ſhall be aſſiſted, by excellent Citizens, that gouerne thoſe quarters; and by their people. Although (in my opinion) matters were at that paſſe; that all the danger of the warre ſeemed to bee in *Decimus Brutus*: and we hoped, that hee would free himſelfe from the ſiege, by which hee is inuironed; and valiantly come out into the field; which, if it fall out, the

the war will be thought ended. Howſoeuer, he was now at length beleaguered but by a few men. For, *Antonius* had a great garriſon in *Bononia*; and at *Elateria*, was our *Hirtius*; and *Cæſar*, at *Forum Cornelium*, both of them with a great Armie: and *Panſa* had in *Rome*, leuied many men, which were raiſed in *Italie* by choice. The winter was an impediment, that as yet, the enterpriſe was not attempted. *Hirtius* made ſhew, as by frequent letters hee ſignifies to me; that hee would doe nothing, but deliberately. Except *Bononia*, *Regium* in *Lombardie*, and *Parma*, we had *Gaule* wholly deuoted to the Common-wealth. And the *Tranſpadani*, your Clients, ſtood wonderfully for vs. The [whole] Senate, (beſides the Conſulares,) was moſt reſolued: of whom, there is onely *Lucius Cæſar*, that is moſt conſtant, and who aimes directly at the publique good. Wee haue loſt a great ſtay, by the death of *Seruius Sulpitius*. The others, are partly hollow-hearted, and in part maleuolent: Some enuie their praiſe, whom they ſee commended in the Common-wealth. But the people of *Rome*, and all *Italie*, are wonderfully vnited. Theſe breefly were the matters, with which I deſired you might bee acquainted. Now I deſire, that from thoſe Eaſterne parts, the light of your valor may be reſplendent. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 6.

HOw things stood, when I wrote you these letters, you may vnderstand from *Caius Tidius Strabo*, an honest man, and verie well enclined to the Common-wealth; and to you, so affected, that onely to come, and finde you out, hee hath abandoned his house and substance. And therfore it is needlesse, that I should recommend him to you; his comming may bee a sufficient recommendation. As for our affaires, you are to imagine, and perswade your selfe thus much, that all [illegible] courages in you, and *Marcus Brutus*; if it fortune, that things succeed not in *Italy*, as they were wished; which God forbid. When I wrote [illegible] letters to you, matters were reduced to their last triall. For, *Brutus* could now no longer keepe himselfe in *Mutina*. Who being relieued, the victorie is ours: if not; which God grant otherwise; wee will all flye to you, as to the hauen of safetie. Wherfore, you must take vpon you so great a courage, and make such preparation, as is necessary for the recouerie of the Common-wealth. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Caſſius. Epiſt. 7.

WIth what care, both in the Senate, and with the people, I haue defended your honour, I had rather you ſhould vnderſtand from other friends, then from my ſelfe. Which ſentence of mine, in the Senate, would eaſily haue preuailed, if *Panſa* had not violently oppoſed it. This ſentence being deliuered, *Marcus Seruilius*, Tribune of the people, brought mee to ſpeake vnto the aſſembly. I deliuered of you, what I could, in the audience of ſo great a multitude, as the *Forum* was able to containe; with ſuch a ſhout, and conſent of the people, as I neuer ſaw the like. I deſire that you would pardon me, though I did in this againſt the will of your mother in law. She, being fearefull, as women are wont to bee, doubted leſt *Panſa* might haue beene offended. True it is, that *Panſa* ſpeaking to the people, alledged, that your mother, and your brother, were not willing, that I ſhould haue denounced ſuch a ſentence. But I was not moued with theſe things: my minde was of another matter: I ſought the good of the Common-wealth, which I euer affected, together with your honour, and

eſtimation. But of that, which I both largely diſcourſed, in the Senate, and deliuered to the people; I would haue you, to acquit my promiſe. For, I haue promiſed, and in a manner confirmed; that you neither did, nor would expect our decrees; but that of your ſelfe, according to your cuſtome, you would defend the Common-wealth. And though wee had not yet vnderſtood, either where you were, or what Forces were with you: yet I preſuppoſed, that all the Forces, and people, of thoſe quarters, were in your power And I held for certaine, that the Prouince of *Aſia*, was ere this, by your means recouered. Now beare your ſelfe ſo, that in augmenting your owne glorie, you goe beyond your ſelfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius.
Epiſt. 8.

AMongſt other aduertiſements, which you haue of the proceedings of *Rome*, I think you haue vnderſtood, of the wickednſſe, extreme leuitie, and inconſtancie of your kinſman *Lepidus*. Which was the cauſe, that whereas wee iudged, the warre to haue beene ended, now wee are enforced,

ced, to war, more then euer. All our hope conſiſts in *Decimus Brutus*, and in *Plancus*: but, to ſpeake truth, we haue greater in you, and in my *Brutus*; hoping that you will not onely preſerue vs, if matters here, which God forbid, ſucceed not; but alſo eſtabliſh vs in perpetuall libertie. We heard of *Dolabella*, that which we deſired: but we had no certainetie thereof. For your ſelfe, be out of doubt, that hitherto you are reputed a great man: and it is expected, that hereafter likewiſe, you will make your ſelfe, knowne for ſuch. Propoſing thus much vnto your ſelfe, labour to come on a pace, to the height of enterpriſes. The people of *Rome*, are of ſo inion, that there is nothing, but may by you be compaſſed, and obtained. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius. Epiſt. 9.

THe breuitie of your letters will be the cauſe, that I alſo ſhall be briefe in writing. And, to ſpeake truth, I haue not much whereof to write; knowing aſſuredly, that the proceedings of *Rome*, are related vnto you, by the ordinarie

aduiſes; and of yours, in theſe parts, we heare nothing. For as if *Aſia*, were on euery ſide ſhut vp, there come no aduertiſements vnto vs, but onely a rumor, that *Dolabella* is vanquiſhed: which hitherto is not verified: though they ſtill talke thereof. When wee ſuppoſed the warre ended, vpon a ſuddaine through your *Lepidus*, we are fallen againe into exceeding great trouble. And the greateſt hope the Common-wealth hath, is in you, and your people. True it is, that we haue mightie armies: neuertheleſſe, though all things ſhould ſucceed, as I hope, happily, [yet] it much importes that you come [hither,] for, the hope of the Common-wealth, is but little: I will not ſay, none at all. But, what is, men looke it ſhould take effect, in the yeare of your Conſulſhip. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius. Epiſt. 10.

Lepidus your kinſman; [and] my familiar friend; together with others, that reuolted againſt the Common-wealth; were, by common conſent of the Senate, the laſt of Iune, denounced rebells. To whom notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, all Augnſt was graunted to bethinke themſelues. The Senate, queſtionleſſe, is full of courage, and the rather by reaſon of the hopes they conceiue of your ſuccour. The warre at the writing hereof was very hot: for which we may thanke the wickednesſe, and inconſtancie of *Lepidus*. We heare euery day that newes, which we deſire of *Dolabella*. But as yet they haue no ground; nor come they from any perſon worthie of credite. There is onely a muttering thereof amongſt the multitude. Neuertheleſſe, by the informations of your letters, written from the Campe the ſeuenth of May; the Citie was of firme beliefe, that he was by this time ſuppreſſed. And that you would come into *Italie* with your Armie. To the end, that if things here had the ſame iſſue, which we deſired, we might employ your councell, and authoritie: But if through hard Fortune, they were doubtfull, as it ordinarily falls out in warres; we might be aſſiſted by your armie; which I will helpe to the beſt preferment I am able. About which, it will then be a fit time to negotiate, when it ſhall be knowne what ayde it will [now] afford the Commonwealth, and what formerly it hath afforded. For hitherto, their endeuours onely haue beene heard of; extraordinary doubtleſſe, and generous: but, the effect

effects is that, that is expected. Which, I truſt, hath in ſome ſort already ſucceeded: or will ſucceede very ſhortly. For valour, and magnanimitie you are aboue all men eſteemed. And therefore we deſire our of hand to ſee you in *Italie*. If we haue but you, we ſhall thinke we haue a Common-wealth. The warre had beene altogether finiſhed, if *Lepidus* had not receiued *Antonius*, who diſarm'd, and ſpoyled, tooke his heeles. Whereupon, *Antonius* was neuer ſo hatefull to the Citie, as *Lepidus* is at this preſent. For the one rayſed warre in the troubles of the Cómon-wealth; the other in her peace, and victorie. Againſt this man, we haue *Decimus*, and *Plancus*, elected Conſulls. In whom, great hopes are conceiued: But the vncertaine iſſue of Battailes, makes vs remaine very doubtfull. Be therefore perſwaded, that all lyes vpon you, & *Brutus*. And, that you are both expected; but *Brutus* hourely. And, though, as I hope, your enemies will be vanquiſhed before you come; yet, by your authoritie, the Common-wealth will get vp againe, and ſettle her ſelfe in ſome eſtate, that ſhall be tollerable. For there are many things which muſt be look't vnto, when it fortuneth, that the common wealth, ſhall be wholly free'd from the danger of her wicked'ſt enemies. Farewell.

Cæſar

Caius Caſſius Vice-conſull, to Cicero. Ep. 11.

IF you be in health, it pleaſeth me: I am healthfull. I giue you notice, that I am gone into *Syria*, to ſeeke *Lucius Marcus*, & *Quintus Criſpus*, Imperators. Who, when they had heard in what agitation things were at *Rome*; as excellent, and valiant Citizens, they gaue into my hands their Armies: and courageouſly, together with me, they apply themſelues vnto the ſeruice of the Common-wealth. And I further aduertiſe you, that the Legion, that *Quintus Cæcilius Buſſus* had, is come to me. And that *Aulus Allienus* hath conſigned ouer the foure Legions which he conducted out of *Ægypt*, to me alſo. Now, I cannot imagine it to be anie wayes needfull, for me to exhort you to defend the common-wealth, and vs, ſo far as is requiſite. I deſire you ſhould vnderſtand, that powerfull aydes are not wanting, eyther to you, or to the Senate. Wherefore, with cheerefull hopes, and great courage goe on, to defend the Common-wealth. About the reſt, *Lucius Carteius*, a friend of mine, ſhall conferre with you. Farewell. This fift of March. From the Camp's amongſt the *Tarichæa*.

Caius

Caius Cassius Vice-consull, to Cicero. Ep. 12.

IF you be in health, I am glad; my selfe am so. I redde your letters, wherein I perceiue your singular loue towards me. For, you seeme not onely to fauour vs; as, in respect of the common-wealth, and for our owne sakes you euer did: but further; to be verie carefull in our behalfe, and to remaine much perplexed. Whereupon, I supposing you thought, that while the Common-wealth was suppreſt, we could haue no repose; and that you were much troubled, in that you doubted of our safetie: I had no sooner receiued the Legions, which *Aulus Allienus* conducted out of *Ægypt*, but I presently wrote vnto you; and sent many poſt's to *Rome*. I also wrote vnto the Senate; but, I appoynted that my letters should not be presented, till you had red them, if my people haue obserued what I commaunded. But, in case my letters haue not beene safely deliuered; I am sure, that *Dolabella*, (which killing *Trebonius* by treacherie, hath possessed all *Asia*) hath taken my Currier's, and intercepted them. All the Armies which were in *Syria*, are in my power. I haue beene somewhat slow in paying the

souldiers

ſouldiers what I promiſed: [yet] now at length, I find my ſelfe ridde of care. But, becauſe you know, that I haue refuſed no perill, nor labour in the ſeruice of the Common-wealth; And that perſwaded, and aduiſed by you, I haue taken vp Armes, againſt a faction of wicked rebels; and that I haue not onely aſſembled an armie, in defence of the Common-wealth, and libertie; but alſo taken it by force from moſt cruell tyrants; (whereof, if *Dolabella* had bin Commander, he would haue encreaſed the forces of *Antonius*; not onely by his going; but with the fame, and expectation of his armie:) let me intreat you to take mine honour to your protection. And, if you conceiue, that the deſerts of the ſouldiers towards the Common-wealth be of exceeding importance: for this, and the cauſes before alledged, be careſull to ayde, and fauour them. And ſo procure, that no man may repent him of chooſing rather to follow the Common-wealth; then hope of ſpoyle, and rapine. In like manner, take vnder your protection, ſo far as in you lyes, the honour of *Marcus*, and *Criſpus*, Imperator's. For, that retchleſſe *Baſſus*, would not aſſigne ouer vnto me his Legion. So that, if the ſouldiers in deſpight of him, had not ſent me Ambaſſadors; he would haue kept *Apinea* beleaguered till by maine

force.

force, it had beene taken. This I requeſt of you, not onely for the Common-wealth's ſake, which was euer moſt deare vnto you; but alſo in regard of our amitie; which I aſſure my ſelfe, you greatly eſtimate. And be ſecure, that, this Armie which I haue, is for the ſeruice of the Senate, and euery honeſt man, but principally for your ſelfe. And it both loues, and eſteemes you, hearing daily of the affection which you beare it: but if it vnderſtand that you are carefull of their profit, it will alſo thinke it ſelfe bound to doe what it is able in your behalfe. After the writing hereof, I heard that *Dolabella* was come into *Cilicia*, with his forces. I will make towardes him, and endeuour to certifie you of the iſſue. I would fortune would graunt me ſuch happineſſe, as is anſwerable to my deſerts towards the Common-wealth. Looke to your health, and loue me. From the Campe this ſeuenth of May. Farewell.

Caius Coſſius to Cicero.
Ep. 13.

I Hope you are in good health, as I was at the writing hereof. Firſt, we reioyce for the ſafetie, and victorie of the

the Common-wealth; and then, in that your praiſes are euery day renewed. For, you prouing a powerfull Conſular, and greater then when you were Conſull, you haue gone beyond your ſelfe. Whereat wee doe reioyce, but cannot ſufficiently wonder. There is annexed to your vertue, ſomething that is fatall, which we haue now many times diſcerned by experience. For your gowne is more fortunate, then th'armes of other men. Which at this preſent alſo, hath wrung the Commonwealth, out of the hands of enemies, and reſtored it. Now, therefore we ſhall liue in libertie. Now, we ſhall haue you, moſt eminent Citizen; and my deareſt, and (in the aduerſities of the Common-wealth) approued friend, I ſay, we ſhall now haue you, a teſtimonie of our loue, both to your ſelfe, and to the Common wealth, which is ſo neere vnto you. And thoſe things, which you haue many times promiſed, both to conceale, while wee were in ſeruitude; and to diſcloſe in my behalfe then, when they might be auailable: I now, deſire not ſo much that you ſhould vtter them: as that your ſelfe would but repute them what they are. For I more eſteeme of your iudgement then my mans whatſoeuer: neither deſire I that you ſhould commend mee about my deſerts.

ſerts. And theſe our laſt exployts will not I hope, ſeeme diſſonant from the reſt; nor performed vnaduiſedly, and without counſell: but conformable to thoſe cogitations, whereof you are witneſſe. Wherefore, you ought to adde no little to my eſteeme, that my countrie may entertaine the beſt hope of me. You haue O *Marcus Tullius*, children, and neighbours beſeeming you; and to you worthilie moſt deare. You muſt alſo in the Commonwealth, next after theſe, make a deare eſteeme of thoſe perſons, who are emulous of your ſtudies. Of which I deſire there may be many; but yet I thinke not, that they are into great a number, leſt I muſt be excluded; and that you haue no place left you, wherein you may embrace mee, and put mee vpon all things which concurre with your pleaſure, and my deſert. I haue peraduenture laide open my minde vnto you: but what my wit is, cannot through long ſeruitude, be perfectly apprehended. Wee haue, from the Maritime coaſt's of *Aſia*, and the *Iſlands*, taken all the ſhipping we could. The preſſe of ſuch as were to rowe, though with great oppoſition of the Cities, was not long in compaſſing. We followed the Armada of *D. Libella*; whereof *Lucilius* was Admirall. Who oftentimes bearing vs in hand, that hee would v-

nite himselfe with vs; and oftentimes departing from vs; at length bare in with *Corcyrus*, and began to keepe himselfe within the port. Leauing it, wee went to *Cyprus*; because we thought it better to returne to the Campe, in that an other Nauie came after; which *Tullius Cymber* had the yeare before, gathered together in *Bithynia*, which was commanded by *Turullius* the Quæstor. And from thence; wee thought good with all speed, to giue you notice of what had happened. The *Tarsenses* most disloyall associats, and the *Laodiceni* farre more foolish, haue voluntarily call'd vnto them *Dolabella*. By the aide of which Cities he hath [illegible] vp a kinde of armie, consisting of *Gracian* souldiers. He hath encamped his men before the towne of *Laodicea*, hee hath broken downe a part of the wall, and hath vnited his souldiers with the townes-men. Our *Cassius*, with tenne Legions, and twenty Cohorts of the League, and with foure thousand horse lyes within twenty myles of *Palthos*; and thinkes he may vanquish without comming to fight. Because *Dolabella* is already enforced to buye his wheate at three Terradrachm's. And, if the cause no prouision thereof to be conueyed in by the shipping of *Laodicea*; hee must of necessitie be shortly famished. And, that he shall not be able to procure

cure any such conueyance; by the great fleete of *Cassius*, which is vnder the gouernment of *Sextilius Rufus*; and those three, which are vnder the conduct of my selfe, *Turullius*, and *Patisbus*; he will easilie be hindered. Be you therefore of good hope, and confident; that as you haue there deliuered the Common-wealth; so wee, for our parts, will therin vse all expedition. Farewell. From *Cyprus*, the 13. of Iune.

Lentulus, to his Cicero.
Ep. 14.

HAuing met with our *Brutus*, and perceiuing that hee meant to make some stay, before his comming into *Asia*: I returned thither, to collect the remainder of my labours; and to send money forthwith to *Rome*. In the meane time I vnderstood, that *Dolabella's* Nauie was in *Lycia*. With better then an hundred great ships to embarque his armie. And that *Dolabella* had made these preparations, to the end, that if his hopes in *Syria* were frustrated, he might get aboord, and make for *Italie*; to ioyne with th'*Antonij*, and residue of Rebells. Whereof

I

I was ſo fearefull, that laying aſide all other care, with a few ſmall ſhipping I made towards him. And, if the *Rhodij* had not croſſed me: I had peraduenture ended that buſineſſe. How-ſoeuer, the greateſt number of thoſe ſhips were taken, and the whole Naure diſcomfited. Through feare of our arriuall, the Captaines & ſouldiers fled: and we tooke all the great merchant ſhips, of what burden ſoeuer. I am aſſured, that I haue preuented *Dolabella's* comming with any Naue into *Italie*, which I greatly feared; and I haue croſt his vnion with his Companions, which might haue put you to ſome trouble. How greatly the *Rhodij*, deſpaired both of vs, and the Common-wealth, by the publike letters which I haue ſent, you may gather. And certainely I haue written leſſe of their inraged diſpoſition, then in effect I found it. But, that I haue written ſomewhat thereof, doe not wonder: Their follie is too palpable. Neither did any particular iniuries to my ſelfe, euer moue mee. Their bad practiſes againſt our ſafetie, their deſire of following the factious, their ſtanding out in defiance of euerie honeſt man; could not by me in reaſon be ſupported. And yet I eſteeme them not all knaues. But the ſame parties, who neither receiued my father, when hee fled; nor *Lucius Lentulus*; nor *Pompeius*;

Pompeius; nor other famous Captains; the verie fame as it were out of deſtinie, are either now themſelues in Magiſtracie; or elſe haue ſuch there in, as are at their diſpoſing. So that, perſiſting in doing euill, they ſhew the ſame arrogancie. And it is not onely profitable to our Common-wealth, but alſo neceſſarie, that ſuch inſolencie ſhould bee chaſtiſed; which will grow greater, if by impunitie it be ſupported. As for our honor, I deſire, you would haue a care thereof: and when you haue any occaſion, either in the Senate, or in any other occurrent, vouchſafe to fauor me. Seeing *Aſia* is deputed to the Conſuls, and they permitted, that till they come themſelues, they may place a Lieuetenant in the gouernment; entreat them, at my requeſt rather to conferre this dignitie vpon my ſelfe then any other, and that they will conſtitute me Lieutenant, till either of them comes vnto their gouernment. For they haue no occaſion to haſten their comming, or to ſend hither any Armie. For *Dolabella* is in *Syria*, and will, before theſe men come, be ſuppreſt by *Caſſius*: as you diuinely foretaw, and did prognoſticate. For *Dolabella*, being beaten from *Antiochia*; and in the aſſault he gaue, ill entreated; diſtruſting euerie other Citie, is retir'd to *Laodicea*, which is vpon the coaſt of *Syria*. There I hope ſhortlie

lie he will be rowsed, and having no place of refuge left him: nor being able to withstand so great an Armie, as that of *Cassius*; I make no doubt but that ere this time, he is defeated, and subdued. Whereupon I thinke *Pansa*, and *Hirtius*, need not hasten, in their Consulship to come vnto their Provinces, but rather discharge their Consulship at *Rome*. wherefore if you request them, that I in the meane while, may haue the managing of *Asia*; I hope you may obtaine it. Besides, *Pansa*, and *Hirtius* promis'd mee by word of mouth, and afterwards wrote vnto me thereof, and *Pansa* affirmed as much to our *Verrius*, that he would procure, that during his Consulship, I should haue no successor. Yet I protest that I affect not this prorogation out of any desire I haue vnto the Prouince. For vnto me, it hath euer beene very troublesome, dangerous, and expensiue. But because I would not haue suffered in vaine, so many discommodities, and be vrged to depart from hence, before I reape the last fruites of my laborious industrie. For, if I could send home those somms which I had gathered; I would require a successor: but to get in that which I disbourſed to *Cassius*; and that which we lost by the death of *Trebonius*; and by *Dolabella's* crueltie; or by their perfidious proceedings, who ſuled both

both me, and the Common-wealth, against the dutie of their allegeance: Which cannot bee done, without time. I am vrged to desire, that you, as your request is, would be a meanes, that I may haue this opportunitie. I hope, I haue so borne my selfe towards the Common-wealth, that in reason I may expect, not the benefit of this Prouince, but as much as *Cassius*, and *Brutus*: not onely, in that I was an associate with them, in that same action, and daunger; but also because now, I am not wanting, in any valour, or industrie. For I was the first, that brake the lawes of *Antonius*; the first that drew *Dolabella's* Cauallerie, to take part with the Common-wealth; and that surrendred it to *Cassius*; the first to presse souldiers for generall safetie, against that most wicked conspiracie; and that onely vnited *Syria*, and the Armies that were there, with *Cassius*, and the Common-wealth. For, if I had not giuen so much treasure to *Cassius*; so many men; and with that expedition I did; he would neuer haue attempted to goe into *Syria*. Which if it had not beene, the Common-wealth should by this time haue had no lesse cause, to feare *Dolabella*, then *Antonius*. And all these things I did, notwithstanding, I was a familiar friend, and companion to *Dolabella*; and by neare affinitie

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allied to the *Antonij*; and had also by their meanes, gotten my Prouince. But because I bare greater loue to my countrie, I was the first that rais'd war against mine owne familiars. And though I finde, that for these things, I haue not hitherto, had any great recompence: Yet am I not altogether out of hope: nor will I hold it troublesome resoluedly to perseuer in the desire of libertie only: but in labour also, and in dangers. Neuerthelesse if, for the benefit of the Senate, and of all good men, I be also put forward, by some prouocation of iust, and lawfull glorie; wee shall bee in the greater authoritie with others, and consequently, be able the more to assist the Commonwealth. When I was with *Brutus*, I could not see your son, because he was then gon w̃ the troups of horse to their assigned winter guarison: But, that he is so disposed, I weare vnto you, I reioyce both for yours, and for his, but especially for mine owne sake. For I hold him in the esteeme of a Brother, because he is your sonne, and worthie of you. Farewell. From *Pisga*: the 29. of May.

Publius Lentulus sonne to Publius. Vice-quæstor, and Vice-prætor; to the Consulls, Prætors, Tribunes, Senate, people, and Communaltie of Rome.

Epist. 15.

Dolabella hauing by wicked means oppressed *Asia*, I went into *Macedonia*, a neighbour Prouince: and to the Guardsons of the Commonwealth, which *Marcus Brutus* a renowned person, had vnder his gouernment: and I sought to bring to passe, that the prouince of *Asia*, and the impositions, might, by the meanes of persons, which could easily performe it, bee reduced within your authoritie. Whereof *Dolabella*, being very fearefull: and after his tacking of the Prouince, singring the cullomes, but aboue all most cruelly pillaging and selling all the *Romane* citizens, hee being so sodainely departed, that we could not in time come vp with our forces: it was not fit for me, to soiourne there any longer; or to expect supplies of soldiers. And I both thought it good and of hard to returne vnto my office, and to recouer the remainder of the [illegible] tions, and to get in, their money whic

I had collected: and beſides this, preſently to examine, what ſummes had beene ſeazed on, and by whoſe negligence: that I might abſolutely informe you of the ſucceſſe thereof. In the meane while, ſailing amongſt the Iſlands, which lay in my way to *Aſia*, I being informed that *Dolabella's* Nauie was in *Lycia*, and that the *Rhodes* had diuers ſhips furniſhed, vnder ſaile, and in readines: with that ſhipping, which part ie I brought with me, and in part was gathered by *Patiſcus* the vice Quæſtor, (a perſon very inward with mee both for the familiaritie we haue had together, and for the affection we both beare to the common-wealth,) I returned to *Rhodes*; being confident of your authoritie, and the Senates decree, by which you had proclaymed *Dolabella* for an enemie: and building vpon the League, which *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Seruius Sulpitius* being Conſuls, was renewed with the *Rhodes*; wherein they had taken oath, that they would eſteeme thoſe enemies, which by the Senate, and people of *Rome* were ſo reputed. But we were much deceiued. For, they were ſo farre from furniſhing vs with men, for the ſecuritie of our Nauie: that euen at the entrie into the towne, at the Port, thoſe habitations, that were without the Citie, denyed our ſouldiers not onely ſuſtenance,

but very water: and wee our ſelues, with one ſmall Barke, were ſcarcely entertained. Which indignitie, and diſparagement of Maieſtie, not only to my place, but alſo to the Empire and people of *Rome*, I for this cauſe digeſted; in that by intercepted letters wee vnderſtood, that *Dolabella*, being out of all hopes of *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, reſolued (as neceſſarily muſt enſue) to embarque himſelfe, with all his theeuiſh followers, and with all the money, and ſo to come for *Italie*. And that for this effect, the great Merchants ſhips alſo, of which, there was none, that were of a leſſer burthen then two thouſand Amphoræ, that were vouted in *Aſia*, were layd for, by his Armada. Moued (O conſcript Fathers) with the feare hereof; I the rather made choyce to ſupport theſe iniuries: and though with our diſgrace, firſt, to attempt all other meanes. Wherefore, being admitted into the Citie, and Senate, by their conſent, I propounded the cauſe of the Commonwealth, with as great vehemencie, as I could: and ſet before them, all the danger, which would enſue, if that Rebell ſhould with his aſſociats bee imbarqued. But I found the *Rhodij* ſo peruerſe, that they thought euery one more loyall then thoſe that really were ſo. Neither did they beleeue, that there was ſuch a

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concord, and vnion of all degrees, couragiously to defend Libertie: and were confident, that the Senate, and euery honest man would as yet bee patient; and that it was not possible, that any man should dare to denounce *Dolabella* for a rebell. Finally, whatsoeuer was falsely auer'd by these knaues, they held more true, then in effect it was: or then that, which wee could beate into them. Out of the same peruersitie also, before our comming, and after *Trebonius* was so vnworthily murdred, and so many other wicked actions; two Embassies of theirs went to *Dolabella*; and certainely, without any president, contrary to their lawes, yea, and though they were prohibited by their Magistrates. Whether they did these things for feare, as they affirme of certaine territories which they hold within the continent, or out of a bad intention, or through the ouersaying power of some few; which had also heeretofore vsed the same villanie to renowned men; and being at this present in highest dignities, would not by any example, either on your part, or ours that were present, though easily they might, neither preuent our present perill, nor that which menaced all *Italie*, and our citie; if that Traytor together with his theruish associates, being expelled out of *Asia*, and *Syria*, had

there arriued. Some alſo were ſuſpicious, that the ſaid Magiſtrates, did but entertaine time, and delaie vs, while *Dolabella's* Fleet might bee aduertiſed of our comming. Which ſuſpicion was the more confirmed, by ſome particulars which ſucceeded; eſpecially, becauſe *Sextus Marius*, and *Caius Titius*, *Dolabella's* Legates departed ſuddainlie out of *Lycia*, from the Nauie; and in a Fuſt fled away. Leauing there, all the great ſhippes: in preparation and gathering of which, they had ſpent no ſmall time, and labour. Wherefore, we comming from *Rhodes* into *Lycia* with ſuch ſhipping as we had; we took the great ſhippes and reſtored them to their owners, and free'd our ſelues from the great feare which poſſeſſed vs, that *Dolabella* with his fellow rebells would haue made for *Italie*. The Nauie which got away, we purſued as farre as *Syde*, which is the vttermoſt lymit of my Prouince. There I vnderſtood, that one part of *Dolabella's* ſhipping was fled; and another gone into *Syria*, and *Cyprus*. I knowing that *Caius Caſſius*, a famous Captaine, and Citizen, was in *Syria* with a great Fleet in readineſſe; returned to my charge: & will endeuour (O conſcript Fathers) to vſe for you, and for the Common wealth, all officious care and diligence: & to recouer thoſe ſummes of money, with the great

greateſt poſſible expedition; and ſend them you, with all the accompts. When I haue runne ouer my Prouince, and haue notice, who haue beene faithfull to vs, and the Commonwealth; in preſerring the treaſure by me layd vp, and who thoſe wicked perſons haue beene, that wilfully carried theſe publike moneys to *Dolabella*; I will thereof aduertiſe you. Againſt whom, if you finde it fitting, ſo ouſſe to proceede according to their deſert, affording me that reputation, with your authoritie; I ſhall the more eaſily be able, both to recouer the remainder of the Cuſtome, and to preſerue it being recouered. In the meane while, that I may the better hold the cuſtomes, and defend the Prouince from multitudes, I haue driuen together a neceſſarie guard of men, which offered themſelues, of their owne good will. When theſe letters were written, there came into *Tarſus* about thirtie ſouldiers, that fled into *Syria*, of thoſe that *Dolabella* had entertained in *Aſia*. Theſe men brought newes, that *Dolabella* was gone to *Antioche*, which is in *Syria*, but that he was not there receiued; and ſtriuing diuers times to enter thereinto by force, hee was euer repulſed with diſaduantage. So that looſing about an hundred men, and leauing there diuers ſicke perſons, he fled by night from *Antio-*

this towards *Laodicea*. And how in that night, all his *Asiaticke* souldiers left him: amongst which some eight hundred returned to *Antiochia*, and yeelded vp themselues, to those, which held that Citie for *Cassius*: the others by mount *Amanus*, came downe into *Cilicia*: of which number, they likewise said they were. But, that it was reported, that *Cassius*, with all his people was about foure daies iourney from *Laodicea*, when *Dolabella* went thither. For which cause, I assuredly hope that this most wretched rebell will pay for his disloyaltie sooner then is expected. From *Tarsa*. The 2. of June.

Caius Trebonius to Cicero. Epist. 16.

I Arriued in *Athens*, the xxij of May, where to my infinite contentment I saw your Sonne dedicated to the noblest studies; and in great esteeme for his modestie. Wherein, what pleasure I tooke, you may vnderstand without my

my telling you. For you know well, how much I value you: and how greatlie in respect of our ancient and and sincere loue, I reioyce at all your prosperities; much more at this so great an happines. Doe not suppose, my *Cicero*, that I deliuer this to you, to flatter you. Your youth, and therefore ours, (for I haue nothing but what is yours,) hath aboue all others, wonne the hearts of euery man that lyes in *Athens*; and is more then any man studious of those vertues, which you especiallie affect, and are most excellent. So that, in what I can truelie congratulate with you, I doe it willingly; and no lesse with my selfe, then you: that wee finde him, who but wee must what soeuer he were, loue of necessitie; to be of such condition that we may loue him willingly. Discoursing with me, hee cast out a word, that he would see *Asia*; whereunto he was not onely by me inuited, but entreated, that he would doe it especially, while I bind the government thereof. And you may be assured, that I will vse him with that desire affection, that your selfe would. I will also take order, that *Crassipus* may come with him: to the end you may not thinke, that in *Asia* he neglects those studies, whereunto you haue exhorted him. I see him well disposed, and farre entred

into a good way: neuertheleſſe, I will not ceaſe to encourage him therein, to the end, that day by day learning, and exerciſing himſelfe, he may goe forward. At the date of theſe, I knew not what was done about the Common wealth. I heard certaine rumors, the which God graunt, may be falſe; that once we may enioy a quiet libertie: which hitherto I neuer could. Notwithſtanding, in my Nauigation, hauing found a little vacancy, I haue compounded a trifle, according to my manner, to preſent you with. And I haue collected together certaine ſayings, deliuered by you, to my great honour, which I haue here vnder written. Wherein, if I ſeeme vnto you in ſome words a little too free; excuſe me, in that he, againſt whom I ſpeake, is ſuch an one, as deſeruies worſe, then I haue ſpoken. Let me requeſt you alſo to pardon our choller, w is but iuſt, againſt ſuch men and Cittizens. And then, why ſhould *I* not rather be permitted to take vp on him this libertie, then my ſelfe? Conſidering, that if the hatred he bare to them, of whom he ſpoke ill, were equall to mine; yet were not they, more worthy then this man, with ſo great a liberty of words, to be reproued. I looke you ſhould preſently introduce me, a ſpeaker in your Dialogues, as you promiſed. And I am certaine,

certaine, that in writing any thing of the death of *Caſar*; you will afford me, in that action, and your owne loue, no little portion. Farewell: and let me recommend my mother, and all mine vnto you. From *Athens*; the 25. of May.

Cicero to Quintus Cornificius his Colleague. Ep. 17.

THe memorial you retaine of mee, is according as you ſignifie in your letters, beyond meaſure to me acceptable; and I entreat you to preſerue it; not that I any waies doubt the contraire, but becauſe it is the cuſtome, to be thus ſollicitous. There's newes out of *Syria*, of certaine tumults, which. in that they are nearer to you, then vs, I am more ſorrie for yours, then mine owne reſpects. *Rome* is in wonderfull quiet: but it were farre better, that it were buſied in ſome beneficiall, and honourable exerciſes; which, I hope will be; becauſe I ſee *Caſar* hath a deſire thereunto. Vnderſtand, that in your abſence, I vſe it very boldly, becauſe me thinkes I may, you being abſent: and among many things which perad-uenture would not diſlike you, I haue lately

lately written of the perfect forme of speaking. Wherein, I thought many times, that you were somewhat discrepant from my opinion; after that manner, that a learned man vseth to dissent, from one, that is, vnlearned. I would haue you first, commend this Booke, for it owne desert; and then, though you should thinke it deserues nothing; yet to doe me a pleasure. I will giue it to your friends, to be written out, that they may send it you. For I suppose, though you approue not of the subiect, yet finding your selfe now without employments, you will take delight in euery thing that comes from me. Whereas you recommend vnto me your dignitie, and reputation; in this you follow the custome of others: but I assure you, that besides, the great accompt I make of your friendship, I doe so estimate your vertuous studies, and vnderstanding; and haue so great hope, that you will arise to eminent degrees of honor; as I preferre none before you, and hold but few your equalls. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Cornificius his Colleague. Epiſt. 18.

TO the laſt poynt of your laſt letters, I will firſt make anſwere, becauſe I haue ſomtimes obſerued this cuſtome in you that are great Orators. you complaine that I write not vnto you: and I euer wrote, when I heard by your friends, that there was any opportunitie. By your letters me thinkes I conceaue, that you will doe nothing but deliberately; and that you will not reſolue of any thing, before you vnderſtand, what will become of I know not what *Cæcilius Baſſus*. The which I preſuppoſ'd out of your prudence; and now, your graue letters ratifie as much. And I entreat you as earneſtly as I can, to write often to me: to the end I may vnderſtand what you doe, and what is done, as alſo what you meane to vndertake. Though at your departure from hence, I was much griev'd, to be depriued of your compaine: yet I was comforted through hope, that you ſhould goe into great quietneſſe, and remoue your ſelfe from affaires of moment, which were imminent. But the quite contrarie hath hapned; for, there you haue warre, & here we haue peace: but ſuch peace, as if you were here, many

ny things would diſlike you, by which euen *Cæſar* himſelfe is alſo diſguſted. For the end of ciuill warre, is euer of this nature, that matters are not carryed according to the will of the Conquerour onely, but they alſo muſt be obeyed, by whoſe aſſiſtance the victory hath beene obtained. For my part, I am now ſo accuſtomed hereunto, as in *Cæſars* ſports I had the patience, to behold *Titus Planeus*, and to heare the Poems of *Publius*, and *Laberius*. I would haue you know, that I want nothing more, then to haue one by me, with whom I might learnedly, and familiarly laugh at theſe things. You ſhall be the man, if you come ſpeedily: and this I ſuppoſe imports not onely me, but your ſelfe alſo. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius.
Epiſt. 19.

I Moſt willingly read your letters, wherein I tooke great contentment, perceiuing that you had receiu'd mine. For I made no queſtion, but you would deſireouſly peruſe them: I onely doubted of their deliuerie. By yours, I vnderſtood, how *Cæſar* committed to your le warre of *Syria*, and the gouernment thereof

thereof I pray God, you may haue good and happie successe in that employment; as I hope you shall, being confident in your wisedome, and industrie. But what you write vnto me, touching the suspition of a *Parthian* warre, hath much disturbed me. Considering your strength, by what I gather from your letters, and mine owne coniecture. Wherefore I desire at this present, that the *Parthians* may not stir, till those Legions are arriued, which must as I heare, be brought vnto you. And if you haue not power enough to fight, faile not to take the same course, which was once taken by *Marcus Bibulus*: who shut himselfe within a well fortified, & very plentifull Towne, so long as the *Parthians* were within the Prouince. But you may better dispose of these things, according to the time, and to th'occasion. I shall euer be pensiue for you, till I know what hath succeeded. I neuer heard of my messengers that went to you, but I deliuered him letters for you. I requist you to doe the like; and aboue all, to write vnto your friends in such a manner, that they may conceiue me to be yours. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Cornificius his Colleague. Epist. 20.

YOur letters were very welcome to me, but that you disdained to lodge at the little Inne at *Suessa*. But know, that, that little village will take it ill; vnlesse in *Cumanum*, and *Pompeianum* you reforme the error you haue committed. Therefore doe as I bad you, and let me haue you to loue me; and by writing sometimes to me, inuite me to doe the like. For I can more easily answer, then prouoke. But if you be negligent, as you beginne; I will vrge you: least your indiscretion, beget ignorance. More at more leysure. These, I scribled in the Senate. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius. Epist. 21.

CAius Antius my familiar acquaintance, a well qualified person, comes into *Africa* about his priuate affaires, with a titular Embassie. I desire you would assist him in euery thing

and

and procure, that he may dispatch his businesse, with all possible conuenience: and especially, which he much regardes, that he may be honoured, and respected according to his dignitie. And I request you that he may haue Lictors allotted him. Which in my Prouince, I euer allowed to all Senators, without entreatie; hauing had frequent presidents therof by men of greatest account, vpon mine owne knowledg, and other mens relation. Therefore, my *Cornificius*, let this be done. And in all other occurrents, as you loue me, haue a care of his honour, and occasions: for you cannot doe me a greater pleasure. Be carefull of your health. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius. Epist. 22.

HEre, we haue warre, with *Antonius* our swaggering Colleague, a man beyond all other, rash outragious: but not vpon equall conditions: For we, vse words, he armes. He speakes ill also of you to the people; but he shall not goe so away with it: for, he shall be made to know, whom he hath iniuried. I suppose others haue written the newes

newes past vnto you. But expect from me what comes hereafter, which may easily be presaged. Euery thing bends to ruine. Good men haue no Head. And they who slew the Tyrant, are in remote Countries. *Pansa* is well enclined, and speakes courageously. Our *Hirtius* is slacke in the recouery of himselfe. What will ensue I certainly know not: one hope remaines, that the people of *Rome* will once be like their predecessors. I will not surely be wanting vnto the Common-wealth, and I, whatsoeuer happens, wherein I am innocent, will with a constant mind support it: and aboue all I will defend your fame, and reputation. The xx. of September, in a full Senate, I passed a decree, as well about other important matters, as also of this; that the Prouinces should remaine to those that were in gouernment, and be assigned ouer to none, but to such as should be sent thither by the Senates order. It is true, that I propounded this course, for the respects of the Common-wealth; but questionlesse, more for the preseruation of your dignitie. Wherefore I entreat you, out of our amitie, and exhort you for the Common-wealthes cause, that you will not suffer any man, to take vpon him any authority in your Prouince: and that you will euer make honour your obiect; before which,

nothing

nothing ſhould be preferred. I ſpeake to you freely, as our inward friendſhip requireth. Touching *Sempronius*, if you had carried your ſelfe according to my letters, you would haue purchaſed great eſteeme with euery man. But this is paſt, neither is it of any great momẽt. What I will now tell you, much more importeth. Be ſure to retaine the Prouince, vnder the power of the Common-wealth. I would haue written more copiouſly, but that your men were in haſt: therefore excuſe me to our *Cherippus*. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius.
Epiſt. 23.

Trebatius gaue me ample information, both of the ſtate of your Prouince, and of the forme you obſerue in gouerning it. Oh, what a number of intolerable things are cõmitted euery where! But, by how much the more eminent your place is, by ſo much the leſſe, ſhould you haue digeſted thoſe matters which happened to you. For, though the indignities, which you ſupport out of the greatneſſe of your mind and vnderſtanding, are not ſuch, as you ſhould take them deepely to heart; yet ſhould

should you not omit, to reuenge them But of these things another time. I know vndoubtedly, that you are informed of the daily occurrents of the Citie: and if I did not imagine it, I would write thereof my selfe vnto you: and I would also write of all the attempts of *Cæsar Octauianus*; and how the Vulgar beleeues, that *Antonius* hath charg'd him wrongfully; that hee might, with violence, take the young mans treasure from him. But wise men, and of good disposition, hold the matter for truth, and allow thereof. What should I say more? There is great hope in him. 'Tis thought hee will enter into any enterprise, that may procure him praise and glory But *Anicius*, our familiar friend, obserues himselfe to be so generally hated, as hauing surprized them in his house, who meant to kill him, he dares not discouer them. The ix. of October hee went to *Brundusium*, to meet with the foure Legions, that return'd out of *Macedonia*: being perswaded, that with money, hee could haue won them to his direction, and so conduct them to *Rome*, to bridle vs here, and hold vs in seruitude. This is, as it were, a modell of the Common-wealth; if it be any Cõmonwealth at all, where all matters are carried by Armes, and Soldiers. And I am much vexed, to think, that you could not for yeeres, reiith the

Common-

Common-wealth, in a time, when it was entire, and out of danger: and yet in former times, there was ſome hope: but now, euen hope it ſelfe is taken away. And what hope can there be ſeeing *Antonius* durſt tell the people, that *Cæſar* ſought to obtaine their fauor, who could not, with his ſafetie, be permitted to remaine within the Citie. For mine owne part, I patiently endure (thankes to Philoſophie) theſe, and all things elſe, which are incident to man. For, ſhe doth not onely free mee from griefe, but alſo armes me, againſt all the aſſaults of Fortune. And I aduiſe you to doe the like, and to make nothing in the number of euills, wherein your ſelfe haue had no hand. In which point I will no further extend my ſelfe, becauſe I will not ſpeake of thoſe things (as you know better then my ſelfe. Our *Stratonius* euer gaue me content; but now, I am vrged to loue him, more then hitherto; perceiuing that in your occaſions, no man could haue vſed greater diligence, or haue beene more circumſpect. Haue a care of your health. for herein you ſhall do me an vnſpeakable pleaſure.

Cicero

Cicero to Cornificius.
Epist. 24.

IN euery occasion, which presents it selfe, of honouring or assisting you, I discharge those offices, I owe vnto you: as you shall vnderstand by your friends letters; to which I referre my selfe. But yet I cannot forbeare to exhort you, to be verie careful of the Commonwealth. This is an action, worthy of your courage, of your vnderstanding, and of that hope, which you ought to nourish, of augmenting your owne dignities. But to this purpose, another time, I will discourse with you more at large; for at the writing of this, there was nothing certaine. The Ambassadours were not yet returned, which the Senate sent, not to entreat *Antonius* for peace, but to put him in minde of war, if hee yeelded not to the Ambassadours words. I neuer thelesse, so soone as I had ame opportunitie, according to my wonted custome, defended the Common-wealth, and offered my selfe, as head vnto the Senate, and people of *Rome*. And after I embraced the cause, I euer defended safetie, and common libertie. But my desire is, you should also vnderstand this by other mens letters. I recommend vnto you,

Titus

Titus Pinarius, my speciall friend, and I recommend him with all efficacie. I loue him exceedingly, both because he is adorned with all vertues, and in that he is delighted in our studies. He is Agent for our *Dionysius*, who by you is much, but by my selfe, infinitely beloued. And therefore, though I know it superfluous; yet I commend his affaires vnto you, entreating you to haue such a care thereof, as by the letters of *Pinarius*, who will bee verie grateful, wee may euidently vnderstand, that you haue beene fauourable, both to him, and *Dionysius*. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius.
Epist. 25.

ON the feasts of *Bacchus*, I receiued your letters, which *Cornificius* told mee hee deliuered, two and twenty dues after the receipt. There was no Senate that day, nor the day following. The day of *Minerua*, in full Senate I handled your cause: and it seem'd, *Minerua* herselfe, that day fauour'd me. For the Senate on the selfe same day, that I pleaded for you, ordained, that the Statue of *Minerua*, which I had set vp in the *Capitoll*, with this inscription,

ſcription, *Caſtus vrbis*, and was by a guſt of winde blowne downe; ſhould be againe erected. *Pauſa* recited your letters. The Senate approued highly of the matter, with much alacritie, to the greeſe of *Minotaurus*, that is of *Clauiſius*, and *Taurus*, and an honourable decree was paſſed in your fauor. There were ſome, which demanded, that ſome diſgrace might haue beene impoſ'd vpon them. But *Pauſa* would needs vſe all clemencie. I, my *Cornificius*, the firſt day, that euer I conceiued hope of libertie, the xx. of December, while others lingered, layd the foundations of the Common-wealth. That verie day I labour'd much, & wrought effectually in the promotion of your dignitie. For the Senate granted mee, that the gouernment of the Prouinces ſhould not be altered: and yet I ceaſed not afterwards, to beat downe, and impugne him, that with great ſcorne to the Common-wealth, and iniurie to you, he'd, being abſent, this Prouince. So that, exclaiming, and crying out vpon him daily, I procur'd, that, whether he would, or no, he betooke him to the Citie, and was not onely thruſt out of the hope, but the preſent ſecuritie, and poſſeſſion of his Prouince. I am verie glad, that for matters, which I deſeruedly, and moſt iuſtly ſpoke againſt him, you haue by your ſufficiencie pre-

ſerued

serued your owne honor, and that you haue beene dignified with the greatest honours of the Prouince. Whereas you purge your selfe towards me, concerning *Sempronius*, I except of the excuse you make. For, that was a kinde of season, when it was requisite to liue after another mans humour. Now you must vnderstand, that I, who was wont to counsell, and saue you, being angrie with the times, despairing of libertie, went presently into *Greece*: but the Northerne windes, like good Citizens, being displeas'd, that I should abandon my Countrey, would not follow me; and those of the South, blowing forcibly a contrarie course, brought me backe to *Rhegium*; that is, amongst your kindred: and from thence being assisted with wind, and oares, in great hast I came into my Countrey. Where, the day following, in the Senate, whereas others were in great servitude, I onely was free; and spake in such a manner against *Antonius*, as hee was not able to endure: but with that drunken furie of his, oppos'd himselfe against me. And seeking to shed bloud, he did not onely desire, that some prouocation would proceed from me; but also layd, to vend, snares. This man belching, as it were, and vomiting, was by me so repelled, that he lay open to the blowes of *Cassius Octauianus*. For, the generous young

man, first to guard himselfe, and then for the interest of the Common-wealth, hath gotten forces together. Which if he had not done, the returne of *Antonius* from *Dalmatia*, would haue beene a plague to our Country. I suppose you know, what afterwards ensued. But to returne, where I left, I accept of your excuse for *Sempronius*. Then, in so great an hurly-burly, you could not resolue of any thing. *Now, the time permits, that we may leaue after any other fashion, and that other customes may be embraced*, as *Terentius* speaketh. Wherefore, my *Quintus*, enter with vs into the same ship, and come vp to the sterne. There's now but one ship, fraught with all good men, which I endeuour to keepe from swarming; God grant, with a prosperous course; but what winds soeuer blow, my skill shall neuer be wanting: And what can vertue further effect? As for your occasions, bee of a noble and haughty courage: and be resolu'd, that all your honour must stand with the safetie of the Common-wealth. I will effectually wherein I can, fauour *Publius Lentulus*. And it was not needfull, you should recommend him the being most deare vnto me. We haue too much out of season left *Hortensius*, and *Pansa*, our Colleagues, most beneficiall members to the Common-wealth, in their Consulships. For, thou-

though in reſpect of that Rebell *Antonius*, the Common-wealth is ſecure; yet is ſhe not abſolutely rid of moleſtation. I will defend her, according to my cuſtome, if no accident hinder mee: Though at this inſtant I am very weary. But no defatigation ſhall haue power ſo far ouer me, as to make me faile in offices, or fidelitie. And to this purpoſe, let theſe ſuffice. I will write nothing to you of my ſelfe; I leaue that for you to vnderſtand from others. Wee had certaine informations of you, which I would they were true. Of *Caius Minutius*, whom in certaine letters you extold to the heauens, ſome hard reports are diſperſed; of which, as alſo of the proceedings in theſe parts, I deſire to heare from you the certainty. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius.
Epiſt. 26.

Quintus Turius, who hath negotiated in *Africa*, an honeſt man, and of a good familie, made his heires, *Caius Saturninus*, *Sextus Aufidius*, *Caius Annius*, *Quintus Conſidius Gallus*, *Lucius Seruilius Poſthumus*, & *Caius Rabirius*, men like vnto himſelfe. By their ſpeech

I conceiued, that I was more bound to thanke you, for that you had done for them; then to commend them vnto you. For they so highlie extoll your generous disposition, and the courtesie, which I saw you had afforded them, that I dare not further entreat you. Neuertheleſſe I will preſume, knowing of what power my recomendation is with you. And therefore, I requeſt you, that the ſame fauour you ſhewed him without my letters, you will for their reſpect, afford it him more plentifully. And of my recommendation the ſubſtance is this; that you will not permit, that *Erotes Furius*, Freeman to *Quintus Furius*, vſurpe the inheritance of *Furius*, as hitherto he hath done. And, that for my ſake, you wil make ſpeciall eſteeme of them in all other occurrents. Wherein, you will receiue great contentment, both for their eminencie, and in reſpect of their obſeruance towards you. And herein I entreat you as earneſtly as I am able. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius. Epiſt. 27.

Sextus Aufidius obſerues me after ſuch a ſort, as I am not more honored

by any of my kindred. And so magnificent hee is, that in this point no Romane Knight is his Superiour. Then is he of such a temperate, and milde behaviour, that in him, singular grauity, concurs with affabilitie. I commend vnto you his businesses in Africa, with such sincerenie, and so heartily, as they possibly can bee recommended. You shall highly fauour mee, in doing your endeuour, to let him vnderstand, that my letters were of great authoritie with you. And this is my maine request, deare Cornificius. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius. Epist. 28.

I Am also of your opinion, that they, who as you write, threatned Libycum, deserued there to be punished. But you are affraid, as you say, to seeme too forward in your chastizements: and therfore you were affrayd, to appeare a graue, and couragious Citizen: or such an one, as is worthy to bee your selfe. I like it well, that you renew our league in the preseruation of the Commonwealth, which you entertained with me, as an inheritance from your father. Which societie, my Cornificius, shall al-

wayes continue amongst vs: I am also well pleased, that you are of opinion, that you need not thanke me in your owne behalfe. For betwixt vs, this office is superfluous. The Senate should often be solicited about your dignitie, but that in absence of the Consulls, they are neuer assembled, except vpon some new occurrents. And therefore by the Senate ther's nothing to be done at this present, either about those six hundred Crownes, or about those twēty one thousand. And therfore I am of opinion, that you must impose taxations, and take vp at interest. Concerning the state of the common-wealth, I suppose you are aduertised by their letters, who vsually write vnto you, of the occurrents of *Rome*. I am in good hope. And I am not wanting to my countrie, with my councell, care, or endeuour. To the enemies of the Common-wealth, I shew my selfe a capitall enemie. Matters appeare to me, to be in good state; and would be farre better, if some men were not culpable. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Cornificius. Ep. 29.

I Thinke there is not a man amongſt the people of *Rome*, (much leſſe you who knowes all my occaſions,) that conceiues not, what familiarrie I retain with *Lucius Lamia*: For it was manifeſted to all *Rome*, at the ſame time, when by *Aulus Gabinius* the Conſull he was confined, becauſe valiantly, and freely he had defended my ſafetie; Neither did our loue grow onely from this; but from an affection which was great, and of long continuance. Whereupon hee refuſed not to vndergoe any daunger vpon mine occaſion. To which offices, or rather deſerts, ſo pleaſing a cõuerſation is to be added, that there is no man with whom I ought to be more delighted. Now the reaſon of ſo ſpeciall loue being made manifeſt vnto you; I imagine you looke not with what word, I recommend him, I would haue you know thus much onely, that if you defend *Lamia's* occaſions, his agents, his Free-men, and his very ſlaues, wherein it ſhall bee requiſite; it ſhall more ſatisfie me, then if you had vouchſafed me this courteſie, in defence of mine own proper ſubſtance, and intereſt's. And I make no doubt, but without my recommendation, your iudge-

ment of men is such, that for *Lamia's* owne sake, you will doe any thing very willingly. Although 'twas said, that you were perswaded, that he was present, at the recording of a decree of the Senate, made in prejudice of your honor: whereas he was neuer present at the passing of any decree, vnder those Consulls. And besides this, all the decrees that then came from the Senate were false. Except you also, beleeue, that my selfe was present at that decree of *Sempronius*: when at the same instant I was not in *Rome*; as I wrote vnto you, when the matter was fresh in memorie. But of this, hitherto. I request you, my *Cornificius*, with the greatest efficacie I am able, that you will verily beleeue, that all *Lamia's* negotiations are mine owne: and take order that he may perceiue, that this my recommendation hath beene very vsefull to him. You cannot doe me a greater fauour. Bee carefull of your health. Farewell.

Cicero to Cornificius. Epist. 30.

DOe I then write to you for none, but such as are contentious? And though this be true, yet you cannot say, but I write often to you. For you haue vs'd

vi'd the matter ſo, that no man thinkes he can obtaine your fauour without my letters. But which of your men euer told me, that he came from thence as a meſſenger, by whom I haue not written backe againe? Or elſe, being denied to talke with you face to face, what greater recreation doe I finde, then either in writing to you, or reading your letters? I am rather greeu'd, that I am hindered by ſo many employments, that I haue no conueniencie to write vnto you, as often as I would. For then I would inuite you not with Epiſtles, but with whole volumes: with which in all reaſon you ſhould prouoke me. For though you are employed; neuertheleſſe, you haue more leiſure then I. If you haue no time to ſpare, be not ſo ſhameleſſe, and troubleſome in importuning me, to write often to you; conſidering that you write ſo ſeldome to me. For if heretofore I haue beene encumbred with many occupations, (for I was buſied in defending the Common-wealth with all care;) much more am I at this preſent. For euen as they are more grieuouſly ſicke, who ſeeming to be eaſ'd of a maladie, are relapſed: ſo doe we feele farre greater diſturbance, being enforced to warre anew, when we thought the warre was almoſt finiſhed. But thus much may ſuffice for theſe things. You, my *Carnifex*,

labour to perſwade your ſelfe, that I am not of ſo weake an affection, not to ſay inhumaine; as that I can be out-gone by you, either in loue, or courteſie. In truth I no wayes doubted of your loue; and yet *Chariptus* hath made it me much more manifeſt. Oh what a man is this! I alwayes tooke him to be fit for my converſation; but now I apprehend him to be delightſome. As I liue, he hath not onely reueiled your mind vnto me, with your owne words, but with your geſture alſo. So as, doe not feare, that I am offended with you, becauſe you wrote vnto me in the ſelfe ſame forme, as you wrote vnto others. True it is, I was deſirous you ſhould write vnto me in another faſhion then you wrote to others: but this I did, rather excited by loue, then choller. Touching the charge, you ſay you are, and haue bin at, in reſpect of the warre; verily, I cannot eaſe you. For beſides that the Senate by the death of the Conſuls, remaines, as it were, without a guide; and there is no way to raiſe any proui ſion; you would not beleeue into what diſtreſſe of moneyes the publicke treaſure is brought; which is, on all ſides exhauſted, to diſcharge the payes of the beſt deſeruing ſouldiers, which in my opinion can neuer be wholly diſcharged, without ſome new impoſitions. Of *Accius Dionyſius*, I thinke there

is

is no newes, in that *Stratonius* told me nothing of him. For *Publius Lucrius*, I graunt not, that you ſhould better effect, then my ſelfe: for, he is my boſome friend: but vrging the Tole-maſters, that they ſhould prolong hir ſt me; they made mee apparantly conceiue, that they could not doe it, by the proteſtation, and oath, that they had taken. Wherefore I would aduiſe *Lucrius* to come home. Though, if he haue followed the aduiſe of my letters, by that time you read theſe, he ſhould be at *Rome*. Of other things, eſpecially of money, you not knowing of *Panſa's* death, haue written, what you ſuppoſ'd you might haue obtain'd by my meanes. Wherein you ſhould not haue fail'd, if he had liued; for, he loued you: but being dead, I ſee no meanes how to giue you contentment. About *Pinalonus*, *Latinus*, and *Horatius*, in my iudgment you haue done exceeding well. But yet this likes me not ouer-well, that you write, you haue diſmiſſed the Lictors of your owne Legates, to the end that they might haue leſſe cauſe to complaine. For your Legates, being men that deſerue honour: you ſhould not value them with baſe fellowes. And I am of opinion, that not by any authoritie of the Senates decree, but by maine violence, you haue enforced their

their departure. This in briefe, is an answere, to the two letters I receiued from you, of one tenour. I haue nothing else to deliuer vnto you, but that your honour shall be as deare vnto me, as mine owne.

Farewell.

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THE

THE THIRTEENTH *BOOKE OF* THE FAMILIAR *EPISTLES OF* M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Caius Memmius. Epist. 1.

THough I was not sufficiently assured, whither it would be somewhat troublesome, or pleasing to mee to see you in *Athens*: by reason that the iniurie you haue receiued, would haue molested me; and the wisedome by which you suffer it, haue yeelded me contentment:

contentment; yet, I would rather, I could see you, then otherwise. For the molestation I feele, is not much abated, when I see you not: and but little content that we could haue had, would questionlesse haue bin greater, if I had seene you. Wherefore I determine to take any course that I may see you, when I may doe it conueniently. In the meane while I will handle that, wherin may both treat with you of by letters, and as I hope, conclude of. Now, the first thing I request of you, is; that you will doe nothing in the behalfe of my dignitie, against your owne liking. But, if you thinke you shall doe it willingly; then let me request you to doe that, which I am to require of you; especially being such, as highly concernes me, and is to you, no way preiudiciall. *Petro Epicureus*, is wholly mine, and I his: saving that in Philosophie I greatlie differ from him. But both in the beginning, when at *Rome* he obserued you, and yours, he honoured me aboue all others: and lastly, when about his benefits and rewardes, he obtain'd those things which he desired, he preuail'd more by my meanes, then by any other defender, or friend he had: and besides this, he was commended vnto me by *Phedrus*: who, when I was a child, before I knew *Philo*, I much esteemed as a Philosopher, and afterwards, notwithstandin-

withstanding [our difference of opinions] as an honest man, verie facete, and officious. Now, this *Patro* having written to me at *Rome*, that I would procure him your favour: and request you to graunt him certaine rumes of the house that belong'd to *Epicurus*: I wrote nothing to you thereof; because I was not willing, that your designe of building, should be hindred, by my recōmendation. The same partie, when I came to *Athens*, entreating me once more to write vnto you, about the same matter; obtain'd his request vpon this occasion; in that amongst your friends, it was verily thought; that you had given over that determination of building. And if it be so: and that now you make no reckoning of it: my desire is, that, if you by other mens peruersitie have beene any wayes prouoked (for I know the condition of that people) you would pacifie your minde, by doing something which may be either answerable to your courteous disposition, or tending vnto my grace, and honour. I for mine owne part (if you will have me tell you my opinion) doe not perceiue, why either he should bee so importunate; or you so vnwilling to graunt it: except it may be some lesse allowed in you, to regard so cōtemptible a matter, then in him to crave it. Although I am sure you vnderstand, both with what words

words *Patro* excuſeth himſelfe, and vpon what he groundes. He ſayes, hee cannot herein neglect his reputation; the Teſtament, and authoritie of *Epicurus*; the earneſt entreaties of *Phadrus*: and that he is engaged, to maintaine that place, where famous men frequented, inhabited, and conuerſed. If wee ſhould reiect this his inſtant importunitie, we muſt needs deride his whole courſe of life, and the profeſſion he maketh of philoſophie. But becauſe we are neither enemies to him, nor to others of that Sect; I am of opinion, that he is excuſable, though he be herein ſo deeply touched. Wherein, if he offend 'tis rather out of follie, then malice. But not to be ouer-long, (for I muſt at length vtter it,) I loue *Pomponius Atticus* as a brother. I haue not a dearer, nor more acceptable friend then himſelfe. This man, not becauſe he is of their Sect (for he is adorned, and compleat in all thoſe ſciences, that are befitting a Gentleman) but, in that he wiſheth well to *Patro*, and loues *Phadrus* exceedingly: hath beene ſo wondrous earneſt with me herein. And, though he be a man, that is not mou'd to doe theſe offices, out of ambition; neither vſeth to be ouer-burdenſome in his requeſts, yet he neuer required any thing of me more effectuallie. And he aſſures himſelfe, that I may obtaine this

fauour

fauour from you, with a becke onelie; yea, though you had a mind to build there. But when he shall vnderstand, that you haue giuen ouer your intention of building; and (yet for all this.) that I was not by you herein satisfied; he will not suppose, that you were to me discourteous; but that I in his occasions haue bin careleſſe. And therfore I intreat you to write to your friends, that you are content, that the same decree of the Senate about the *Areopagite*, which they call a certaine monument, should be disanulled. But to returne to our beginning: before you doe this, I would haue you resolue in mind to doe it willingly. Conceiue therfore, that in shewing me this fauour, you shall doe me a verie acceptable pleasure. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Memmius.
Epist. 2.

I Haue great acquaintance with *Caius Amafanius Euander*, who dwells in your Sanctuarie; and greater, with *Marius Amilius* his Patron. I request you therfore as earnestly as may be, that if you may graunt it without your owne discommoditie, that you will accommodate

date him with a place of residence. Because, for the multitude of businesse, which he hath for many vndertaken, hee will be much hindered by his sodaine remoue vpon the calends of Iulie. I am ashamed to vse much entreatie: but, I make no doubt, being little or nothing at all preiudiciall to you, you will deale with me, as I should doe with you, if you demanded at my hands any courtesie. I assure you, it will giue me very singular contentment, Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Memmius. Epist. 3.

Aulus Fusius, besides, that he is one of my most intimate friends, and shewes me a great honor, and affection is further, a very learned and courteous gentleman, and very worthie of your friendship. I desire you would vse that humanitie towards him, which you promised mee, at our last meeting. It shall giue me wondrous great satisfaction. For, I shall bee infinitely well pleased, and him you shall oblige, eternallie, to be readie at your command in all occurrents. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Quintus Valerius Orca, sonne to Quintus, Legat: Vice-Prætor. Epist. 4.

THe *Volaterrani*, are my very kinde friends. For I hauing conferred vpon them a benefit of note, they haue returned me an ample gratuitie; considering that they neuer left mee, either in prosperitie, or in miserie. With whom, though I had nothing to doe; yet, because I loue you entirely, and that I know you haue much honour'd me, I would put you in minde, and exhort you, to retaine them so in your recommendation, that their possessions may not be confiscated: especiallie hauing more reason to bee heard then others. First, because they shunned the cruelitie of *Sylla's* times, through the benignitie of the gods immortall. And then, because with the great fauour of the people of *Rome* in my Consulship they they were by me defended. For the Tribunes of the people hauing enacted a most wicked law touching their landes, I easilie perswaded the Senate, and people of *Rome*, that they would haue some respect to those Citizens, whom Fortune as it were through compassion, had preserued. And this my opinion, was approued

proued, and confirmed by *Caius Cæsar*, in his first Consulship, when he renewed the law about possessions. Whereupon the Countie of *Volaterra*, and the towne, was by him perpetuallie free'd from all incumbrance. So as, I may be secure, that he, who was pleas'd to purchase new friends, would continue his old benefits. And therefore, it befits your prudence, either to follow his authoritie; whose part, and gouernment you followed, with great reputation; or at least to referre vnto him, the entire businesse. But certainely, you shall doe well, to make a firme resolution to oblige perpetually vnto your selfe so worthy, so mightie, and so noble a Citie, by so great a benefit. But, what I haue formerly written was to exhort, and aduise you; what followes; to entreat you: To conceiue that I do not only councell you for your owne benefit: but that I haue also occasion to entreat, and seeke vnto you. I therefore giue you to vnderstand, that you shall doe me, a singular pleasure, if you procure, that the *Volaterrani* may not in any respect be ouerborne, or damnified. I commend their whole estates, Fortunes, and affaires; to your fidelitie, equitie, and bountie: as hauing, both by the immortall gods, and by renowned citizens of our Common-wealth, with the speciall fauour of the Senate, and

and the Romane people beene preserued. And, if I, as I was wont, had now, the meanes to defend the *Valerians*, in that manner as I vsed to assist my friends: I would omit no office, vneffected for their benefit. And briefly, I would refuse no contestation in their behalfe, and fauour. But seeing I am confident, I shall now preuaile no lesse with you, then I haue alwaies done with euery man; by that inward amitie, we hold together, and by that loue we mutually beare one another, I entreate you in fauour, that you will vouchsafe to vse towards the *Valerians*, that humanitie, and courtesie, as they may iudge this dispatch, to haue beene committed, as it were by diuine prouidence, to a person, whom I, their perpetuall defender, was able more to dispose of, then of any other. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Valerius Orca, sonne to Quintus Legate: Vice-Prætor. Epist. 5.

I Am not sorie, that the neere friendship I entertaine with you, is knowne to many: nor yet doe I forbid you, as you may suppose, that in this office, which by *Cæsar* was impos'd vpon you; and

and is waightie, and difficult; you should not carrie your selfe, as is requir'd, both for your fidelitie, and diligence, according to his pleasure. For, though diuers seeke vnto me, for sundrie fauours, because they assure themselues of your affection towards mee: yet will I not interrupt the course of your Office. With *Caius Curtius*, from my younger yeares, I haue had speciall familiaritie. He complained vnto mee of the great dammage he most vniustly suffer'd in the time of *Sylla*. And thinking, that they who runne into these misfortunes, might be permitted by euery ones consent, hauing lost all their substance, at least to returne into their countrie; I helpt him to obtaine this fauour. He hath in the territories of *Volaterra*, a possession, whither hee had conueyed all the reliques of his Fortunes, redeem'd, as it were from ship-wracke. Now, at this time, *Cæsar* hath created him Senator; which dignitie, if he loose this possession, he can hardly support. It would bee strange, that being exalted to an higher degree of honor, he should fall into baser Fortunes. And there is no reason, that the same possession, which by *Cæsars* commission is to be diuided, should be taken from him, who by *Cæsars* benefit is made a Senator. But I will not make the equitie of his cause to bee my plea.

To

To the end it may not appeare, that you haue rather contented mee in obseruing of iustice, then doing mee a kindenes. Wherefore I very earnestly entreate you, to suppose, that the goods of *Caius Curtius* are mine owne: and what you would doe for my sake, if you performe it for *Caius Curtius*, esteeme it as done vnto my selfe. But if he obtaines any thing by my means, make your account, that you, are the man by whom I haue obtained it. And hee em I must seriously solicit your performance. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Valerius Orca, sonne to Quintus vice-Consull. Epist. 6.

I hope you are in good health, as I am. I suppose you remember how, in the presence of *Cuspius*, I talked with you, when I accompanied you in your departure towards your Prouince. And afterwards about the same matter, I reasoned with you, more at large requesting, that whatsoeuer friends of his I commend vnto you, you would esteeme them in the number of mine owne: the which out of your infinite good will, and loue you promis'd mee.

Cuspius

Cuſpius a very officious man to all his friends, with wonderfull feruencie, fauours and loues, certaine men of this Prouince; becauſe he hath beene twice in *Africa*, with charge to diſpatch important buſineſſes of the Tax-maſters. And, I am wont to aſſiſt, as much as my power, and fauour will permit me, his courteſie towards them. Wherefore I haue thought good, to manifeſt vnto you in this Epiſtle, the cauſe, why I recommend vnto you, all the *Cuſpians*. In other letters, I will onely put the marke, or token, that wee haue agreed vpon; and withall, I will ſignifie vnto you, that hee is one of the friends of *Cuſpius*. Bee conceiue, that this commendation of mine; by reaſon whereof I wrote you this preſent letter, is ſo full of affection, that no man can deuiſe, to vſe more feruencie therein. For *Cuſpius* in deepe paſſion, hath conſtrayned me moſt carefully to recommend vnto you *Lucius Iulius*. Which office though I ſhould performe, after the ſame manner as I was wont, when any thing was effectually required at my hands; yet I thinke 'twere impoſſible to bee anſwerable to the deſire of *Cuſpius*. Hee would haue mee take a new courſe: and imagines that I can herein vſe, a certaine artificiall manner. I haue promiſed him, that out of the ſecreteſt cabinets of our Art, I will

extract an admirable forme of recommendation. Which if I doe not performe; endeuor you; that by th'effect, he may he may beleeue [at least], that I haue seru'd his turne with letters full of vnusuall Art, and motiues. This will be done, if you shew him all manner of courtesie, that either your nobilitie moues you to, or by your authoritie is permitted you; not only in action, but also in words, & breefly, with your very countenance. Which things, how much they preuaile in a Prouince, I would you had once put in practise. Neuertheleſſe I hold opinion, that the man I commend vnto you, is very worthy of your friendſhip. And, beleeue it; not onely because *Cuſpius* affirmes as much vnto me; though this might ſuffice: but in that I know, hee can cenſure of men, and hath iudgement in the election of his friends. In a word I ſhall be enform'd of what force theſe letters were with you; and as I hope, I ſhall haue occaſion to thanke you. And in the meane while, in any thing wherein I thinke you would be glad that I ſhould vſe mine endeuour, I will not faile withall effectuall diligence, to employ it. Reſpect your health.

P*ublius Cornelius* the bearer hereof, was commended vnto me by

Publius Cuſpius, to whom both out of loue, and obligation, how much I deſire to giue all ſatisfaction, by what is written, may be gathered. My eſpeciall requeſt is, that from this recommendation, I may out of hand receiue the greateſt, and moſt frequent thankes that poſſible can bee giuen mee by *Cuſpius*.

Cicero to Caius Cluuius.
Epiſt. 7.

WHen, vpon your departure for *Gallia*, moued by our interchanged affection, and the great reſpect you beare me; you came home to viſit me. I ſpake with you about the *Atrebani*, who pay tribute for that part of their Countie which lies in *Gallia*; intimating vnto you, how neerely I was touched with their intereſts. And after your departure, the matter being ſuch, as it mainly imported a towne of that worth, and which I ſo much eſteemed; being confident in your good inclination towards me, I thought my ſelfe obliged, to write vnto you thereof with all poſſible diligence. Though I am not ignorant, either of the condition of the times, or of your power

And

And I vnderstand but too well, that the charge ỹ was giuen you by *Caius Cæsar* was not to iudge, but to execute. Wherfore I request you, to do only so much, as I thinke you can, and will for my cause willingly. And, first I would haue you to conceiue it to be true: that all the busines of this towne or Incorporation is, that there maine interest lies in this County which paies tribute: and now, through the burdensome impositions it hath endur'd, it is falne into extreame powertie. Which inconuenience, though it appeareth that many other haue equally suffered: neuertheless I assure you, that this towne in particular, hath suffered more then other. Which I forbeare to relate vnto you, least in complaining of my friends miseries, I may seeme to distaste those persons, whom vnwillingly I would. Wherefore, were I not confident in my hopes, that I can manifest vnto *Cæsar*, how that towne vndeseruedly, was ouercharg'd with such a burden: I would neuer haue sollicited you, vpon this occasion. But because I am assured, and perswaded, that he will haue respect vnto the worth of the Towne, to the equitie; and also to the good affection, the inhabitants there of beare towards him: I thought good, to request and entreat you, that you will reserue this cause to him to bee dis-

patched. Which though I would not forbeare to entreat of you, though I had not heard that you euer granted so much before: yet I entertaine more iustly hopes of obtaining it, seeing 'twas told me, how the *Rhegienses* had obtained from you the selfsame fauour. Who, though they be linked in friendship with you, yet your loue towards me, bids me hope, that what courtesies you haue done for your owne, you will also performe for mine acquaintance. Especially considering, that, hauing many friends, which would sue for the like at your hands by my meanes; I request this kindenes only, for these men. And though I assure my selfe, you vnderstand, that I discharge not this office, without cause; and that no vaine ambition hath tickled me on with so great instance, to sollicite you; yet would I haue you giue credit to my sincere speeches, that I am to this towne much obliged: it hauing euer, as well in time of my prosperities, as disasters made known me their singular affection to me. Wherefore, in respect of the vicerall amitie we hold together, and for that great loues sake which you haue euer borne me, I do in the greatest earnest I am able entreate you, that you, considering, that the estate of the whole Towne is heere handled; which is neere vnto me both in friendship and

office, and affection, will bee pleased, to gratifie me. And wee shall so value your favour, if wee obtaine from *Cæsar*, as, our expected grace, wee shall repute it granted, by your benefit: if otherwise; wee shall notwithstanding remaine in the same obligation; in that you labour'd to procure it vs. And besides the singular pleasure, you shall doe me thereby: you shall by meanes of such an important favour, further oblige vnto your selfe, most bountiful, noble, and most gratefull citizen; and such, as shall be worthy of your friendship: of whom you may alwaies make any vse, either in your owne, or friends occasions. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Rutilius. Epist. 8.

BEing a sufficient testimonie to my selfe, of the respect that I owe you; and having by experience made triall of the loue that you beare mee; I haue had the boldnesse to request a favour, as much importing mee, as it was necessarie for me, to require it of you. What esteeme I make of *Publius Sextius*; there's no man knowes better then my selfe: and how much I ought

to esteeme him, you, and all men can imagine. Hauing heard from others, how well you stand affected to me; hee requested me, that I would write vnto you with all possible efficacie, about the busines of *Caius Albinus* the Senator: by whose daughter the same *Publius Sextius* had, that vertuous young man, *Lucius*. This therefore I haue written vnto you, to the end you may apprehend, that not only I, am bound to haue a care of *Publius Sextius*; but *Sextius* of *Albinus*. Now the busines is this, *Caius Albinus* receiu'd in payments, certaine Farmes of *Marcus Liberius*, at the prises they were valued at; which Farmes *Liberius* bought of *Cæsar*, being part of the estate of *Pleotius*. If I should say, that it would not bee profitable for the Common-wealth, that they should be deuided: it might seeme that I did not entreat, but instruct you. But it being *Cæsars* pleasure, that the sales, and assignements made by *Sylla* should stand good: to the end that his, might be thought more durable: if the same Farmes be diuyded, which *Cæsar* himselfe hath sold, what securitie can there bee in his sales? But how much this point imports, let your wisedome consider. I requeſt you, and requeſt you after such a manner, that with greater affection, iuſter cauſe, and hartier deſire I cannot requeſt you; that

you

you would, have reſpect vnto *Albinus*, and not meddle with thoſe Farmes, once in poſſeſſion of *Laberius*. For it will not bee onely a ioy vnto mee, but after a ſort a glorie alſo; if *Publius Sextius*, to whom I am ſo deepely engaged, can by my meanes giue to ſo neere a friend, and kinſman ſatisfaction. This therefore, I double intreate you to effect: for you cannot doe me a greater pleaſure; and you ſhall finde it to be vnto me moſt acceptable. Farewell.

Cicero to Craſſipes.
Epiſt. 9.

THough with the greateſt care I could, and by word of mouth, I commended vnto you, the Taxe-maſters of *Bithynia*; and knew, that both in reſpect of my commendation, and alſo of your owne freewill you were deſirous in all things that lay within the limits of your power, to ſhew them fauor. Neuertheles, I was willing to write theſe vnto you: becauſe they, whoſe intereſts are treated of; ſuppoſed, that if I did alſo by letters declare vnto you, how I ſtood addicted to them; it wou'd greatly further their occaſions. For I

would haue you to conceiue, that hauing euer willingly made demonſtration, that I generally bare no ſmall affection to the Publicans, and cuſtomers, as I ſtood bound to doe, by the great deſerts of that Order; I am in particular a friend, to that company, which receiues the cuſtomes of *Babylon*. Which companie, both for the place they haue, and for the qualitie of the perſons therein employed, comprehendeth the greater part of the Citie, conſiſting of all the other companies: and in it there are by chance many, with whom I retaine great friendſhip, and chiefly with *Publius Lupilius*, ſonne to *Publius*, of the Tribe *Aurelia*, head of that companie. Whoſe honor, is now eſpecially treated of. For which reaſons, I earneſtly intreate you, that all the courteſie, and liberalitie you may afford, you would ſhew it to *Curius Pupius*, who is employed by the ſaid Companie: And ſo procure, as eaſilie you may, that his companions may remaine very well ſatisfied in his endeuours: and wherein the intereſts, or benefit of thoſe his aſſociates ſhall occurre, (for I know what you may performe heerein, being Quæſtor) vouchſafe to aſſiſt, and defend them. which doing, beſides the effecting a matter, that will giue me ſingular contentment, I promiſe you, and becauſe

I

I haue heeretofore made experience, I dare aſſure you, that you ſhall perceiue, that you haue beene beneficiall, to men that are both mindefull, and thankfull. Farewell.

Cicero to Brutus.
Epiſt. 10.

I Suppoſed that *Marius Varro* your Quæſtor, comming to you, ſhould not ſtand in need of any recommendation: beleeuing that he had beene ſufficiently commended, out of the very cuſtome of our predeceſſors: Who, as you know, eſteemed of the Quæſtors, as of their owne children. But he being perſwaded, that a letter of mine, written effectually in his behalfe, might greatly preuaile with you; I thought good to doe that, which a friend ſuppoſed, might bee a furtherance vnto him. But to the end you may conceiue, that I am bound to doit, I thinke good to tell you, that *Marcus Terentius Varro*, when hee firſt began to plead, entred into friendſhippe with mee; afterwards when hee grew to vper yeeres, two reſpects occurred, of encreaſing my loue towards him: one was,

becauſe he followed thoſe ſtudies, wherewith we are at this day much delighted; & he followed it, as you know with vnderſtanding and diligence. And withall, becauſe he entred betimes into the ſocietie of the Tole-maſters; which notwithſtanding I liked not: in that he ſuffered great loſſes. Neuertheleſſe, he being one of that order, whom I euer reckoned to ſpeciall protection, our amity grew more cõfirmed. Beſides this, he hauing beene an aduocate, and Iudge, with apparant fidelitie, and good eſteeme, before this mutation of the Commonwealth, hee applied himſelfe to demand a Quæſtorſhip, ſuppoſing that this honorable degree, would be a recompence of his trauailes. And not long ſince, I ſent him from *Brandeſium* to *Ceſar*, with letters of truſt: wherein I euidently perceiued, how much he loued me, in taking willingly this charge vpon him, and how faithfull a friend hee was, in bringing the matter to effect. I was determined, hauing layd open the occaſion of my loue towards him, to informe you particularly, of his honeſtie, & good conditions: but hauing declar'd the reaſon thereof, I thinke I haue ſufficiently intimated his vprightneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, I will not forbeare to promiſe, and ſecure you, that you will bee much ſatisfied in his friendſhip, for the bene-

fit which will accrew vnto you therby. For you shall discerne him to be a man, both prudent, and farre from all auarice, or ambition: and besides, of singular endeuour, and industrie. Neither should I intimate vnto you these thinges, which you will obserue, when you haue had experience of them. Notwithstanding, in all beginnings of friendship it greatly imports; what the foundation is, & with what good fame, we enter into an amitie. To which effect, I meant to write these present letters; though it was needlesse; the obligation of Quæstorship, being a sufficient induction; the which neuertheleſſe, may the more moue you, annexing thereunto my letters. Wherefore if you make that esteeme of mee, which *Varro* beleeues, and I am verily perſwaded: procure that I may vnderstand, that hee receiued from this my commendation, that furtherance which hee hoped, and I doubted not. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Brutus. Ep. 11.

IN that I alwayes knew you very desirous to be ignorant of nothing that concerned me: I make no doubt, but you conceiue not onely, of what towne I am, but also how zealously I was wont, to assist the *Arpinates*, my countreymen: who are not able, by any other reuenewes, then those that they haue in *Gallia*, to maintaine the charge, which they are at, about the worship of the gods, and reparation of Churches, and publicke places. Now, to view the said reuenewes, to recouer the money owing by the countrie-people, and to receiue full information of the matter, and to follow it; we haue sent as Commissioners, *Quintus Fufius*, sonne to *Quintus*, *Marcus Fuscius*, sonne to *Marcus*, and *Quintus Mamercus*, sonne to *Quintus*, all *Romane* knights. I earnestly entreat you, for our inward amities sake, that you will be mindfull of that businesse: and procure effectually, that the cause of the said Towne may bee heard without any impediment, and withall expedition be dispatched: and that towardes the fore-mentioned knights, you would vse all those ceremonies of honor and courtesie, which your gentle disposition shall encline

you

you to. You ſhall herein purchaſe the friendſhip of honeſt men, and oblige a very grateful Towne vnto your ſelfe, by meanes of ſuch a benefit. And to me alſo you ſhall hereby doe a greater pleaſure; for beſides that I am alwayes accuſtomed to helpe my country-men; there is now ſomewhat more to be conſidered; for this yeare, it eſpecially appertaines to my care, and office; in that I being deſirous to reduce that Towne into better forme, I haue beene the cauſe that my ſonne, my nephew, and *Marcus Caſſius*, my great friend, ſhould be made Aediles; (for in our Towne, this onely Magiſtracie is created, and no more:) Theſe, you ſhall honor, and eſpecially my ſelfe; if by your fauour, and vigilancie, the Communaltie of this Towne, ſhall end their buſineſſe without difficultie; which I requeſt you to effect, as earneſtly as I can poſſibly. Farewell.

Cicero to Brutus. Ep. 12.

IN another Epiſtle I did generallie commend vnto you the Commiſſioners of *Arpinas*, and with the greateſt care I could. In this, I more particularly recommend vnto you, *Quintus Fufi-*

dius,

dius, my especiall friend, not any waies to diminish the former, but to adde this recommendation. For he is sonne in law to my singular good friend *Marcus Cæsius*: and heretofore in *Cilicia* he was with me Tribune of the souldiers. In which place he so bare himselfe, as I thought I had rather receiued, then bestow'd a benefit. Besides this, he is delighted with our studies, which you were wont to esteeme highly. Wherefore I would entreat you, to enterteine him with all courtesie, and to vse all meanes, that this Embassie, which, being inioy'd by mine authoritie, he hath with his owne inconueniencie vndertakē, may ad glory to his industrie. For he desires, as euery vertuous man naturally doth, to reape great commendation, as well from vs, who perswaded him therunto, as also from our countri-men. Which he shall compasse, if he obtaine your fauour by my recommendation. Farewell.

Cicero to Brutus. Ep. 13.

L*Vcius Castronius Patus*, the chiefest, without comparison, in the towne of *Luca*, is noble, wise, full of courtesie, a man of great bountie, and graced both by vertue, and also fortune; if this be

be any thing to the present purpose. And besides, he is so far my most familiar friend, that he more respectiuely obserues no man of our order. Wherefore I commend him vnto you, both as my friend, and one that's worthie of your acquaintance. Whatsoeuer you doe for him, will assuredly be returned by your owne content, and mine acceptance. Farewell.

Cicero to Brutus. Ep. 14.

L*Vcius Titius Strabo*, a *Romaine* Knight, of an honourable familie, and of great, and rich estate, is my bosome friend: and all intrinsecall rights runne equally betweene vs. This man should haue certaine moneys out of your Prouince, from *Publius Cornelius*: The matter is remitted into *Gallia*, by *Volcatius*, a iudge of *Rome*. And because it is more honest to be carefull of a friends moneys, then of our owne; I more seriously, then if it were an interest of mine, request you, that about the procuring an end of the action, you would interpose your selfe for expedition. And to endeuour so farre as you thinke it, iust and reasonable, that *Strabo's* Freeman, who is sent for this effect, may without any encumbrance, finish the

the businesse, and recouer the moneys. And it shall both giue me great contentment, and you your selfe shall acknowledge *Lucius Titius* to bee most worthie of your friendship. And I heartily entreat you to employ that care herein, which you were wont to take in euerie thing wherein you found, that I delighted. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cæsar Imperator. Ep. 15.

I Solidly commend vnto you, *Trebatius*; whose Father is your friend, my familiar; and a man of great integritie: For besides, that I beare an infinite loue to this young man, being ciuill and modest, and because he loues me entirely: I haue manifestly found his father, in all my occasions to haue beene much affected to me. This is he, who amongst others was especially wont to laugh at my proceedings, and reprehend me; in that I did not ioyne with you; and the rather, because you inuited mee thereunto, with honourable conditions;

But his inducements drew not my consent.

Because on the other part, I heard those our great defenders of the Common-wealth, cry out; Et

Be valorous, that after world's may ſay it,
Some brain, ſo blaz'on thy deſerts, & praiſe.
Time, was I packed in a foggie miſt.

And yet he continued his exhortations. But they, though I were alreadie thoroughly hot; ſeeking by glorie to enflame me: ſaid;

Die not vnuſefull, and without renowne,
But die, that memory thy acts may crowne.

But now, you may perceiue they moue me but a little. And therefore leauing the loftie ſtyle of *Homer*, I betake me to the true precepts of *Euripides*;

Hate his counſell that's for others wife,
And in his owne occaſions want his eyes.

Which verſes, *Trentius* the elder, commendes exceedingly; affirming, that we may liue warily; and yet retaine our precedencie, and principalitie. But to returne, where we began, you ſhall ſhew me a memorable fauour, if out of your ſingular courteſie, you enterteine this young man; and to the good inclination, which I am perſwaded you haue, to pleaſure him, and his Father; make vpon this my recommendation, ſome new addition. I haue vſd a new ſtyle of writing, to giue you to vnderſtand, that I ſend no vulgar commendation. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Cæsar, Imperator. Ep. 16.

AMongst all the nobilitie, I lou'd no young man so well as *Publius Crassus*; and hauing conceiu'd great hope of him in his tender yeares, I began to hope better, seeing my iudgement of him, to be verified. Now, you shall vnderstand, that euen when he liued I much esteem'd, and made great accompt of *Apellonius* his Free-man; because he was affected to *Crassus*; and *Crassus* in his vertuous studies made so good vse of him, that he lou'd him dearely. Then after the death of *Crassus*, I thought him also for this cause more worthie of my loue, and to be receiued into my protection; in that he held himselfe bound, to obserue, and honour those, that *Crassus* lou'd, and loued *Crassus*. Whereupon he came to me in *Cilicia*, and seru'd me in manie occurrents, both faithfully, and prudently. And as I thinke, in the warre of *Alexandria*, hee neuer fail'd you, in whatsoeuer he was able to compasse, either by his fidelitie, or industrie. And hoping that you also had the same opinion of him, he came into *Spaine*; first questionlesse, vpon his owne deliberation, but next for your assistance. Neither

ther did I otherwiſe promiſe to recommend him vnto you: not but that I ſuppo'd my commendation would be of ſome effect with you; but in that I thought he needed not be to you commended, hauing beene with you in the warre; and you for the memoriall of *Craſſus*, reputing him in the number of your owne. And, if he would haue ſought recommendation, he ſaw that other men alſo, would haue done him this pleaſure. For the iudgement I made of him, I haue willingly paſſed my word; both becauſe he eſteem'd much thereof, and in that I knew my teſtimonie would be of ſome credit with you. I ſay therefore, that I haue found him a learned man; and ſtudious of all excellent ſciences; and that euen from his tender yeares. For, when he was but a childe, he remain'd a good while in my houſe, with *Diodotus*, the *Stoick*, a perſon in my iudgement very learned. Now, ſet on fire, with the affection which he beares to your worthie acts, he deſires to write them in *Greeke*, and I think he can performe it. He hath wit, and experience in humaine actions, hee hath beene long time exercis'd in theſe manner of ſtudies, and learning: and he deſires to giue life, and perpetuitie to your prayſes. This is the teſtimonie of my opinion. But you that are moſt wiſe, may giue a ſounder iudgement hereof.

hereof. And, though I said, I would not, yet I recommend him: and whatsoeuer fauour you shew him, it shall vnto my selfe be aboue measure acceptable. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius.
Epist. 17.

I Loue *Manius Curius*, who negotiates at *Patræ*, vpon many and worthie occasions. For I haue both had auncient friendship with him; entertein'd at his first calling to the barre: and being sometime to goe to *Patræ*, as well before that miserable war, as in the time thereof, he freely alwayes offred mee his house. Which, if I had beene anie wayes vrged thereunto, I would haue vs'd as mine owne. And thereas further, a more religious tye, as it were, betwixt vs, in that he is most familiar with our *Attieus*, and loues, and honours him aboue all others. If peraduenture you haue knowne him heretofore; I thinke the office I do him will come too late: for he is so noble, and worthie, that I iudge he hath alreadie beene commended vnto you by his owne demeanour. Which though it be so, yet I earnestly sollicite you, that if before the receipt of

of theſe, you had any enclination to do him good, now, in reſpect of this my further recommendation, you will heape vpon him your moſt entire affection. But, being of a very modeſt nature, if he came not to doe you reuerence, or, if yet you haue no great knowledge of him, or that for ſome occaſion he hath need of further recommendation; I commend him after ſuch a manner, as I am not able with greater affection, or vpon more iuſt reſpects, to commend any liuing man vnto you. And I will do that, which they ought to performe, who religiouſly, & without oſtentation recõmend. I will promiſe, nay, I doe promiſe you, and vpon my reputation, ſecure you, that the cuſtomes of *Manius Curius* are ſuch, his bountie, and gentilitie of that qualitie, as when you know him, you will acknowledg him worthy of your friendſhip, and this my earneſt commendation. Queſtionleſſe, you ſhall doe me a ſingular fauour, if I vnderſtand, that theſe letters tooke ſuch effect with you, as to my ſelfe in writing them I promiſed. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius.
Epiſt. 18.

I ſaw our friend *Atticus*, become proud with ioy, vpon the receipt of courteous, and delightful letters, which you wrote vnto him. Which notwithſtanding, I will not yeeld, to haue him more acceptable to him, then to my ſelfe. For though they were equally welcome to vs both; yet I wondred, that you wrote and made ſuch vnexpected offers to him, as if he had intreated and ſeught vnto you, you could not more courteouſly haue anſwer'd him: (which notwithſtanding we are aſſured in ſuch a caſe you would not haue omitted.) About which, I ought not onely, not to entreat you, that you would performe it alſo more carefully for my reſpect; (for more cannot bee done then of your ſelfe you haue promiſed) but not ſo much as to giue you thankes; becauſe you haue done it for his owne ſake, and out of your owne free diſpoſition. I muſt confeſſe notwithſtanding, that what you haue done hath giuen me ſingular ſatisfaction; in that I cannot but take full contentment, that you ſhould haue ſuch an opinion of him, whom I ſo highly eſtimate. And being ſo, it cannot but bee

acceptable of necessitie. But for all this; seeing by our domesticall amitie it is permitted me, that I may also commit a sinne in writing; both those offices, which I haue hitherto denyed, shall bee now performed. I desire therefore, that to the same demonstration of courtesie which you made for the sake of *Atticus*, you will adde as much more, as by our loue towardes him may be procured. And whereas before I durst not be so bold as to giue you thankes, now I render them heartily: and desire that you would assure your selfe, that, for what courtesie soeuer in the businesses of *Epirus*, or in any other respect, you oblige *Atticus*; for the same, in like manner will I esteeme my selfe to be obliged. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 19.

I Vse at *Patræ*, and I here, haue long time lodged one another: which domesticall friendship, in my opinion, ought to be respected, as a sacred matter. But, though I bee tied with many others, in this bond of hospitalitie: there is none, that hath in me so familiar an interest. Which, for many pleasures

ſures he hath done me, and by continuall conuerſation, is ſo augmented, that there is nothing more intruſicall, then our familiaritie. This man, remaining about a yeere in *Rome*, and leading his life ſo, as he liued with me; though wee were in great hope, that by my letters written in recommendation of his goods and ſubſtance; you would (himſelfe not being there) take them, as you did, to your protection: yet all things remaining in one mans power, and *Lyſo* taking part with vs, and arming himſelfe in our aſſiſtance, we daily feared his occaſions. Neuertheleſſe, in that he is a man of quality, & becauſe I fauored him, together with ſome other of his friends, we obtain'd of *Ceſar* what he deſired, which you ſhall haue noute of by *Ceſar's* letters. Now, though wee had our purpoſe, yet we doe not onely not forbeare, to commend him to you, as if wee had obtained all that was requiſite: but further, with great efficacy wee importune you, to take *Lyſo* into your loue, and protection. This mine doubtfull fortunes we did the more reſpectiuely commend vnto you, fearing leſt ſome ſuch accident might fall out, that neither you could haue preuented. But now, that we are ſecure of his ſafetie; with ſpeciall care I entreat you, to doe him all the fauours you are able. Amongſt which, not to recount them

one

one by one; I recommend vnto you in generall, his whole Familie. And, because *Caius Mennius Gemellus*, my Clyent, being made a Citizen of *Patræ*, died, in the calamitie of his banishment, adopt the son of *Lyso*, according to the Lawes of *Patræ*; I request you, to vndertake the protection of this young man also; and to defend his cause, and the right of his inheritance. The name is this, that you affect *Lyso*: whom I have found to bee an honest man, and very thankfull for good turnes receiued. In doing this; I am assured, that in loving, and recommending him hereafter to any other, your selfe will bee of my iudgement, and disposition. I now vse this fervencie in his recommendation, not only because I desire beyond measure, that the matter may bee effected; but because I doubt, that if you doe not entirely fauour him therein, he may suppose, I haue written but coldly in his behalfe; and not that you are vnmindefull of me: because, by my continuall discourse, and also by your letters, he knowes sufficiently, what reckoning you make of me. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 20.

I Haue great acquaintance with *Asclapo* of *Patræ*, a Physician, and I haue taken great delight, both in his conuersation, and his Art; whereof I haue made triall in my friends infirmities. Wherein, both for his knowledge, fidelitie, and good will, I haue beene satisfied. This man therefore, I commend by these vnto you; entreating you so to handle the matter, that hee may perceiue, that I commended him with diligence; and that my commendation hath been his furtherance. Herein you shall doe me an especiall fauour. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 21.

Marcus Æmilius Aufanus hath euer honoured and loued mee, euen from his youth: and hee is an honest and verie kinde man, and euerie way wondrous officious. If I thought hee were at *Sicyon*, and not at this present (where I left him; and, as I heare, hee

is remaining) at *Cibyra*. I should not need to write vnto you further of him: being assured, that hee by his ciuill customes, and kinde behauiour, without any recommendation, would cause himselfe to be no lesse of you, then hee is of me, and the rest of his friends, beloued. But, because I thinke hee is absent, I most effectually commend his house vnto you, which is in *Sicyon*: and his moueables: and aboue all, his Free-man, *Caius Antonius Ammonius*: whom, for his owne sake, I commend vnto you, as one that I make good esteeme of, not onely because he is a louing and faithfull seruant towards his master, but by reason, that in my most intricate troubles, I had both loyall and friendly seruices from him, as if I, of a slaue, had made him a Free-man. And therefore I require at your hands, as a speciall fauour, that both in his Masters matters, you would assist the said *Ammonius*, as his Agent; and that you will loue him for his owne deserts, and repute him as one of yours. You shall finde him modest, officious, and worthie of your fauour. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 22.

I Make great account of *Titus Manlius*, who negotiates at *Thessia*: For, hee euer respected, and honoured me, and he delights in the same studies, whereunto wee stand affected. To which may bee added, that *Varro Murena* affects him greatly, and desires to doe him any pleasure: though hee repos'd great hopes in those letters, wherein *Murena* had recommended him vnto you: yet he verily beleeues, that my recommendation will doe him greater pleasure. I was therefore enforced, partly through the familiaritie of *Manlius*; and then, out of *Murena's* affection, to write vnto you, as effectually as I could. And, if in regard of this my recommendation, you shall bee moued, to shew him the greatest fauour and courtesie, that you euer vouchsafed: that is, if you assist, and giue satisfaction to *Titus Manlius*, with all care wherein, without preiudice to your owne honour, you may both fauour and further him; I shall thinke I haue receiu'd from you a singular courtesie: and besides, I assure you, that from his most pleasing and affable demeanour you shall receiue that content, which

you

you vſe to expect from good men, and officious. Farewell.

Cicero to Servius Sulpitius. Epiſt. 23.

Lucius Coſſinius is my friend, and of the ſame Tribe that I am: there paſſeth great familiarnie betwixt vs. For, our converſation is not onely ancient, but through *Atticus* growne greater. So that the whole familie of *Coſſinius* loues me; and eſpecially *Lucius Coſſinius Anchialus*, his Free-man, who is of great eſteeme, both with his Maſter, & his maſters frends, of which number I am one. I commend him vnto you, ſo, as if he were mine own free-man, and in the ſame eſteeme with mee, as hee is with his Maſter, I could not with greater efficacie recommend him. you ſhall therefore doe mee a wonderfull pleaſure, if you accept of him into your amitie, and fauour; Wherein ſoeuer you are able, without your owne inconuenience. Herein I ſhall remaine much ſatisfied, and your ſelfe contented. For you will finde him to bee verie honeſt, courteous, and obſeruant. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 24.

TAking contentment in my courtesie, when I remembred, how zealously I had commended *Lyso*, my guest and familiar friend, vnto you. I was afterwards much better satisfied, that I had so effectually commended him: vnderstanding by his letters, that you had found those relations false, which had been giuen of him. For he wrote vnto mee, that my recommendation stood him in great stead; in that it had been told you, that he vs'd in *Rome*, to speake liberally to your dishonour: wherein, though he write vnto mee, that through your nobilitie, and courtesie, hee hath iustified himselfe vnto you. Neuertheless, as I ought, I first giue you exceeding great thankes, that my letters preuail'd so far with you, as after the reading of them, you let fall all distaste receiued, from the false reports, which you had heard of *Lyso*. And then, I would haue you giue credit to my vnfained words, (for I write not this more for *Lyso*, then for euerie man;) That I neuer heard any man make mention of you, without your singular commendation. And *Lyso* being almost euerie day with me; hee continually praised your words

words and actions, not onely because he thought I willingly gaue eare thereunto; but in that, w desire, himselfe entred into speech thereof. Wherefore, though now you so entertaine him, that from henceforth hee needes not my recommendation, and beleeues, that my first letters suffice, to obtaine that of you, which he desireth: yet, I entreat you, as earnestly as I am able, that you will embrace him, with all loue, and courtesie. I would write vnto you of his qualities, as I did in my former letters, but that I am assured at this time, hee is of himselfe sufficiently knowne vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius.
Epist. 25.

Hegesaretus Laricanus, receiuing great fauours from me in my Consulship, hath been mindefull, and thankfull, and euer since, hath with all respect honour'd me. I really recommend him vnto you, as one that hath giuen me entertainment, that is, my familiar friend; and a thankfull honest man; the cheefest of his towne, and most worthie of your acquaintance. You shall do me a speciall fauour, if you giue

him cause to conceiue, that this my recommendation hath beene powerfull with you. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 26.

Lucius Mussinius is thus intrinsecall with me, because he was my Quæstor: But this intrinsecalnesse, which I out of the custome of our Predecessors, much respected; hee, by his owne vertue, and nobilitie, hath encreased. And therefore there is no man, with whom I conuerse more willingly, nor with greater familiaritie. This man, though he seemes confident, that in regard of himselfe, you would readily doe him any reasonable pleasure, within your power; is, notwithstanding hopefull, that my letters may be of great authoritie with you. And besides, that of himselfe he conceiued thus much; he had, by our daily conuersation also, often vnderstood by me, what pleasing and especiall amitie, there was betweene vs. I entreat you therefore, with as great affection, as you see I am bound to entreat, for so inward and familiar a friend,

friend; that you would declare the ſuites he hath in *Aſsaia*, as heire to *Marcus Mindius*, his brother, who did negotiate in *Elis*; & not onely diſpatch them in equitie, by the power you haue; but alſo by your councel, & authoritie. For, wee haue giuen expreſſe commiſſion to our Agents in thoſe parts, that in all caſes of difficultie, they ſhould retaine you for their Iudge, and make vſe of your endeuor, to it were not with your diſcommoditie: which charge vouchſafe, I beſeech you, to vndergoe, on the behalfe of mine honour. Beſides this, if you thinke it no preiudice to your reputation, you ſhall doe me a ſingular pleaſure, if they bee ſo litigious, that they will not take vp the matter without ſuite, to referre them to *Rome*, conſidering they haue to doe with a Senatour. Which, that you may performe with leſſe double, wee haue ſo wrought, that *Marcus Lepidus*, the Conſull, hath written to you thereof, not commanding, (for wee thought that might bee ſome diſparagement to your reputation) but after a manner, requeſting therein your fauour. I would write, how happily the benefit you conferre vpon *Meſſius* would bee beſtowed; but firſt, I am confident, that you conſider it. Then, I would haue you thinke, you doe it for my ſake. For, I promiſe, and aſſure you, that his acts no leſſe impreſſion in

my heart, then if it were mine owne busineſſe. But, beſides my deſire, that hee may without anie trouble enioy that, which in right belongs vnto him. I would bee alſo glad, hee might vnderſtand, that no ſmall matter hath accru'd vnto him by my recommendation. Farewell.

Cicero to Sernius Sulpitius. Epiſt. 27.

THough I haue occaſion to write manie times vnto you, after one forme, in that I am to giue you thanks, becauſe you ſo carefullie obſerue my recommendations: which office I haue both heretofore performed, and ſo farre as I perceiue, ſhall doe it often. Yet will I not be ſparing of my paines, but as you vſe in your actions of Law, ſo will I doe in my Epiſtles, writing to you of the ſame matter in a diuers manner. I ſay therefore, that *Caius Aſianius Ammonius* hath giuen me infinite thanks by letters, both in his owne name, and in the behalfe of *Marcus Æmilius Aſianus*, his Maſter; giuing me to

to vnderstand, the honourable entertainment afforded vnto himselfe; and the vnspeakable courtesie hee receiued, in regard of his absent Master; which loue and courtesie of yours, as it hath been deere vnto me in their occasions, whom I, mou'd by our inward amitie, and neere vnion, had recommended vnto you: in that *Marcus Æmilius* is one of the most domesticall, and intimate friends I haue; and a person, both obliged to me for my great benefits; and after a sort, aboue all others, that appeare to haue beene bound vnto mee, most thankfull: so was it much more deare vnto me, to perceiue you carried so good a minde towards mee, that you pleasure my friends, peraduenture more then I should do; if I were there present. And I beleeue it, because I should be more sparing in their occasions, then you are in affording mee fauour. But I make no doubt, but you conceiue, that I take it in great good part. I praie you, repute them also to bee thankfull men. Which I promise, and affirme vnto you. Wherefore, I would haue you procure, if you may without anie inconuenience, that they may accommodate all their businesses, while you hold the gouernment of *Athens*. I lead a pleasant life with your *Seruius*, for we are euer in conuersation: And he yeelds me great delight, partlie by

by his wit, and singular endeuour, and partly by his vertue, and honest disposition. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpus. Epist. 28.

THough I willingly seeke vnto you in the occurrents of my friends, yet I am more willingly thankefull, when you haue done any thing, as you doe alwayes vpon my recommendation. For you would not beleeue, how many thankes they returne me, whom I commended vnto you; yea, euen they in whose recommendation I wrote but coldly. All which things are acceptable to me; but the courtesie you shew'd to *Lucius Mossius*, is most acceptable. For he told me, that you had no sooner read my letters, but you presently offred all your assistance to his agents, and that afterwards in effects, you did farre more then in words you had promised. I would haue you therefore to thinke, (for I can neuer be satisfied in vttering it) that you haue done me hers in a singular pleasure. Wherein I reioyce the more, obseruing that from the

the same *Messinius*, great contentment will accrew vnto you. For besides his being valiant, full of courtesie, and bountie, and readie to honour any man: he is also studious in that learning, with which being heretofore delighted, our life also is now nourished. In a word, I would haue you augment your benefits, in all his occurrents, when you may performe it with your honor: but in two things I namely entreate you. First, if in making an acquittance to the partie, any securitie be required, that you will vse the meanes, securitie may be giuen him in my name. Then, considering the whole enheritance in a manner consists in those goods, which *Oppia*, sometimes *Mindius* wife hath purloyned; that you procure and find a meane, that this woman may bee brought to *Rome*. Which when shee perceiues shall come to passe, I am of opinion we shall end the businesse: let me therefore request you to giue vs this contentment. What I haue heretofore written I confirme vnto you, and vpon my credit assure you, that the pleasures which either you haue, or shall conferre vpon *Messinius*, shall be so well bestowed, that your selfe will iudge, that you haue shewed fauour, to a very gratefull person, and ingenuous. For to that which you haue perform'd for my sake, I would also haue this addition. Again,

gaine, I doe not thinke that the *Lacedæmonij* any waies doubt, but that you wil so receiue them vnder your protection, as befitteth your faith, and equitie; and as their predeceſſors dignitie deſerueth. And I, as he that knowes you well, neuer doubted, but that you are fully enformed of the rights, & deſerts of each people. Whereupon when *Philippus*, the *Lacedæmonian* requeſted me, that I would recommend vnto you the cittie: though I call'd to minde, that I was bound vnto that Cittie; yet I anſwered him, that the *Lacedæmonij*, with you, needed no recommendation. So that I would haue you build vpon this; that I, conſidering the preſent troubles, repute all the Cities of *Achaia* happie, that you gouerne them. And likewiſe I ſuppoſe, that you hauing not onely read ouer our Records, but thoſe alſo of the *Grecians*, out of your voluntary accord, you neither can, nor will be other then a friend to the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore I only requeſt you, that when you ſhew the *Lacedæmonians* thoſe fauours, which ſtand with your credit, diginie, and equitie; if you thinke good, cauſe them to vnderſtand, that you are deſirous to heare, that the pleaſures which you doe them, may by me alſo be approued. For it concernes me, that they ſhould beleeue, that I haue a care of their Intereſts. This, I requeſt you, with the

the greateſt zeale that I am able. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Plancus. Epiſt. 29.

I Make no queſtion but you conceiue, how, amongſt all thoſe friends your Father left you, I am neareſt vnto you; not onely for thoſe reaſons, which carrie a great apparence of alliance; but alſo for thoſe, that conſiſt in familiaritie, and conuerſation. The which you know, betweene your father and mee were the greateſt, and moſt delightſome in the world. From theſe beginnings ſpring the loue which I beare you. Which loue made our amitie greater, then that wee held with your Father. And ſo much the more, becauſe I perceiued, that ſo ſoone as you attain'd to the yeares, to be able to iudge, in what proportion euery one deſeru'd to be eſteemed of you; that you began to honor, obſerue, and loue me aboue all others. Beſides all this, we were knit together with a farre firmer knot; as by the knot of ſtudies: which of it ſelfe greatly imports; eſpecially being of thoſe ſtudies, and thoſe vertues, which of themſelues procure, that the parties which

which are of one minde, are alſo conioyn'd in familiaritie. I ſuppoſe you expect, what this far-fetcht diſcourſe will tend vnto. Firſt therefore, you ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue not tipt vp this commemoration, without great and worthie reſpects. I frequent moſt familiarly with *Caius Atticus Capito*. You know both the proſperous, and contrary euents of my affaires. Both in the one, and th'other, I haue made proofe of *Capito's* good will, and affection. And I did not onely make vſe, of his endeuour, authoritie, and fauour, but alſo of his goods, according as the neceſſitie of my good, or bad Fortunes required. *Titus Antiſtius* was a kinſman, to this man; Who by accident being Quæſtor of *Macedonia*; and hauing no ſucceſſor therein; *Pompeius* went thither with his Armie. *Antiſtius* could not doe as he would. For if hee might: his greateſt contentment had beene, to haue return'd to *Capito*, whom he loued as a Father: eſpecially conceiuing what an eſteeme, he euer had, and did make of *Ceſar*. But being vnder another's power, and in that hee could doe no leſſe; he tooke vpon him ſome commaund. When the moneys were coin'd in *Apulia*, I cannot ſay that he had the ouer-ſeeing thereof, nor denie that he was preſent; But certainly, not about two or three moneths. From that time

forward,

forward, he neuer was in the Campe: he shunned all command. Beleeue this from me, as a most true testimonie. For he obserued my discontentment in that warre: he imparted all his secrets to me. Whereupon he retir'd to hide himselfe in *Macedonia*, flying from the Campe as far as he could: and not onely from taking vpon him any charge, but from being so much as present. From thence, after the battaile fought, he went into *Bithynia*, to *Aulus Plancius* his verie good friend. There *Cæsar* seeing him, he gaue him not one bitter, nor sharpe word: he enioyned him to come to *Rome*. A few dues after he fell sicke, and recouer'd not that sicknesse; Hee come sicke to *Corcyra*, and there dyed. Of his goods, by force of a will that he made in *Rome*, when *Paulus* and *Marcellus* were Consulls, *Capito*, of twelue parts, is to enioy ten: the other two parts fall to them, whose portion, without any iust complaint of any man, falls to the Publicke: and amounts to the value of nine hundred Crownes. My *Plancus*, for the inward amitie, that passed sometimes betwixt me and your Father; and for the loue we beare one another; For our studies sake, and conformable manner of life we haue alwaies obserued; I request and entreat you, as effectually, and perswasively as I am able, that you will repute it as

mine

mine owne ſute, and employ therein your whole power: and ſo procure, that *Capito* by this recommendation, and by meanes of your fauour, and *Cæſars* benefit, may obtaine his kinſmans enheritance. All the fauours, which in this high renowne, and eſteeme you are in with *Cæſar*, I could haue had graunted from you vpon requeſt: I will thinke conferred vpon me, out of your owne voluntarie free will, if you doe but graunt me this petition. And becauſe you may the more readily encline, to comfort him herein, behold one reaſon well knowne to *Cæſar* himſelfe; that *Capito* euer bare wonderfull loue, and great reſpect to *Cæſar*. But *Cæſar* himſelfe can teſtifie thus much. I know he hath a verie good memorie, and therefore I'le mention it no further. I requre nothing elſe, but that you will moue *Cæſar* in the cauſe of *Capito*, with equall zeale, to the memoriall you ſhall perceiue, that he retaineth of *Capito*. I'le deliuer vnto you, what experience I haue made of him: of what validitie it is, your ſelfe ſhall iudge. You vnderſtand what part I tooke, & what cauſe was by me defended. You are priuie, what men, and what ſocietie of men I followed. Of thus much be aſſured: that if in this warre, I perform'd any thing againſt *Cæſars* mind, I was adviſ'd, exhorted, and euen driuen vnto it by

others:

others: and I am not ignorant, how *Cæſar* himſelfe knowes, that I was violently haled thereunto: but if in the ſame warre, I bare my ſelfe more temperately, and moderately then any other; *Capito* was the man that counſelled and perſwaded me ſo to doe: like to whom, if my other friends had bin, peraduenture it might haue beene profitable to the Common wealth, and my ſelfe (I know) I ſhould haue infinitely benefitted. Now, my *Planeus*, if you ſatisfie me in this my deſire, I ſhall bee confirmed in my hopes, that I am of you beloued: and you ſhall gaine the ſame *Capito*, a moſt thankefull, officious, and very honeſt friend in requitall of a fauour ſo important. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius Vice-Conſull. Ep. 30.

L. *Veins Manlius Soſis* was ſometimes of *Catina*, but he is now become a *Romane* Cittizen, together with th'other *Neapolitanes*, and was created *Decurio* of *Naples*. For before it was granted to the confederates of the people of *Rome*, to be free denizens, and to thoſe of *Latium*; he was choſen cittizen of the Towne of *Naples*. His brother not

not long since died in *Catina*. We doe not thinke, he will any waies be crost, about the inheritances descended to him; for he is now in possession of them: but in that besides these goods, he hath other old negotiations in *Sicilia*, I recommend vnto you both this inheritance, left him by his brother, and all other his affaires: but aboue all, I commend himselfe vnto you, as a man of great integritie, my very familiar friend, and one that is adorned with those studies of doctrine, and that learning, wherein I especially am delighted. I request you therefore, that whether he be there, or not, you would call to mind, that he is one of my most intimate, and dearest friends: and entreat you to carry your affection towards him, that he may perceiue, that my recommendation did afford him great assistance. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius Vice-consull. Epist. 31.

I Frequent *Caius Flauius*, a *Romane* Knight, of noble discent, and honourable estate, verie domestically: In that he was a verie all friend of *Caius Titi*, my sonne in law: and in that not only

ly he, but alſo *Flaminius* his brother, obſerues me with all reſpect. I would haue you therefore, to honour me, ſhew him all thoſe fauours, and courteſies, which you may honeſtly performe, and without empeachment to your dignitie. I will take it for ſo great kindneſſe, as you cannot doe me a greater. And moreouer, I aſſure you, (not out of vaine glory; but becauſe out of our familiaritie, friendſhip, and truth it ſelfe, I may affirme it.) You ſhall find *Caius Flaminius* ſo officious, and reſpectiue, and withall ſo bountifull: and ſo eſteem'd of all his friends, as you will remaine much ſatisfied in hauing pleaſur'd him. Farewell.

Cicero to Aculius Vice-conſull. Epiſt. 32.

IN *Aleſa*, a pleaſant, and noble cittie, I dwell *Marcus*, *Clodius*, *Archagathus*; and *Caius Claſius Philo*, who in reſpect of the domeſticall entertainments, and familiaritie that paſſe betwixt vs are my ſingular good friends. But becauſe I commend many men vnto you with equall importunitie, I feare leaſt it may ſeeme, that out of a certaine ambition, I am led to preferre all my recommendations

darions after one manner. Though in truth, you satisfie to the full, both mee, and all those whom I recommend vnto you. But you must vnderstand, that this familie; especially these; are conioyned to mee, as well by the ancient acquaintance we haue had togeather; as also through the mutuall offices wee haue interchanged; and breefly in respect of the loue wee beare one another. And therefore I request you as effectually as I can, that you will afford all those furtherances to the abouementioned, which may stand with your credit, and dignitie. And in so doing, I shall receiue inestimable contentment. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 33.

C*Neius Otacilius Naso* is my very domesticall friend, and so neere, that I haue not with any man of his ranke, more priuate conuersation. For dailie keeping him companie, I take wonderfull pleasure, and contentment, in his nobilitie, and honest disposition. It imports not that you should regard, in what words I recommend him to you, he being so familiar with mee as I haue

haue written. He hath certaine busi-nesses in your Prouince; where *Hilarius*, *Antigonus*, and *Demostratus*, his Free men, sollicite them. These, to-geather with th'assures of *Nesse*, I no otherwise recommend vnto you, then if they were mine owne. I shall repute it for a singular pleasure, to heare, that this my commendation preuailed with you more then ordinarie. Farewell.

Cicero to Aelius vice Consull. Epist. 34.

MY deceased progenitors, and those of *Lyso Libycanus*, sonne to *Lyso*, made a friendship in respect of the hospitalitie which passed betwixt them, which we haue successiuelie pre-serued. And besides, hee greatly ob-serues me: and I haue found him a man worthie of such a father, and grand-father; for he is of a most noble Familie. And therefore with the grea-test zeale I am able, I recommend vnto you his house, and substance. And I require it at your hands as a speciall fa-uour, that you will cause him to per-ceiue, that my recommendation of him to you, turned vnto his great honor, and benefit. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 35.

CAius Auianus Philoxenus, is auuciently wont to entertaine me; and besides, he is my very familiar friend. *Cæsar* at my request made him a cittizen amongst the *Nouiomenses*. Besides hee hath taken vpon him the name of *Auianus*, because hee was more then any man domesticall friend of *Flaccus Auianus*. This *Flaccus*, I thinke, you know to be my very louing acquaintance. All which things I rip vp, to informe you, that this my recommendation is not vulgar. I therefore request you to assist him, wherein soeuer you may without your own preiudice: and repute him in the number of your friends: and make him by any meanes to vnderstand, that my present letters, gaue him great furtherance. And I shall take it for a speciall fauour. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 36.

Demetrius Mega and I, haue of long time, vs'd to lodge one another; and there is betwixt vs so great acquaintance, as there is neuer a *Sicilian* more familiar with me. *Dolabella* by my entreatie, obtain'd from *Cæsar*, that he was made free-denizen: Whereat I was present. And therefore hee is now called *Publius Cornelius*. And *Cæsar* hauing ordain'd, that the Table, wherin, the names of new created citizens were engraven, should bee cancelled, and taken away, by reason of the abhominable auarice of such, as sold his fauours in this respect granted, for money, he said in my presence to *Dolabella*, that he should take no care for *Mega*; for he would haue the fauour, which he intended to him take effect. This I thought good to tell you, to the end you might esteeme him in the number of the *Roman* citizens. And in any occasions, I commend him after such a manner, that I neuer with greater affection, recommended any man vnto you. If you intreat him, that hee may discerne, that he was much preced by my commendation, you shall doe me an acceptable kindenesse. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 37.

WIth the greatest desire possible, I commend vnto you, *Hippia Calatinus* sonne to *Philoxenus*, my host, and very good friend. His goods, as I heare say, against the priuiledges of the *Calatinj*, are possessed by the publike, for certaine moneyes, which he owes to others. And if it be so: without my recommendation, the business it selfe, may inuite your equitie to assist him. But howsoeuer; I request so much fauour at your hands, as to dispatch him, and to procure him all conueniencie in these, or any other his occasions, To farre forth as may stand with your credit, and dignitie. This will highly content mee. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 38.

L*Vcius Brutus a Romane* Cauallier, and a compleat young man, is my great friend; and much respects mee. Besides, I haue had speciall amitie with

his

his father, euer since my Questorship in *Sicilia*. It is true that this *Brutus*, is now in *Rome* with me. But for all this, I commend vnto you his familie, goods and ill-citers, with as mucheffic acie, as I am able. You shall fauour mee highlie, if by the effects you manifest vnto *Brutus*, that my recommendation, was as beneficiall vnto him, as I had promis'd him. Farewell.

Cicero to Acilius vice-Consull. Epist. 39.

WIth the *Titurnian* Familie, I haue had ancient, and inward friendship; of which there remaines onlie, *Marcus Titurnius Rufus*, whom I am bound to take care of, and; to vse all endeauour, and discharge all offices I am able, for his benefit. It lies on you, to let him vnderstand, that I am in power to assist him. And therefore I specialliie recommend him vnto you, and request you to worke so, that hee may perceiue that he was greatly furthered by my recommendation. And I shall receiue, it as a great courtesie. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Ancharius, vice-Conſull ſonne to Quintus. Epiſt. 40.

I Very familiarly conuerſe with *Lucius*, and *Caius Aurelius*, as likewiſe with *Lucius* their father, a man of rare integritie. Theſe young men therefore, adorn'd with all commendable vertues, my deare friens, and worthie of your amitie, I moſt heartily recommend vnto you. If euer any recommendation of mine, preuailed with you, (and I know many haue greatly preuaild) I pray let this take place. And if you entreat them honorable, and courteouſlie; firſt, you ſhall oblige vnto you, two moſt gratefull, and vertuous young men: and beſides, you ſhall heerein doe me a principall pleaſure. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Calleolus. Epiſt. 41.

THe kinde offices you haue performed, to the benefit of *Lucius Lucceius*, haue beene aſſuredly conferred vpon a very gratefull perſon, and y[ou] haue

haue not onely pleaſured him, but alſo *Pamphius*: who, whenſoeuer he ſees me, (and hee ſees me very often) hee returnes ſuch thankes, as more affectionate cannot be giuen. I will alſo tell you this, that I am certaine you ſhall receiue great contentment; for I finde an ineſtimable ſatisfaction, in your loue, and kindnes ſhewed to *Lucceius*. Now, though I doubt not, but that you, hauing heeretofore vſed ſo great humanitie towards him for our reſpect, will (not to be held vnconſtant) ſtill continue it. Neuertheleſſe, I requeſt at your hands, as a ſpeciall fauour, that what you promis'd from the beginning, and performed in effect: you would'be pleas'd to augment from good to better, and to bring it to a full perfection. I affirme, and aſſure you, that you ſhall heereiu doe a great pleaſure, to *Lucceius*, and *Pompius*; and you ſhall receiue both from the one, and the other worthie recompence. A few daies ſince, I wrot carefully vnto you, about the ſtate of the Common-wealth, of matters heere, and of our reſolutions: and I deliuerd the letters to your ſeruants. Farewell.

Cicero to Lucius Culleolus, vice-Conſull. Epiſt. 42.

LVcius Lucceius my friend, a man beyond all others gratefull, talking with me, highly commended you; declaring to me, how freely and liberallie you offered your ſelfe to his Solicitors. If your courteous words were ſo acceptable to him; what ſuppoſe you, will effects be, when you hold promiſe with him, as I hope you will. It is true, that the *Lyſiones* haue ſaid, they would ſatisfie *Lucceius*, in what manner ſoeuer, ſhould bee pleaſing to *Pompeius*: but, that this buſines may ſort to a good end, it is verie requiſite, that you ſhould interpoſe your pleaſure, authoritie, and command. Which I earneſtly intreat you. And I am wonderfully pleas'd, that th'Agents of *Lucceius* perceiue, and that *Lucceius* himſelfe by your letters written to him, hath vnderſtood, that no mans authoritie or fauour can doe more with you, then mine owne. And that hee may haue tryall thereof, let me once more, and often requeſt you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Quintus Gallius. Epist. 43.

ALthough I hope, that in many things, you will cause me to perceiue, (as long since I haue seene) that I am beloued of you: neuertheles, an occasion now present, is felte, that you may easilie informe me, of the loue you beare me. *Lucius Oppius* comme to *Marcus*, negotiates in *Philosophia*, hee is my familiar acquaintance. And I recommend him to you, with all efficacie; and so much the more, in that besides the affection I beare to him-selfe, he sollicites the busines of *Lucius Egnatius Rufus*, with whom I conuerse more domestically, then with any other *Romane* Caualliere: and is neere vnto me, as well by reason of our continuall conuersation; as our mutuall exchange of many, and great offices. I entreat you therefore, that you will so loue *Oppius* present; and take the affaires of *Egnatius* absent, into your protection, as if they were mine owne occasions. I would haue you to make a memoriall, and commit it to some one of your followers, who, when you arriue in your Prouince, may redeliuer it you. But write it in such sort, that in reading it, you may readily call to

minde, how precisely I made you this recommendation. This, of all loue, I requeſt you. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Gallius.
Epiſt. 44.

THough both by your own letters, and thoſe of *Lucius Oppius* my familiar friend, I vnderſtood, that you haue beene mindefull of my recommendation: whereat I wondred not, conſidering your infinite loue towards me, and the great friendſhip that paſſeth betwixt vs. Yet once againe, with all care I recommend vnto you, *Lucius Oppius* preſent, and the affaires of my moſt familiar friend *Lucius Ignatius*, being abſent; The friendſhip, and familiaritie I hold with him is ſo great, that if mine owne Intereſts were handled, I could not bee any waies more carefull. You ſhall therefore doe me a ſpeciall fauour, if you ſo effect, that he may perceiue, that I am ſo much beloued of you, as I ſeeme to perſwade my ſelfe to be. You can not doe me a greater pleaſure: and I earneſtly requeſt it. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Apulcius vice-Quæstor. Epist. 45.

I So familiarly converse, with *Lucius Egnatius*, a *Romane* Knight: as there is none of his qualitie, that is so inward with me. I commend vnto you *Anchialus* his seruant, and the businesses he hath in *Asia*, as if I commended vnto you, my affaires of mine owne. And I would haue you vnderstand, that wee doe not onely, daily, and domestically converse together; but further, great fauours haue passed, from one of vs, to the other. Wherefore I earnestly request you, so to procure, that he may vnderstand, that I wrote vnto you, very effectually. Of your good disposition towards me, he made no question: and I heartily intreate you for performance. Farewell.

Cicero to Apuleius, vice Quæstor. Epist. 46.

Titus Nostius Zoilus, is co-heire, as I am; to his master. To this effect I haue written, both, to giue you notice, that I haue some cause to be his

friend; and that you might esteeme him for an honest man, seeing his master so reputed him. I recommend him therefore vnto you, as one of our familie. And I shall be very glad, that you wou'd giue him occasion to know, that this my recommendation, turned to his helpe, and furtherance. Farewell.

Cicero to Silius.
Epist. 47.

TO what end should I recommend a man vnto you, whom you fauour? Neuerthales, that you may perceiue, that he is not only liked, but beloued of me, I haue written these vnto you. Of all the pleasures, you euer did me, which, to say the truth, are many, and very important, it would bee most acceptable to me, if you would so vse *Ignatius*, that he may perceiue, that hee's of mee, and I of you beloued. This I request of you, with the greatest desire possible. There is not now, that former estate of the Common-wealth, which gaue such contentment. Let them be comforted therefore in saying, as the vulgar do: who knows, that this may not proue for the best? but we'le talke of that at our meeting. Hold you on

on your course, that you may loue me, and know that I loue you. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Sextilius Rufus, Quæstor. Epist. 48.

I Recommend vnto you all the *Cyprij*, but more especially the *Paphij*. Wherin soeuer you assist them, I shall greatly be obliged. And this office of recommending them, I performe so much the more willingly, because I suppose it will also redound (as I desire) to your owne commendation, comming first Quæstor into that Island, to institute those orders, according to which, others are to bee gouerned. Which, as I hope, you may the more easily effect, if you doe but follow the law, of your louing friend *Publius Lentulus*, and the orders by me constituted. Which, I am confident, will purchase you great estimation. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Curius vice-Consull. Epist. 49.

Q Vintus Pompeius sonne to *Sextus*, is for many and ancient respects of amitie interessed in me. If this man heeretofore were accustomed to preserue his goods, by my recommendations, fauour, and dignitie: Questionlesse now, when you gouerne the Prouince, by meanes of my letters, hee must needs take comfort in obseruing, that he was neuer so highly recommended vnto any, as at this present vnto you. Wherefore I request you earnestly, that whereas, for our priuate amities take, you are to obserue all my friends as your owne; aboue all others, take this man so to your protection, that he may perceiue, that nothing could haue turned more to his honor and benefit, then my recommendation. Farewell.

Cicero to Aristius vice-Consull. Epist. 50.

YOur obseruance of me, which I manifestly discern'd, when wee were together at *Brundusium*, giues me encourage-

encouragement to write with familiaritie, and as it were, with authoritie vnto you, when any thing falls out that importunes me. *Marcus Curius*, who negotiated at *Patræ*, is ſo domeſticall with me, as a neerer acquaintance can not bee deuiſed. I haue receiu'd many benefits from him, and he as many from mee. And which is aboue all; we beare one another ſingular affection. Which being ſo: as you haue any hope in my amitie; as you would make the fauours, and courteſies you ſhewed me at *Brundiſium*, to bee of greater acceptance, (though they were moſt acceptable:) & as you ſeeme to be beloued of al yours: grant, and beſtow vpon me this kindenes, that *Marius Curius* ſuffer no preiudice; and that by you, he may be freely exempted, from all exaction, detriment, and moleſtation. And I aſſure you; and all your friends in my behalfe ſhall warrant, that from my friendſhip, and your humanitie vs'd vnto me, great benefit, and contentment ſhall accrew vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Caſſius. Ep. 51.

Publius Meſſienus, a *Romane* Knight, is a man ſo qualified, and compleat,

as he is in nothing defectiue; and besides, he is my most Familiar friend. Wherfore, with the greatest care I can, I recommend him to you, entreating you both for ours, and our fathers friendship, to take him to your protection, and to haue a care of his goods, and honour; you shall binde vnto you a verie honest man, and one that's worthie of your friendship: and for mee you shall heerein doe an acceptable office. Farewell.

Cicero to Rex. Epist. 52.

A*Vlus Licinius Aristoteles*, of *Melitis*, hath anciently entertained me, and is besides, my familiar acquaintance, out of the daily conuersation hath pass'd betwixt vs. For which reasons I assure my selfe, you will hold him the more effectually recommended: because I vnderstand by many, that you make great esteeme of my recommendation. This man, by my meanes, obtained pardon of *Cæsar*: For he tooke part with mee, in the behalfe of *Pompeius*: and perseuered longer in action, then I did. The which very respect, in my iudgement, should make you conceiue the better of him.

Pro

Procure therfore my *Rex*, that he may finde that theſe letters did highly pleaſure him. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Thermus vice-Prætor. Epiſt. 53.

OF long time, I haue had familiar acquaintance with *Lucius Genucilius Curuus* a very honeſt, and grateſull man. I recommend him to you in the beſt manner I can; and caſt him wholly into your armes; entreating you, to be fauourable to him, in all his occurrents, ſo farre as your truſt, and dignitie will ſuffer you. And well it may in all things ſuffer you, for I know, he will require nothing, but that which ſhall be correſpondent, aſwell to yours, as to his owne honeſt diſpoſition. But particularly I commend vnto you, his buſineſſes in *Helleſponte*. Firſt, that he be permitted to enioy the priuiledge of the exemption of lands granted him by decree, and giuen him by the citie of *Parium*, which he hath euer enioyed without controuerſie; And further, if he haue Suite with any one of *Helleſpontus*, that you will refer it to that Diocelle. But ſeeing in generall, I haue commended him to you, with ſuch efficacie, me thinkes I ſhould not ſo particularly write of his affaires. The ſumme

is thus: all courtesie, benefit, and honor, which you shal place on *Genuclius*, I will repute it as performed to my selfe, and for mine owne interest's. Farewell.

Cicero to Thermus vice-Prætor. Epist. 54.

OF many offices, which you have performed, vpon my recommendation, there's none, for which I hold my selfe more bound vnto you, then for the singular courtesie vsed to *Marcus Marcilius*, late vnto my friend, and my interpreter. Who comming to *Lacdicea*, highly extolled you, and gaue me infinite thankes, because at my request, you had conferred vpon him your fauour. Wherefore nothing now remaines, but to request you, that seeing you bestow benefits on grateful persons, that you will for this respect, be the more fauorable to them; and vse all meanes, that stand with your reputation, that the mother in law of the said young man, be not cal'd in question. As before I carefully commended *Marcilius*, so now I recommend him much more carefully, hauing by long seruice had experience of the singular, and as it were, incredible fidelitie, abstinence, and modestie, of the father of *Marcilius*. Farewell.

Cice-

Cicero to Thermus vice-Prætor. Epist. 55.

THough, me thought I perceiu'd, when I talked with you in *Ephesus*, about the businesse of *Marcus Annius* my Legate, how you were readie vpon all occasions to doe him pleasure; neuertheleſſe, both the same *Marcus Annius*, is so deare vnto me, that I am enclin'd to effect any thing, that may bee for his benefit; and I esteeme my selfe so neare vnto him, as I am assured, that besides your former disposition to doe him good, you will adde a new desire of fauouring him, vpon my commendations. For though I haue loued *Marcus Annius* of long time, and conceiue that opinion of him which th'effects demonstrate, hauing voluntarily chosen him Legate; which office hath bin sued for by many, whom I euer refused: neuertheleſſe, seeing he was with mee, in the warre; and in the managing of military actions, I discern'd in him so great valour, prudence, fidelitie, and good will towards me; that there are none more deare vnto me then himselfe. You know how he is in sutes, with the *Sardians*. In *Ephesus* I inform'd you of the cause, which notwithstanding you shall face to face better, and more easily

easily vnderstand. For the rest, I haue questionlesse beene long doubtfull how I should write vnto yount being plaine, & to your great commendation made manifest, after what manner you administer Iustice: and we hauing neede of nothing else, but that you will proceed according to your vsuall fashion. Notwithstanding, being not conceal'd from me, of what authoritie a Prætor is; especially, if he be of that integritie, grauitie, and clemencie, wherewith, it is openly-knowne, you are endowed: I request you, for our friendly league, and for our equall, and mutuall offices; that with authoritie, endeuour, and fauour, you will so procure, that *Marcus Anneius* may vnderstand, both, that you lou'd him heretofore, as he supposeth, and hath often told me: and that my letters, haue made you loue him more effectuallie. During your gouernment, and authoritie in that Prouince, no occasion can occur vnto me, wherein you can shew me greater fauour. Withall, I am assured, that you vnderstand, how well your fauour, and courtesie will be placed, vpon a man that is so thankefull, and so honest. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Thermus Vice-Prætor. Epiſt. 56.

CAius Cluuius, a Puteolan, obſerues me greatly, and is my familiar acquaintance. He hath certaine affayres in your Prouince; which if he cannot compaſſe, while you are there Gouernour, by meanes of my recommendations; he will hould them for loſt, and deſperate. Now, ſeeing ſo great an inunction is laid vpon me, by a friend more officious to me, then any other; I will impoſe (ſo it be not troubleſome vnto you) the like charge vppon your ſelfe, as being encouraged by your former exceeding fauours. *Cluuius* ſhould haue money of the *Mylaſij*, and the *Alabandenſes*. *Euthydemus* told me once in *Epheſus*, that he would cauſe the *Mylaſij*, to ſend their Proctours to *Rome*. And there's nothing yet performed. I vnderſtand, they haue ſent thither Ambaſſadors, but I ſhould be more glad, that their Proctours were come, that I might deale with them, and conclude ſomewhat. Wherefore I require at your hands, as a fauour, that you would enioyne them, and the *Alabandenſes*, to ſend their Proctours to *Rome*. Beſides, *Publius* the *Alabandenſian* hath bound, and made ouer vnto *Cluuius*, certaine lands.

lands. I desire that you would vige *Philotes*, either to put the agents of *Clauius* in possession of the said morgages, or else, to pate the moneys. And moreouer, that you would take order, that *Heraclenia*, and *Barylete*, satisfie the debt they owe to *Clauius*, either with readie coyne, or out of their reuenues. The *Cauij* are also his debtors; but they say, the money was committed vnto them vpon trust: whereof I would desire you to be informed. And, if you finde that there be no decree nor edict passed, that frees them from paying interest for the money so deposed; procure that it may be pay'd him, according to the custome in your Prouince. Of the matters aboue mentioned, I take the greater care, because it concernes the particular interest of my deare friend *Cneius Pompeius*; and in that I see, that he is more carefull thereof then *Clauius* himselfe; and because I much desire, that he may remaine satisfied, in my best offices. I beseech you therefore, in all loue, that you will be pleased to graunt what I haue requested. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Thermus Vice-Prætor. Ep. 57.

THe more I heare by letters, and meſſengers that there is great war in *Syria*, the more I entreat and entreyne you, by the great friendſhip that is betwixt vs, to ſend me preſently *Marcus Anneius* my Legate backe againe: becauſe I know, I may make vſe of the endeuour, counſell, and experience he hath in Militarie diſcipline, to the infinite benefit of the Commonwealth. And, if neceſſitie had not vrged him to come vnto you; neyther would he, vpon any teames haue left me, or I haue graunted that he ſhould. I make account to ſet forward towards *Cilicia*, about the firſt of May: and *Anneius* muſt needs before that time be returned. I formerly ſpake, and wrote vnto you, about a matter he hath in hand with the *Sardian* people. And I now againe moſt earneſtly requeſt, and entreat you, to procure, that he may according to the merit of his cauſe, and dignitie be diſpatched. I concern'd by your words, when I talked with you about it in *Epheſus*, that you were enclin'd to ſhew all fauour to *Marcus Anneius*, for his owne ſake: neuertheleſſe, be aſſured, if I vnderſtand that he hath by

by your meanes a good end of the forefaid buſineſſe, according to his expectation; I ſhall thinke, I haue receiu'd from you a ſingular kindneſſe. And, I moſt earneſtly entreat you, to vſe therein all expedition. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Titius Rufus, ſonne to Lucius, Prætor in Rome. Ep. 58.

Lucius Coſſidius, is my kinſman, country-man, and familiar friend. He hath a certaine ſute, which is likelie to come into your Court. I ſhou'd bee as much aſham'd to demand any thing diſhoneſt in his behalfe; as you, out of your reſpect to your office and honor, would be to grant it. I therefore onely entreat you, that he may haue fauourable acceſſe vnto you. And that hauing right, you will graunt it him. That he may vnderſtand, that my friendſhip, euen when I was furtheſt off, was of force with you to further him. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Curtius Pæduceanus Prætor. Epist. 59.

I Beare a singular affection to *Marcus Fabius*: and we haue conuersed together of long time, with great familiaritie. In his suites; I request you not, to judge, one way or other, (for you will obserue that, which, vpon edict, and your order, belongs to your credit, and your dignitie:) but that he may onely haue the benefit to be heard: and that you will, but willingly graunt him, what is iust: to the end he may know, that my friendship, though I were farre absent, was beneficiall to him; and especiallie, with your selfe. Which I make my earnest request. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Munatius, sonne to Caius. Ep. 60.

L*Vcius Liuineius Trypho*, is free-man to *Lucius Regulus*, my verie familiar acquaintance: whose misfortune is a cause, that I am more officious to him, then vsuall. For I cannot be more affectionate to him, then I haue beene. But I loue *Trypho*, for his owne deserts.

For

For hee did me great pleasure, in the time of my misfortunes: wherein I might evidently perceive, each mans good will, and constancie: I recommend him therefore to you, with the same vehemencie, with which those that would be accompted gratefull, are bound to recommend them, from whom they have receiv'd a benefit. I shall be highly pleas'd, that he might perceive, that you out of your love vnto me, tooke in good part also, the kindnesse he did me, in exposing himselfe to many daungers for my safetie, and his often going to Sea for me, in the midd'st of Winter. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Silius, Vice-Prætor. Epist. 61.

I Suppose you know well the great familiaritie, which I have had with *Titus Pinnius*: which he made manifest in his last will and testament: he leaving me both Guardian, & his second heire. His sonne a verie studious, learned, and modest childe, is to receive a round summe of money of the *Nicanses*; of about an hundred and sixtie thousand Crowns: and for as much as I heare, they are willing to giue him satisfacti-

on;

on; ſeeing therefore not onely the other Guardians, who know how much I am able to preuaile with you, but the youth himſelfe, is alſo perſwaded, that you will doe any thing for my ſake; you ſhall doe me a great pleaſure, to vſe the meanes (ſo farre as may ſtand with your honour, and place) that by order of the *Nicenſes*, the foreſaid moneyes may be preſently pay'd to *Pinnum*. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Sitius Vice-Prætor. Epiſt. 62.

I Remain'd both much engaged vnto you in the cauſe of *Antius*: for though I came late, yet through your nobilitie, and courteſie, I preſerv'd an honourable *Romane* knight: And certainly I euer carried this minde, that by reaſon of the conjunction, and inward amitie, which is betweene me, and one *Lamia*, you were wholly mine. Wherefore, firſt I thanke you, becauſe you free'd me from all trouble: and then, I muſt preſumptuouſly require another kindneſſe; but I'le be a good pay-maſter for all: for, both at all times, and with all vigilancie, I will obſerue you: and will euer haue that care of your ſelfe, and affaires,

faires, that ought to be had of one, to whom I beare a singular affection. I therefore requeſt you, if you wiſh me well, that you will make as great an eſteeme of my brother *Quintus*, as o my ſelfe. And to you ſhall greatly augment the greatneſſe of your benefit. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Silius, Vice-Praetor. Ep. 63.

I Thought it a thing vnpoſſible, that words ſhould haue fail'd me: and yet I want them, to recommend *Marcus Lucius*. Whereupon I will in few words relate the matter; yet ſo, that you may manifeſtlie obſerue my deſire therein. It is incredible, what accompt, I, and my moſt deer brother made, of *Marcus Lucius*. Which proceedes aſwell from his manie offices done for vs, as frō his ſingular ſinceritie and modeſtie. I vnwillingly gaue him leaue, to come into your parts, by reaſon of the familiarity and delight I took in his conuerſation: and becauſe I was deſirous, to vſe his faithfull and good counſell: but I feare, leſt you thinke I ouerflow in words; wherein I ſaid, I ſhould bee defective. I commend him vnto you with that affection

fection, with which you iudge it conuenient to commend one, of whom I haue deliuered, what I formerly haue written. And I requeſt you, in the beſt manner I can, that you will end the buſines for him, which hee hath in your Prouince, giuing him therein the beſt directions you are able. You ſhall finde him verie affable, & courteous. And therfore I entreat you, to ſend him forthwith backe againe vnto mee, abſolued, and freed from all moleſtation, with your abſolute diſpatch of his buſineſſe. For thus, you ſhall haue both my ſelfe, and brother, yours obliged. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Silius, Vice-Prætor. Ep. 64.

I Shall neuer bee able to relate vnto you, how much my *Nero* commendeth you. Queſtionleſſe, he exalts you maruellouſly; telling me, that he could deuiſe no reſpects, wherwith you haue not graced him. You ſhall thereby reape from him great benefit, for he is the grateſulleſt young man the world affordeth: and certainly I alſo take it verie kindlie. For, of all the Nobility, there is no man dearer vnto mee. You ſhall therefore doe mee a ſingular plea-

ſure, to performe, what I require at your hands, vpon his requeſt. Firſt, touching *Paſania*, the *Alabandenſian*; that you will put off the matter ſo long, till *Nero* come: whom I perceiue to be verie ſtudious of his good; and therefore I entreat you herein: Then, that you would eſteem the *Nicæi*, who are *Nero's* greateſt friends, and whom he defends with all his abilitie, and power, as zealouſly recommended: that the ſame Citie may vnderſtand, that *Nero's* Patrocime, is vnto them a preualent protection. I many times commended vnto you, *Strabo Seruilius*; but now, I doe it more effectually, in that *Nero* hath vndertaken, to defend his cauſe. We require nothing at your hands, but that you will procure an end of the cauſe; and not ſuffer *Seruilius*, an harmeleſſe perſon, to bee tired out in a tedious ſuite, depending in the Court, of ſuch a man, as taking contrarie courſes to you, onely affects gaine that is vnlawfull. Wherein, beſides the doing me a pleaſure, you ſhall alſo giue me occaſion, to obſerue the vſe you make of your noble diſpoſition. The ſum of this Epiſtle is, that you will giue *Nero* ſatisfaction in all points of fauour, as you haue determined, and effected. Your Prouince hath a large Theater, which mine hath not; [Wherein] the glorie and commendation, of ſo noble, ſo ingenuous

and

and so honest a young man [may bee admired.] Wherefore, if you be favourable to him, as vndoubtedlie you will, and haue alreadie beene, the multitude of Clients left him by his predecessors, may bee oblieged and confirmed by his owne benefits. Wherein, if you aide him, with the assistance that you pretend: vpon occasion hee will returne your favor with great aduantage; and you shall besides, doe me a singular pleasure. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Silius, Vice-Prætor. Epist. 65.

I Haue great familiaritie, and daily conuersation, with *Publius Terentius Hyspo*, who, in the publique customes, hath the place of Toll-master; and we are tied one to another, by infinite and mutuall favours. It much concernes his honour, to haue an accord with the other Cities. Which, as I remember, wee attempted in *Ephesus*, and could by no meanes, from the *Ephesians* obteine it: but seeing, (as curtie man beleeues, and I my selfe perceiue) that out of your great bountie, singular humanitie, and clemencie, you may confidently impose anie thing vpon

the Gracians, at your pleasure: let me, with all efficacie request you, to do me this honour, that Hyspo may haue this commendation. Besides this, I haue inward friendship with the Receiuers; not onlie in that all the same companie are vnder my protection; but because I familiarlie frequent with diuers of them; so that you shall first satisfie Hyspo for my sake; and further you shall encrease the affection of the Toll-gatherers towards mee: and besides, your selfe shall reape great benefit, by pleasuring one that is a most thankfull man, & haue the loue of the Toll gatherers, who are men of verie good worth: and on me you shall bestow a fauour of importance. For I would haue you imagine, that in all the Prouince and Gouernment vnder your command, there is nothing wherein you may doe mee a greater pleasure. Farewell,

Cicero to Publius Seruilius Isauricus, Vice-Consul.
Epist. 66.

COnsidering how readie you are in your accustomed assistance of your friends; and how full of feeling commiseration towards the afflicted; I would

would not recommend vnto you *Aulus Caſinus*, a moſt diuote and affectionate Clyent to your Familie: but that the memoriall of his Father, with whom I held an eſpeciall familiarity, & his owne miſerable fortunes, binde me to diſcharge thoſe offices, which I am tied in dutie to performe, for one, that is moſt neere vnto me in all reſpects of friendſhip. And the office is this, that I entreat you, with the deepeſt paſſion I am able; that vnto thoſe aides, which of your owne voluntarie election, without anie mans interceſſion you can afford a man of ſo great worth, in ſuch extreme miſerie; you would be pleaſed, vpon my letters, to adde ſome new deſire and zeale, of aſſiſting him, in all poſſible occaſions. And, had you been at *Rome*, mee thinkes, I aſſure my ſelfe, that by your meanes, wee might haue procur'd the ſafety of *Caſinus*: of whom, neuertheleſſe, we liue in great hope, being confident in the clemencie of your Colleague. Now, in that hee meanes, being drawen by the fame of your Iuſtice, to repaire to your Prouince, as to the hauen of greateſt ſecuritie. In the moſt earneſt manner I can, I requeſt & beſeech you, to ayde him, to collect the remainder of his old accompts, and in al other reſpects, to receiue him vnder your defence & protection. 'Twill be the greateſt tye you can lay vpon me. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Seruilius.
Epist. 67.

WHile I had the gouernment of *Cilicia*, to which Prouince, you know, that three Dioceſſes of *Aſia* were aſſigned, I frequented with no man more familiarly, then with *Andron*, ſon to *Artheman*, of *Laodicea*. And beſides, that he was the man, who gaue mee entertainment in the ſame Cittie; his cuſtomes alſo were very conformable to my condition: and he gaue mee much ſatisfaction, both in his life and converſation. And, as I lou'd him heretofore: ſo now, ſince I departed from mine office, my loue is redoubled: becauſe I had found him, in manie occaſions, thankefull and mindefull of mee. Inſomuch, that I cheerfully entertain'd and reſpected him here in *Rome*, in acknowledgement of the honour, which I receiued from him in *Laodicea*. This I haue written vnto you, both to intimate, that I recommend him not without a cauſe; and, that you may thinke him worthie of your hoſpitalitie. You ſhall therefore doe mee a ſingular pleaſure, if you make him conceiue, how much you loue mee; that is, if you receiue him to your protection, and aſſiſt him, wherein ſoeuer honeſtly you may, and

and without your own inconuenience. I ſhall take it in wondrous good part; and I double entreat you for performance. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Seruilius Iſauricus, Vice-Conſull, his Colleague. Epiſt. 68.

READing your letters, wherein you giue me particular notice of your naturalization, I took great contentment, in that I found you mindefull of our friendſhip, which ſo exceedingly pleaſed me, that nothing could befall mee, more acceptable to me. But yet I muſt tell you, it would turn to my far greater contentment, if you would write familiarly to me, of the Common-wealth; that is, of the ſtate of your Prouince, and of your ordinances. Which, though by manie, I ſhall vnderſtand. For, the report of your name will procure, that they cannot bee conceal'd: neuerthe'eſſe, I ſhould be glad to vnderſtand of it by your letters. I, touching my opinion of the Common-wealth, will not write often to you, for the danger which accompanies letters of that importance: but of the daily occurrents, I will write often to you.

And yet mee thinkes, I conceiue some hope, that *Cæsar*, our Colleague, would, and now intends, we should haue some forme of a Common-wealth. At whose counsels, it much imports, that you were present: but, if it turne to your greater benefit, that is to your greater glorie, to gouerne *Asia*, and to cure that weake and ill-conditioned part of the Common-wealth; there's no reason, but I should abate my desire, vpon the hope of your benefit. If any thing fall out, wherin your dignitie shall be interessed, I will labour therein, with such affection and vigilancie, as greater cannot be required. And aboue all, I will obserue with due respect, your renowned Father. Whereunto I am bound, by ancient amitie, and your benefits, and dignitie. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Seruilius, his Colleague. Ep. 69.

Caius Curtius Mithres is Free-man to *Postumius*, my familiar acquaintance; but he honours and obserues me as much as his owne Master. Whensoeuer I was in *Ephesus*, I was no lesse bold with his house, then with mine owne: and in diuers occasions, I haue

haue found him to mee, both a good and faithfull friend. Wherefore, if it occurre, that either I, or anie of my friends haue need of anie thing in *Asia*, I vsuallie write to him: I make vse therin, not onely of his fidelitie and endeuour; but I command his house and goods, as freely, as if they were proper to my selfe. Thus much I thought good to write vnto you somwhat diffuselie, to giue you to vnderstand, that I recommend not vnto you anie vulgar person, or, that I discharge this office out of anie ambition; but by reason, that by the intimate familiaritie, and visceraill amitie, I haue with him, I am thereunto excited. I beseech you therfore, in a suite which he hath about certaine lands with one *Colophonius*, fauour me, to backe him, so far as conueniently you may, without your owne disparagement, or preiudice. Though I know his modestie so well, that he will in nothing bee burthensome vnto you. If by meanes of this my recommendation, and the merit of his owne integritie, he may obtaine, that you will be his friend, and repute him for an honest man: he will thinke, he hath made the greatest purchase that the world affordeth. And therefore I entreat you, the most effectually I can, to take him into your protection, and to reckon him in the number of your friends. In all your occasions,

occasions, I will not faile, both with my counsell and endeuours, to doe you anie acceptable pleasure. Farewell.

Cicero to Publius Seruilius, his Colleague. Ep. 70.

BEcause euerie man takes notice, that you loue mee, diuers affect, that I should recommend them to you: I sometimes herein satisfie the vulgar, but most an end, my friends, as at this present. For, I haue singular friendship and familiaritie, with *Titus Ampius Menander*, a thriftie, diligent, and modeſt person. Whose fidelitie is well knowne, both to his Patron, and my selfe. I shall take it exceeding well, that you would in anie thing, wherein you may, without your owne preiudice, fauour him. And this is my especiall request vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Seruilius, his Colleague. Ep. 71.

I Recommend vnto you diuers, vpon necessitie; because our great friendship, and your good will towards mee, is knowne to euerie man. And, though I desire you should bee free of your fauors, to all those whom I recommend: yet doe I not request it equally to all men. *Titus Agulius*, in the time of my disgraces, neuer left mee, either in trauailes, naugations, and turmoiles; nay, in my verie dangers hee was alwaies with me: neither at this time would he haue departed from me, had I not permitted him. Wherefore, I recommend him to you, as one of my house, and as my verie vsefull friend. You shall doe me a great pleasure, if you so entreat him, that hee may take notice of the profit and assistance, that did accrue vnto him, through my recommendation. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Seruilius his Colleague. Ep. 72.

BEfore you departed from *Rome*, I recommended vnto you in your garden, as effectually as I could, the goods, moueables, reckonings, and possessions that my necessarie friend *Cæcilia* hath in *Asia*; and you, according to your custome, and continuall waighty courtesies, freely tooke vpon you to doe any thing. Now, I hope, you are as mindfull of the said businesse, as you were wont to be of other matters. Notwithstanding, *Cæcilia's* Solicitors, haue written to me, that it were good to giue you often, remembrance thereof, being for the greatnesse of your Prouince, and the multitude of affaires much employed. I desire therefore that you would be mindfull, how freely you promised me all those fauours, which your dignitie might affoord. I am fully of opinion, that you haue ample authoritie of satisfying *Cæcilia*, out of that decree of the Senate, which was enacted in that cause of the heires to *Caius Fannonius*. Wherein notwithstanding, I referre my selfe to your councell, and iudgement, as being to interpret it in such sort, as shall appeare best vnto your wisedome. For I know, that

that you haue euer highly esteem'd the authoritie of that order. It onelie remaines, for me to tell you, that wherein soeuer you fauour *Caecilius*, you shall doe me a singular pleasure. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Philippus Vice-consull. Ep. 73.

YOur gouernment being expired, I congratulate your healthfull, and safe returne, with the preseruation of your owne honour, and great satisfaction to the Common-wealth. And if I had seene you in *Rome*, I would presentually haue giuen you thanks, for the loue and fauour you shewed to my familiar friend *Lucius Egnatius*, in his absence, and *Lucius Oppius* that was present. *Antipater Derbetes* vseth to entertaine me, and I him; and besides, there passeth great familiaritie betwixt vs. I heard that you are very much displeased with him, and it griev'd me. I know not whither he deserued it: but sure I am, that such a person as you are, would doe nothing without iust occasion. Howsoeuer it be: I entreat you as effectually as possible I can, for our auncient, and true friendship, that you would be pleased to pardon his sonnes, who

who are vnder your power, especially, at my intercession. If you thinke it not preiudiciall to your owne reputation; I[n] which case I would not request it: for I should haue a respect of greater antiquitie to your honour, then to *Antipaters* acquaintance. But I verily beleeue, (yet I may be deceiu'd) that by such an act you shall rather get prayse, then infamie. About this matter, what may be done, and what you may doe for my sake, (for I make no doubt of what you would doe) I desire, (so it be not troublesome vnto you,) to be further certified. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Philippus, Vice-consull. Ep. 74.

THough I am assured, that out of the loue you beare me, and for the familiar friendship that is betwixt vs, you are mindfull of my recommendation; yet will I not omit most effectually, to recommend againe vnto you my kinde friend *Lucius Oppius* present; and the affaires of my domesticall acquaintance *Lucius Egnatius*, absent. The friendship & familiaritie I haue with him, is so great, as I could not be more carefull, if it were mine owne cause. Therefore I shall

ſhall take it as an extraordinarie kindneſſe, if you giue him cauſe to conceiue, how I am no leſſe beloued of you, then I giue my ſelfe to vnderſtand. You cannot doe me a greater fauour then this, and I earneſtly requeſt you to performe it. Farewell.

Cicero to Titus Tutius, ſonne to Tutius, Legate. Ep. 75.

THough I am of conſtant beleefe, that my firſt recommendation prevailed much with you: yet I am deſirous to giue contentment, to *Caius Antonius Flaccus*, my familiar friend: whom, I am not onely deſirous, but bound, to fauour wherein poſſible I am able: of whom in preſence, I ſpake effectuallie to you, when you kindly made me anſwere: and with great efficacie, I wrote vnto you afterwardes thereof. I requeſt you to pardon me, if to giue him ſatisfaction, I may ſeeme vnmindfull of your conſtancie. I deſire therfore the ſame fauour at your hands, which is, that you will permit *Antonius*, that at all times of the yeare, he may conuerſe his come, whither ſoeuer ſtands beſt with his commoditie. Which courteſie, in like manner, by my meanes, he obtained for three yeares,

yeares, while *Pompeius* had this charge. To conclude; that, wherein you may doe me greateſt pleaſure, is, to let *Atticus* know your loue towardes me, ſeeing he is aſſured of mine to himſelfe. This will be very acceptable to mee. Farewell.

Cicero to the Quatuor-viri, and Decuriones. Epiſt. 76.

THe friendſhip I enterteine with *Quintus Hippius*, growes from ſo many occaſions, as there cannot be found a more abſolute, then our conjunction. And were it not for this, I would follow my accuſtomed manner; which is, to be troubleſome to you in nothing. For you can beare me ſufficient teſtimonie, that, though I were certaine to obtaine whatſoeuer I deſired; yet would I neuer be burdenſome vnto you. I requeſt you therefore as earneſtly as I can, or am able, that you will ſo farre fauour me, as to vſe *Caius Valgius Hippianus*, with all courteſie, and make an end with him; by exempting, and making free that poſſeſſion, which ſometimes he bought of you, in the *Fregellan* territorie. If you ſatisfie me in this my requeſt, I ſhall thinke, I haue receiu'd a ſpeciall benefit. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Sulpitius Imperator. Ep. 77.

I Went not often into the Senate, by reaſon of the conditions of the times: but hauing receiu'd your letters, and vnderſtood, how your honor was herein touched; I obſerv'd that it was my dutie to goe thither; and that doing otherwiſe, I ſhould haue wrong'd our auncient amitie, and haue perform'd a matter vnworthie of our benefits, one to th'other. Wherefore I went thither: and willingly aduiſ'd, that all the Temples of the gods, ſhould publiquely bee viſited; and thankes rendred to them, for what you had effected in the behalfe of the Common-wealth. And vpon euery occaſion, when either your profit, honor, or dignitie comes in queſtion, I will neuer faile you, in thoſe endeuours, and offices, wherein I am engaged. And you ſhall doe me a pleaſure to write thereof vnto your friends, notifying vnto them my affection, and the deſire I haue to write vnto you: that ſo they may ſecurely build vppon me, whenſoeuer it occurres, that I may giue you any aſſiſtance. *Marcus Bellanus* is a friend to me, of manie yeares ſtanding, an honeſt man, valiant, and adorned with as many good parts, as can

can be desired: I recommend him to you, with all zeale, and entreat you to let him vnderstand, how this my recommendation, was with you to his great furtherance. Which I shall repute as a singuler fauour: and I assure you, that in him you shall find infinite goodnesse, and a thankefull memorie for benefits receiued; so that you will euer remaine satisfied in his friendship. Besides this, I would earnestly entreat you, for our friendships sake, and for that loue you haue euer shew'd me, that you will take vpon you some trouble in the matter I shall acquaint you with. *Dionysius* my seruant, who had vnder his custodie, a Library of mine, of great value, hauing filcht away many bookes, and fearing to be punisht for it, is fled away: and he is within your Prouince. *Marcus Bellanus* my familiar friend, and diuers others haue seene him in *Narona*: but he telling them, that I had made him free, they beleeft him. I cannot expresse how thankfull I should be, if you could send me him backe againe. The matter is of no great importance, but the discontentment of my minde is much. *Bellanus* will informe you where he is, and what course is to be taken. If by your meanes I can recouer him, I shall thinke you haue conferr'd vppon me a great benefit. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Allienus, Vice-Conſull. Epiſt. 78.

Demetrius Sicynius, hath not onely kindly entertained me, but is alſo my very familiar friend: which happens not to many, eſpecially *Graecians*. For in him, there is naked integritie, worthie valour, noble courteſie, and due obſeruance towardes his gheſts: and mee, he honors, obſerues, and loues, aboue all others. You ſhall perceiue, that he is not onely the beſt, amongſt his owne Citizens, but alſo of all *Achaia*; I onely open vnto him, and make reade his way to your knowledge. When you once know him, of your ſelfe, (ſuch is your diſpoſition,) you will repute him worthie of your friendſhip, and entertainement: my deſire therefore is, that hauing read theſe letters, you will take him into your protection, & offer him the greateſt kindneſſe you can for my ſake. Laſt of all, if (as, I hope,) you ſhall finde him worthie of your hoſpitalitie, and friendſhip: Let me requeſt you to embrace, and loue him, and eſteeme him in the number of your acquaintance. Wherein you ſhall doe me a ſingular pleaſure. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Allienus, Vice-Consull. Epist. 79.

I Suppose you conceiue, what accompt I made, of *Caius Auianus Flaccus*; and by him I vnderstood, who is a man, of tried sinceritie, and mindfull of benefits, what great fauour you haue shewed him. His sonnes, most worthie of such a Father, and my good friends, whom I singularly loue, I recommend vnto you with that zeale, as with greater I could not recommend any. *Caius Auianus* is in *Sicilia*, *Marcus* is here with vs. I pray vouchsafe to respect *Caius*, who is present, and haue a care of both their substances. You cannot in this Prouince, shew me a greater courtesie. This is my petition, which I beseech you, graunt mee. Farewell.

(*.*)

THE

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to his wife Terentia, and children Tulliola, and Cicero. Epist. 1.

MAny write, but euery man reports vnto me, ỹ you are vertuous, and valerous beyond imagination: & that no labors either of minde, or body, are so great, as they can weary you. How wretched a man am I, that you, who are endued with so much vertue, trust, integritie, and courtesie, should (for my

my sake) be brought into so great misery. And that our daughter *Tullia* should take such thought for a father that was wont, to be vnto her so delightfull. But what shall I saie of my sonne *Cicero*? who no sooner began to tast of vnderstanding, but was implunged in vnsufferable griefes, and misfortunes. Had I thought, as you write, that destinie had layd these crosses on me; I could haue suffered them with greater patience: but all proceeds from mine owne defect; thinking I had been loued, where I was enuied; and neglecting those, that sought my acquaintance. But if I had trusted vnto my selfe, and had not so much relyed on the words of foolish, or dishonest friends; wee had liued most happily: yet at this present, seeing our friends comfort vs with good hopes, I will striue to free my selfe of passion, least I for want of health bee not able to second your endeauours in recalling me. I consider well how much power wee haue need of, and how much more easie it had beene to haue staid at home, when I was there, then to returne thither being absent: yet if all the Tribunes of the people before vs, and *Lentulus* stricke as close, (as he makes show) vnto vs; and especially, if *Pompeius*, and *Caesar* doe ioyne with vs; we will be hopefull. As for our hot shold we will doe as you enforme

conforme me, and our friends counsell vs. Touching this place of my abode, the plague is now at length certainely gone from it: and while it was heere I hid it not. *Plancus* a very kinde man desires me to stay with him; and as yet will not let me goe. I was desirous to haue beene in a place further out of the way, in *Epirus*, whereunto neither *Hyssæo* could come, nor the Souldiers. But *Plancus* hitherto retaineth me; hoping it may so fall out, that we may returne, together into *Italie*. If euer I liue to see that day, and that it bee lawfull for vs to embrace one another; and mutually regaine our selues, I shall thinke I haue receiued fruite sufficient of our interchanged affection. *Piso* sheweth so much humanitie, vertue, and loue towards all of vs, that greater cannot bee shewed vs; I wish, he may take as much pleasure in it, as I see he will haue honour by it. What I haue written vnto you concerning my brother *Quintus*, was not done to reprehend you for any thing; but my desire was, and especially because you were so few, that you should liue together in as friendly manner as was possible. I haue thanked whom you bid me, and haue written that I had notice giuen mee by you of their honours. Touching that you write vnto me about the sale of our streete, my deere *Terentia*, tell me, I pray you,

alas! what will become of vs? But if this aduersitie shall continue with vs, what shall become of our miserable boy? I must not write all, teares do so abound; least I should set thee also a weeping. Yet thus much I will write, if our friends be as they should be, wee shall haue no want of money; if not, all the money thou canst make, will bee too little. If thou hast any care of our miserable fortunes, looke that woes do not vtterly cast away our wretched son. Let him not want while there is any thing left: hee needes but some good qualitie, and a moderate estate to raise himselfe to the rest of his fortunes. Looke to your health, and let me heare from you, that I may know what is done, and what you are now about, I looke hourely for newes from you, that cannot be long a comming. Commend me to *Tulliola* and *Cicero*. Fare ye all well. From *Dyrrhachium*, the 26. of Nouember.

I Am come to *Dyrrhachium*, because it is a free Citie, and kinde to me, and not farre from *Italie*. But if the great concourse of people there, shall dislike me, I will repaire, to some other place, and giue you notice.

Cicero

Cicero to Terentia his wife, and to Tullola, and Cicero his children. Epist. 2.

DOe not suppose that I vse to write very long Epistles to any man: except he write at large to me. And I thereupon iudge it reasonable, to make him alike answer. For first, I know not what to write; and then, at this time, there's nothing that I vndergoe more vnwillingly. And if this happen to me when I write to others, what may it doe now thinke you, when I write to your selues: to whom I cannot endite a letter, which is not accompanied with many teares: knowing you to be fallen into extreame miserie, whom I was euer desirous to behold in great felicitie; which I was bound to endeuour; and had I not beene so tymerous had effected. *Piso* by his courteous offices hath procur'd, that whereas before I lo-ued him, now I deseruedly stand bound vnto him. I haue withall possible efficacie exhorted him by letters, to the enterprise which is begunne for my good; and, as I ought I thanked him. You write, how you conceiue great hopes, in the new Tribunes of the people. You may well hope, if *Pompeius* afford vs his assistance: but I doubt of

Crassus : I perceiue with how great a spirit, and how louingly you vndergoe euery thing: neither doe I wonder at it; but notwithstanding, it exceedingly greeues me, that we are reduced to such a point, that my miseries cannot be eased, but with yours. For, *Publius Valerius* a very louing man wrote that vnto me, which drew from me many tears in reading it; how frō the temple of the Goddesse *Vesta*, you were led to be *Valerian* Table. Alas! deare heart, and my only happines! is it then true, that you my *Terentia*, to whom all others were wont in their necessities to haue recourse for helpe, should now bee so molested, and put to so much weeping, and miseries, and that this should proceed from my error, who haue preferued others, to reserue vnto my selfe perpetuall afflictions. Whereas you write vnto me about the house, that is, touching the plat of ground: I will then only hold that I am restor'd when that is restored. But what should I say? these things are not in our power. It grieues me that you being poore, and destitute, should be vrged to beare part of the charges, which of necessitie we are to be at. Yet if the matter obtaine a wished end, wee shall haue good recompence for euery thing. But if Fortune no waies alter, wilt thou, poore soule, cast away that little which thou

hast

haſt? Ah, deare heart! leaue the charge vnto others, that are betterable (if they will) to ſuſtaine it; do not, if you loue me, torment that weake body of yours, as me thinkes you doe. For day and night, you preſent your ſelfe vnto my thoughts. I ſee you vndergoe the burden of all paines, I know not how you are able to endure it; And I am afraid, leaſt you ouercharge your ſelfe ſo much, as you will be enforc'd to giue ouer: but I alſo obſerue, that all hopes of my ſafetie depend on you. Be therefore carefull of your health, to the end we may attaine to that which you deſire, and on which you haue bent all your cogitations. I know not to whom I ſhould write; whether to them that write to mee, or to them that you wiſh me to write vnto. To content you, I will deferre it no longer. But I would haue you ſend me letters as often as you can; eſpecially if there bee the leaſt certainetie of any hope. Farewell deare hearts, farewell. From *Theſſalonica* the 4. of October.

Cicero to Terentia his wife and to Tulliola, and Cicero, his children. Epist. 3.

I Receiued three letters from you, by *Aristocritus*, which I had almost blotted out with weeping. For, my *Terentia*, I am much afflicted, and so much, that I scarcely liue: yet feele I not more hart-greefe for mine own, then for your miseries; and for those, which all of you haue suffered. Although in this respect I am more miserable then thou, who art most miserable. For the bitternes of this fortune is equall to vs both, but the blame is only mine. I should either haue accepted of the embassies, by meanes whereof I might haue shunned the danger; or by my friends endeauours haue constantly resisted the iniuries of mine enemies; or else haue dyed with resolution. To a worser state, then that wherein I now stand, I could neuer haue been reduced. Which is the cause, that I greeue not more for the euill, then for the reproch thereof: being asham'd that my deare wife, & sweet children, by my cowardize, and negligence should lead a life so miserable, and so lamentable. Your vnhappie state hourely presents it selfe before mine eyes: and because I know how

how weake you are of sexe: the more am I sorrowfull, considering that you cannot vndergoe so many troubles without great danger. And besides, I perceiue no hope of my safetie. There are two things, which oppose our desires: the hatred of many; and the enuie almost of all men. And as to preserue our former state, little was requisite: so to recouer it, infinite labour is required. Neuertheleſſe, while you are hopefull; I will also support, this my wearie, and languishing body with some hopefulneſſe: that in being wanting both to you, and to my ſelfe, as I haue beene hitherto, deſpaire may not augment our euills. As for that point, where you write, that I ſhould be wary to remaine in a place of ſecuritie: this I can eaſily performe, becauſe mine enemies ſhall haue ſmall reaſon to deſire my death, in that they ſhould thereby eaſe me of ſo many miſeries, which they deſire that I ſhould liue in. And yet I will obey your commands. I haue thanked my friends, as you enioyn'd me in your letters, and touching their friendly procurements about my ſafetie, I haue written, I was therof by you aduertiſed. The conueyer of theſe letters was *Dexippus*. For our *Piſo*, I haue heard by all men; and I plainely my ſelfe perceiue it; that he beares vs wonderfull affection; which with ad-

mirable effects he doth also demonstrate. The gods grant, that together with your selfe, and our children, we may long liue in the societie of such a sonne in law. The hope which now remaines is, whollie in the new Tribunes of the people: and onely in the first daies of their entrie into their office: for if the matter doe grow stale, tis no more to bethought of. And for this cause, I haue sodainely returned you *Anistium*, that you may presently write vnto me, what beginning the matter had, & in what state it standeth: though I also employed *Dionysius*, that he should without delay returne vnto me. And I haue written to my brother, requesting him that he will not faile, as often as he can, to send me messengers of purpose. And I remaine for no other cause at this instant in *Dyrrhachium*, but to receiue the more speedy aduertisements, and to be resident in a secure place, as I am, assuredly. For I alwaies fauoured, and defended this citie. And when I vnderstand that our enemies are comming, I will retire into *Epirus*. Where as you write, that if it bee my pleasure, you will come vnto me. I like it better you should remaine there, considering the greatest part of my occasions; depend vpon your diligence. If you can compasse any good end, of that which now you haue in hand, I

must

muſt of neceſſitie repaire to you. But if, &c. the reſt it imports not to write. Vpon your firſt, or at leaſt your ſecond letters, we ſhall be able to reſolue what courſe to take. write vnto me of all particularly. Though now, I ſhould not attend letters, but an end of this action. Regard your health. And be ſecure, that I haue nothing in this world, nor euer had, more deare vnto me then your ſelfe. Farewell my deare *Terentia*, whom in ſuch ſort me thinkes I daily behold, that with teares I am conſumed. Farewell. From *Dyrrhachium* the laſt of Nouember.

Cicero to Terentia his wife, and to Tulliola, and Cicero his children. Ep. 4.

I Write as ſeldome to you as I can; becauſe, beſides my being daily vrg'd by a thouſand noyſome cogitations: when I either write to you, or doe but read your letters, teares flow from me in that abundance, as I am driuen of neceſſitie to giue ouer. Oh! how farre better were it for me, not ſo much to loue my life? Queſtionleſſe, we had made triall either of none at all, or of very little euill. But who knowes whi-

ther Fortune hath not reſeru'd me ſtill aliue, to comfort me for a time, with hopes, of recouering ſome Commoditie? And if this fall out, we may in part reforme the error we haue committed. But if my hard and extreame lot haue left no manner of comfort for me: what can I doe more, (ſweet life) then deſire to ſee thee as ſoone as is poſſible: And to die betweene thy armes. Seeing neither the gods, whom thou haſt with a pure heart, ador'd and worſhipped: nor men whom I haue euer ſought to preſerue, haue afforded vs any recompence of our deſeruings. We were thirteene daies at *Brundusium*, in the houſe of *Marcus Lenius Flaccus*. Obſerue a ſingular integritie: he ſtucke not to hazzard his goods, and his owne life for my ſafetie; neither through feare to incurre the penaltie of the Law, no leſſe corrupt, then cruell; did he giue ouer his reſolution: but as if no ſuch thing were, he entertein'd me into his houſe, maintaining our auncient cuſtome of mutuall hoſpitalitie; and performing what ſoeuer our amitie required. God grant mee the fauour, ſo to requite him with effects, as I will neuer be wanting to him in affection. We departed from *Brundusium* the xxvii. of Aprill, to goe towards *Cyzicum*: and we will take our way by *Macedonia*. Out alas! ſorrowfull wretch that I am! behold,

hold, you are a woman, vnhealthfull, ouer-wearied, and afflicted both in bodie, and minde. My heart will not ſuffer me, to entreat you to come. What, can I peraduenture refraine from entreating you? Shall I then remaine without you? I am reſolu'd to diſpoſe of my ſelfe, after this manner. If there be any hope of our returne, looke to further, and reduce it to ſome point; that there may be a certaintie of what we hope after. But if all hope leaue vs, come, I beſeech thee, howſoeuer. And of this bee aſſur'd: if thou art but with me, I ſhall eſteeme my vnhappie baniſhment the leſſe burdenſome. But what ſhall become of my *Tullia*? I will leaue this to your conſideration: for I know not how ſhee ſhould be diſpoſed of. But let matters goe well, or ill, a way muſt be deuis'd, that ſhe, poore ſoule, may not looſe her dowrie, and together with her dowrie, her reputation, which muſt follow, when ſhee ſhall want meanes, requiſite for her place, and calling. And what ſhall my *Cicero* (poore ſoule, what ſhall he) doe? To ſpeake truth, it were fitting I ſhould alwayes haue him within mine armes, and in my boſome More, at this preſent I cannot write, ſo deepe a melancholie ſurprizeth me. I intend to be aduertiſed, what you haue done: whether you poſſeſſe any thing, or, (which I feare,)

whether

whither you be ſtripp'd of all things. As you write, ſo I hope, that *Piſo* will be very fauourable. It boots not, to grieue at the ſetting of your ſeruices at liberty. It ſufficeth that promiſe is made to your friends that you ſhall be enabled to recompence their ſeruice, as they deſerued. Hitherto *Orpheus* ſhewes great fidelitie; next to him, theres few, or none, that diſcharge their duties. I haue free'd mine vpon this condition; that if it ſo happen, that together with our goods we are depriued of their ſeruice; they of ſlaues ſhould become free, if they can haue the fauour: But if they were left vnto vs, that they ſhould continue all in their former ſeruices, except ſome few. But this helpes nothing. Whereas you exhort me to be of great courage, and to liue in good hope of recouering my ſafetie; I pray God our hopes proue not fruitleſs. But miſerable man, when ſhall I receiue your letters? Who will bring them to me? I would haue attended them at *Brundiſium*, but that the Mariners hauing faire winde and weather, would needs to ſea. I will write no further: comfort thy ſelfe, my *Terentia*, the beſt thou canſt. We once liued gloriouſly; we were of high degree: it was not our vice, but our vertue, that afflicted vs. Herein, it cannot be perceiu'd I any wayes erred, but in that together with mine honour, I left

not my life: yet if our children be glad, that yet we liue, what remaines, but with a reſolued minde, we ſhould ſuſtaine the cruell aſſaults of our aduerſe Fortune? I counſell thee, but not my ſelfe. *Cladius Philotimus* ſeiues me with great fidelitie; but becauſe he is troubled with a rheume in his eyes, I haue ſent him backe. *Satiſtius* will beare himſelfe better then all the reſt: *Poſtumius* ſtands greatly affected to me. And I hope, he will euer be ready at your commands. *Sicca* ſaid he would ſtay and attend me, but he departed from me at *Brundiſium*. Be as carefull as you may of your health; and be aſſured, that your miſerie doth far more grieue me, then mine owne. *Terentia*, my moſt faithfull, and louing Bed-fellow; *Tulliola* my moſt deare daughter; and thou *Cicero* my laſt hopes, and comfort, fare you all well. From *Brundiſium*, the laſt of Aprill.

Cicero to Terentia his wife, and to Tulliola his daughter.

Epiſt. 5.

I Hope you and *Tulliola* (deare Soules) are as well as I, and my ſweeteſt *Cicero*. We came to *Athens* the xiij. of October,

tober, hauing had a very daungerous Nauigation, and very slow, through contrariette of Winds. At my landing, *Acastus* came vnto me with letters, one and twentie dayes after their date. Questionlesse he came verie speedily. I receiued yours; And I answere, that whereas you doubted, that those you formerly wrote, had neuer beene deliuer'd me, you shall vnderstand, I haue receiued them all: and I take great contentment, that you haue so diligently aduertis'd me of euery thing. The last, which *Acastus* brought, are briefe: neither doe I wonder at it: for, it may bee you daily expect my commings or to say better, that we shall come together. And questionlesse, we are also very desirous, to see you with the first opportunitie. Although, hearing in what state the Common-wealth now stands, I see too euidently, that we shall come in the midst of great troubles: and by the letters of sundrie friends, sent vnto me by *Acastus*, me thinkes, I perceiue, that this ciuill controuersie must be ended with Armes. So that as soone as euer I come, I shall be enforced to discouer my affection. But, seeing we are to come, we will vse all diligence to come most speedily, to the end we may haue more time, to deliberate about this matter; and consequently to resolue with greater wisdome. I desire,

that

that you would come as farre hitherward as you can, to meete me; ſo you may doe it, without your inconuenience. Touching the *Pratian* inheritance, (which doubtleſſe, is an occaſion to me of great griefe, conſidering this benefit accrewes vnto mee by the death, of a man whom I heartily loued) Take order, in caſe the outcrie be made before my arriuall, that *Pomponius* may take into his hands the portion that belongs to vs: and if *Pomponius* cannot attend it, procure *Camillus* to take vpon him the charge thereof. What remaines further to be done, we will performe at our comming. And though peraduenture at the receipt of theſe, you are vpon the waie to meete vs; yet forbeare not to procure the performance of what I haue written. We by gods helpe hope to be in *Italie* about the midſt of November. You, my ſweeteſt and moſt deſired *Terentia*, and you *Tullida*; if you loue vs, endeuour to preſerue your ſelues. From *Athens*, the xviij. of October. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epist. 6.

WE neither meet with often messengers, nor matters to vvrite of. By your former letters, I vnderstood, that you could not make sale, of any possession. Wherefore I would haue you find some meanes to satisfie him, whom, you know, I would not haue vnsatisfied. Whereas our friend thankes you; I wonder not, that you deserue thankes: and deserving it, I as little wonder that shee thankes you. If *Pollex* be not yet departed, by all meanes dispatch him, without delay. And be carefull of your health: the xv. of Iuly. Farewell.

Cicero to Terentia his wife. Epist. 7.

I Haue put off, and abandoned all pensiue molestation, which, not without mine intollerable discontentment, gaue me to conceiue, that you were in miserie; togither with our *Tulliola*, dearer then my life vnto me. And I knew the reason of the euill, the day after I left you. In the night I vomited a quantity of

meere

meere choler, and after it I beganne to feele my ſelfe ſo well, as I thought, ſome God had cured me. And therefore in acknowledgement thereof, render you vnto the ſame God, condigne thankes, with a religious, and pure heart, as you are accuſtomed. I hope I haue gotten a commodious ſhip: wherein being embarked, I wrote theſe; which ended, I will write to many of our friends, and recommend vnto them with all poſſible care, both you, and *Tullia*. I would exhort you, to endure conſtantly the aſſaults of Fortune, were you not more reſolued then any man whatſoeuer. Beſides, I hope matters are come to ſuch a paſſe, that you may remaine there moſt commodiouſly, and that I ence againe may come thither, to defend the Common-wealth, together with mine equals. If you would giue me contentment, firſt be carefull of your health: then, if you thinke good, continue in thoſe villages, where there is no feare of the ſouldiers. If corne grow deare, you may conueniently reſide, with your Cittie ſeruants in *Arpinas*. Our ſweet *Cicero* ſends you a thouſand ſalutations. And I, a double farewell. The vij. of Iune.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 8.

IF you haue your health, as I haue; all goes well. If you deſire to giue me content, be very chaire of your ſelfe. For 'tis written to me, and deliuer'd for certaine, that a feuer tooke you preſently after my departure. In that you certified me of *Cæſars* letters, you did me a pleaſure. Likewiſe hereafter if need ſhall require, when there is any newes, let me know it. Haue a care of your health. The xi. of Iune. Farewell.

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 9.

THe infirmities of *Dolabella*, and of *Tullia*, adde new miſeries to mine old ones. I know not now, what courſe to take, nor what to doe, I am ſo beleaguer'd with moleſtations. Endeuour to preſerue your health, together with our *Tullia*. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 10.

I Wrote my mind to *Pomponius*, more lately then was requiſite. Speaking with him, you ſhall vnderſtand my will. I did not thinke good to write more plainely, hauing to write to him. I pray you, about this preſent buſineſſe, and of other occurrents, let me forthwith be aduertiſed. Looke preciſely to your health. The 9. of Iulie. Farewell.

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 11.

IF you be, as I am, in health, 'tis well. Our *Tullia* came hither the xiij. of Iune, whoſe comming did not onely not diminiſh my greefe, but infinitely encreaſed it. Should I not lament, that ſo louing and conſtant a daughter, by my negligence, is fallen into this miſfortune: whereas, for the feruent loue ſhee beares mee, and for her rare qualities, ſhe deſeru'd a fortune much more fortunate. I was in the minde, to ſend *Cicero* to *Ceſar*, and *Cneius Salluſtius* with him,

him. If he goe, I will giue you notice. Be carefull, with all diligence, to preserue your selfe. Farewell: The xv. of June.

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 12.

YOu reioyce at our being arriued safe in *Italy*, and I desire this your ioy may be perpetuall. But daunted in part, with the griefe of publique ruines, and partly by iniuries, vnworthily receiued, I haue taken such a course, as I doubt of the end. Wherefore, ayde vs as much as you can. But what can you doe? For my part, I know not. It is not materiall for you, at this time, to put your selfe on the way; first, it is long, and dangerous: Besides, I see not what helpe your comming will afford vs. Farewell: *Brundusium*, the iij. of November.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 13.

IT is true, that before, I wrote vnto you about a divorce; but, because I know not whether this man may calme the people, or, whether the people haue any disposition to an innouation, I admonish you, discreetly to weigh the action. For, as wee may feare him, in case he should bee prouoked: so, on the contrary, we may hope, that he may bee the author of our quietnesse. Howsoeuer: In this so lamentable a case, take that course which is least lamentable. Farewell. The x. of Iulie.

Cicero to Terentia his wife, and to Tullola his young daughter.
Epist. 14.

'TIs well with vs, if you bee well. You must not hereafter expect, that I should aduise you, what course to take, in that you may herein counsell your selues. If he come to *Rome*, with an intention, to permit nothing to bee done, otherwise then what's befitting, it will not be much out of the way, for you

you now, to keepe ſtill at home: but if he come enflamed with furie, and reſolued to ſack the Citie; I beleeue in that caſe, *Dolabella* himſelfe would hardly bee able to preſerue you. And beſides this, you muſt conſider, that in delaying your departure, the waies may bee all ſo laid, that then you cannot goe when you would. Aboue all, you muſt obſerue, whether anie women of your qualitie continue in *Rome*: which you may better enforme your ſelues of then I. And if none remaine, for my part, I ſee not how you can ſtaie there with your honour. Howſoeuer the matter goe: ſo the gouernment of theſe quarters be left vnto me, this will be a verie conuenient reſidence for you, & you may either reſide together with mee in the townes, or in your Granges. And beſides the reaſons aboue mentioned, I muſt needes likewiſe acquaint you with this, that I feare within few daies, there will grow a great dearth within the Citie. Communicate with *Pompeius*, and *Camillus* about all things, and by whom you thinke good, bee aduiſed: but in anie wiſe, be of a reſolute mind: The comming of *Labienus* ſtood vs in great ſtead. *Piſo* alſo here aſſiſts vs; For, he attends not his ſonne in law, *Cæſars* comming into the Citie, but hee termes him Impious, and leaues *Rome*, becauſe he would not ſee him. You, my deere

deereſt ſoules, write often vnto mee, both what you doe, and how matters paſſe there abouts. My brother, and his ſon, and *Roſcia*, ſalute you. Fare ye well: From *Minturnæ*, the xxiij. of Iune.

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 15.

SOme dates ſince I wrote vnto you, that I was determined to ſend *Cicero* to meet *Cæſar*: but ſince I chang'd my minde, hauing no certainty of his comming. For other matters, though there be no newes, neuertheleſſe, from *Sinu*, you ſhall vnderſtand my minde and aduice, how we are to beare our ſelues at this preſent. *Tullia* ſhall now remaine with mee. Preſerue your health carefully. Farewell: The xi. of Iune.

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epiſt. 16.

THough the times are ſuch, as it is not materiall, that either I ſhould expect your letters, or you mine. Neuertheleſſe,

uertheleſſe, I daily looke for them, and whenſoeuer I haue opportunitie, I likewiſe write vnto you, and I know not why. *Volumnia* ſhould haue beene more officious to you, then ſhee hath beene: and that little ſhe hath done, ſhe might haue perform'd it more diligently, and with greater caution. But what imports this? there are other matters of greater conſequence and greater moleſtation: which procure me that affliction, which they are glad of, that haue beaten mee from mine own opinions. Be careful of your health: The inj. of Ianuarie.

Cicero to Terentia his wife. Epiſt. 17.

IF I had anie thing to write, I would doe it freely, and verie often. You now ſee, to what paſſe matters are brought. But how I am affected, you may know of *Lepta* and *Trebatius*. See you haue a care of your owne health and *Tullia's*. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Terentia his wife, and to Tullola his daughter.
Epist. 18.

I Beseech you, deare soules, to bee well aduised, what you meane to doe, whether to remaine in *Rome*: or to come and liue with mee in some secure place. It belongs not onely to me, but to you also, to take some course herein. Me thinkes you may continue securelie in *Rome*, by *Dolabella's* protection: through whose meanes, if anie violence, or rapine should begin, you might haue a waie to preserue your goods, and persons. But on the other side, I feare; seeing all good men are out of *Rome*, and haue their women with them. So that it would not bee much amisse, that you should come to mee in these parts, which are vnder my Gouernment; where you might remaine with me, during your pleasure; and when you would depart, you may be secure in our Garrisons. In conclusion, I cannot discerne which is the better course. Obserue you, what other Gentle-women doe; and take heede, that you be not enforced to stay, when you would bee gone. Consider thereupon verie aduisedly amongst your selues, and with our friends. Cause

Philotimus to make Bulwarkes about the house, & place a Gard about it. And I pray you take vp Corrier's of purpose: to the end, no daie may passe, without receiuing letters from you. And aboue all things, as you desire our healths, looke to your owne. From *Formiæ*: The xx. of Ianuarie.

Cicero to his wife Terentia. Epist. 19.

AMongst other exceeding great sorrowes, the sicknesse of our *Tullia* goes verie neere me. Of whom it imports not, that I write anie thing else vnto you, being assured, that you haue as great a care of her, as I haue. Wheras you desire, that I would come neerer hand, I see it requisite, and had a'readie done so, but that I met with manie impediments, which as yet are not remoued But I expect letters from *Pomponius*, which I praie you continu presentlie vnto mee. Tender your health.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 20.

WE thinke to bee at *Tusculanum*, within ten, or eleuen daies. See euerie thing be there prouided: for it may so fall out, that wee may bring manie with vs: and I beleeue, wee shall continue there sometime together. If there bee not a bathing tub within the house; let one bee gotten: as also all other necessaries, that belong either to nourish, or preserue vs. Farewell: The xxvij. of September.

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 21.

I Should be glad you were in health as I was at the writing hereof. Endeuor to grow strong againe. Make prouision of things necessarie. Let vs haue them according to the times. And aduertise me of all occurrents. Farewell.

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 22.

I Should be glad, &c. We daily expect your Currier's: when they come, we shall peraduenture conceiue what wee are to doe, and will presently acquaint you. Bee verie carefull of your health. Farewell: The first of September.

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epist. 23.

IF you bee, as I am, all's well. Hitherto I can heare no certaintie, either of *Cæsars* comming, or of the letters, which they say, *Philotimus* hath. When the truth is knowne, I will forthwith aduertise you. Bee carefully respective of your health. The eleuenth of August.

Cicero

Cicero to his wife Terentia.
Epiſt. 24.

IF you be as I am, all's well I haue at length receiued letters from *Cæſar*, full of loue and courteſie: and 'tis reported, he will be heere, ſooner then is imagined. When I haue made my determination, You ſhall know, whether I meane to meet him; or expect him. Diſpatch the Corrier's with all expedition. And be verie carefull of your health. Farewell: The xj of Auguſt.

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THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M.T. CICERO.

Cicero vice-Consull, to the Consulls, Prætors, Tribunes of the people; Senate, and people of Rome.

Epist. 1.

IF you bee well, &c. But that I thought *Marcus Bibulus* vice-Consull, could haue giuen you certaine information, of the euents succeeded in his Prouince: I would not haue o-

mitted, so soone as the newes was brought me, speedily to aduertise you, that the *Parthians* with almost their whole forces, had passed ouer *Euphrates*. Though this were reported to me for a certaine truth: yet I thought it not my office, to write vnto you of the particulars of another mans Prouince. But perceiuing the same newes, euery day more verified, and that it was a matter of that consequence; and because we did not heare that *Bibulus* was come into *Syria*; and besides all this, in that the managing of this warre, appertained as it were vnto vs both: I iudged it requisite to giue you aduertisment thereof. The Ambassadors of King *Antiochus Commagenus*, were the first, that certified me, of a great Armie of *Parthians*, passing ouer *Euphrates*. Hauing heard this, some being of opinion, that credit should not bee so suddainely giuen to the foresaid King, I thought it expedient to attend a while, till tydings might arriue of greater certaintie. The xix. of September, conducting mine Armie into *Cilicia*, betweene the confines of *Lycaonia*, and *Cappadocia*, letters were deliuered me, from King *Tarcondimotus*, who hath report to be as faithfull an associate of the people of *Rome*, or more trustie, then any beyond Mount *Taurus*. Wherein, he gaue me to vnderstand, how *Pa-*

corus,

ſorus, ſonne to *Orodes*, King of the *Parthians*, was paſſed *Euphrates*, with a mightie Cauallerie, and encampted himſelfe vnder *Tybe*. And that great tumults were raiſed through all *Syria*. The ſelfe-ſame day, I receiued letters to the ſame effect, from *Iamblicus*, th'-*Arabians Phylarc*: Who is thought to be well affected, and a friend to our Common-wealth. Theſe newes being heard; though I had little ſecuritie, of the doubtfull valour of our allocats, who would take no notice thereof, expecting ſome preſent innouation: yet I hoped that they were become ſomewhat more friendly to the people of *Rome*, amongſt whom I had already beene, and who by tryall, had found our integritie, and clemencie: and that *Cilicia* might the better be confirmed in loyaltie, if it had but ſome proofe of our equitie. And to this effect, and for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe *Cilicians* who were in armes; and to make the enemie who was in *Syria* to conceiue, that the *Romane* Armie, did not only not drawe backe, as daunted by theſe rumors, but alſo aduanced, as reſolu'd to vanquiſh, I began to march with the Armie towards Mount *Taurus*. It is not requiſite to relate vnto you, in what ſtate theſe Prouinces are, in that you had other meanes to vnderſtand it. But if my authoritie bee of any e-

steeme with you, in those things especially, which you haue heard, and whereof I am an eye witnesse. I would aduise you to send succours hither, which though they shall come later then was conuenient, yet is it good to send them. You know that I came to the gouernment of this Prouince, with little strength, though so dangerous a warre was feared, as now is expected. And though I knew my selfe weakely prouided, to defend it; yet for mine honors sake, I would not refuse such a charge, preferring your authoritie, before any disaster that might befall mee. And now, seeing that to succeed, which was feared, I informe you, that if you send not in defence of these countries, as great an Armie as you vse to send to those places, that are pestered with warres of greatest consideration. You are in danger to loose these Prouinces, which you well know to be of waightie consequence to the *Romane* people. Neither must you put any confidence in the souldiers that are heere, for they are but few; and these few, cannot looke the enemie in the face. And they haue giuen so bad a triall of themselues, that *Marcus Bibulus*, being in *Asia*, in great want of men, as a very prudent man, would not entertaine them, although hee had your licence to that effect. We can hope for little

little from our friends, for, having beene pillaged, and oppressed by our gouernours, they are either so weake, that they can afford vs no ayde, or beare vs such an hatred, as it would bee meere folly, to trust to them in any enterprise. King *Deiotarus* is with all his forces at our command. *Cappadocia* is emptie. The other Kings and Princes, cannot doe much, neither are they willing. I will not be discouraged, though I want soulders. And I hope, I shall not want direction. Th'euent is vncertaine. God grant we may come off withfiftene; for I make no doubt of honour. Farewell.

Cicero vice-Consull, to the Consuls, Prators, Tribunes of the people: Senate and people of Rome.

Epist. 2.

I Could not arriue in my Prouince before the last of August; through the difficulte of my iourney, as well by sea, as by land. But being come thither, I beg im prete ntly to view the Armie, and to furnish it with what was necessarie. And though I had but weake meanes, yet hauing respect to that

that which you enioyned mee, I wrought so, that by mine industrie, and diligence, I prouided it of all things necessarie. This being done, newes, and letters comming euery houre, how the *Parthians* were come downe into *Syria*, with all their forces: I resolu'd to march by *Lycaonia*, by th'*Isaure*, and through *Cappadocia*; fearing much, least the *Parthians* might get out of *Syria*, and fall into my Prouince. Whereunto they had an open way, marching by *Cappadocia*, which is an open passage. And doing as I determined, I took my way through that part of *Cappadocia*, that confineth vpon *Cilicia*. And comming with my Armie to a certaine towne called *Cybistra*, lying on the side of *Mount Taurus*, there I encamped; to the end that *Artuasdes* king of the *Armenians* might know, howsoeuer hee were affected, that the *Romane* Armie was vpon his confines. And besides this, to haue the supportation of King *Deiotarus*, a loyall friend to our Common-wealth, Who by his counsell, and force might greatly assist vs. Here therefore pitching our Tents, for the speedy receiuing of aduertisements out of *Syria*, and sending my Cauallerie into *Cilicia*, that the Cities there, perceiuing my arriuall; might the rather persiuer in their fidelitie; I staid there for the space of three daies: Which I

spent

ſpent in a very important, and neceſſa-
rie office. Which was, that I offer'd
my ſelfe to king *Artabazanes*, a very
iuſt King, and friend to the *Romanes*,
promiſing him all ayde and ſuccor, for
the defence of himſelfe, and of his
kingdome: and cauſing him to vn-
derſtand, how affectionately you had
recommended him vnto me, and with
how great honor to himſelfe, you ſee-
med to hold him in high eſteeme: in
that the *Roman* Senate, neuer vs'd ſo
louing an action to any king, as they
had done to him, giuing him no ſlender
teſtimonie of the affection you beare
him, and of his owne worth, for which
you reputed him worthie of your pro-
tection. The King hauing heard this
Embaſſie, he began, firſt, to thanke you
in the beſt manner he could, and then
my ſelfe taking it for a great grace,
and wonderfull honor, that the Senate,
and people of *Rome*, ſhould haue ſo
great a care of his ſafetie, and that I
vs'd ſo much diligence to let him know
it. And ſo proceeding in his diſcourſe,
he told me to my great contentment,
how he lued free from all feare, and
ſuſpicion, as well of his life, as of his
kingdome, whereat reioycing with
him, and expreſſing the contentment of
minde I felt thereby, I exhorted him
to be mindefull of the horrible acci-
dent of his fathers death, and carefully
to

to looke to himselfe, and by our aduise to lay for his owne safetie. After this, taking leaue of me, he returned to Cyrrhestes. The day after hee came much disturbed, and lamenting to me in my Tents, together with Antiochus his brother, and with his fathers ancientest friends, who lamented no lesse then himselfe; and hauing pitifully demanded ayde of mee, I cast with my selfe, what might be the meaning thereof. And (at large) laid open vnto me the occasion; inferring, how certaine practises were discouered, intended against him. Which hitherto had lyen hid, in respect, that they who might haue reuealed them, for feare had concealed them. And though they saw them elues free'd of the danger, yet they feared to discouer them; but being secured in my power, they boldly made them knowne. And amongst these was his louing, and courteous brother: who also in my presence affirm'd, how he had beene prouoked to make a way to the kingdome, by his brothers death, in that hee could not raigne while he liued: but for feare of worse, he neuer reueal'd it to him before my arriuall: which procur'd such securitie, that these treasons came to be discouered. Vnderstanding the matter, I entreated the king to be circumspect, and to vse all meanes and endeauour,

for

for the preseruation of his life & State: And I exhorted those faithfull friends and followers, who were so beloued of his father, that bearing in minde, the disastrous accident befallen the old King, with all care and vigilancie, they should intend the preseruing of this man present. Hereupon the King requesting me, to lend him a part, of my horse, and infanterie, though I had not onely ample licence from you, but also strict iniunction, that so I might, and should doe: yet the necessities of the Common wealth enforcing me, to conduct my Armie vpon the confines of *Cilicia*, without interposing any delay, for the bad newes which euery day came out of *Syria*; and supposing the King able enough to defend himselfe, without the succor of my Armie, in that the trecheries were now made knowne: I perswaded him, that the first demonstration of himselfe to be a king was, to preserue his owne life; then that he should be a seuere persecutor of whomsoeuer had committed any treason against his person; that hee should punish the heads of the conspiracie; and beare himselfe chearefully to others, for the rooting of all suspition out of their mindes. And that he would rather make vse of mine Armie, to daunt the courage of the delinquents, then any wayes to contest with them.

Here-

Heereunto, adding, that your decree would be of so great force, that no man durst innouate any thing; they conceiuing, that I had expresse commission from you to ayde him, and to curbe their insolency, that plotted against him. And after I had with liuely reasons perswaded him to bee of good courage, I rais'd my Campe from the foresaid place, directing my march towards *Cilicia*. And so I departed out of *Cappadocia*, hauing miraculously preserued both the life, and state of *Ariobarzanes*. Whom, you had prudently recommended vnto mee, granting him first, out of your owne free-will, the title of a King, by decree's full of affection. Wherein you shewed the great care you tooke of his safetie; whereof I thought good to giue you notice, that you might vnderstand, how you, by your circumspection preuented a great euill, which ere long, would haue produced wicked effects. And I write the more willingly to you heereof, because me thinkes I discern'd in king *Ariobarzanes*, so many, and such like signes, of wit, fidelitie, and loue, as it may be conceiu'd, that not without speciall reason, you tooke so principall a care of his well doing. Fare you well.

Cicero

Cicero to Marcus Cato, Epist. 3.

THE third of September, the Embassadors of king *Antiochus Commagenus* came vnto mee there, where I had pitched vnder *Iconium*, bringing newes, how the sonne of the *Parthian* king, kinsman to the king of the *Armenians*, with an innumerable companie of *Parthians*, and a great number also of other nations, was come to the banks of *Euphrates*, & had already begun to transport his Souldiers. Hereunto annexing, how it was reported, that the king of *Armenia* would make some incursion into *Cappadocia*, whereof I was desirous to aduertise you, for our friendships sake, not being willing to write publikely thereof, for two reasons; one because the Ambassadors informed me, that the foresaid king *Commagenus*, presently dispatched messengers to the Senate with letters, wherein he certified them of all: th'other, because I made reckoning that *Marcus Bibulus*, vice-Consull, being departed from *Ephesus*, euer since the midd'st of August, and hauing had fare windes, was now come into his Prouince, and so consequently, with greater certaintie, might write vnto the

the Senate, of the euents of Syria. And becauſe I ſee all other meanes excluded, of defending theſe Countries; I labor to purchaſe the loue, & good will of the people, and to keepe our Colleagare in fidelitie. And nothing elſe occurring worthie of information, I beſeech you to loue, and fauour me, as you were wont to doe. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Cato. Epiſt. 4.

BEing reſolued, to make a ſute vnto the Senate, which queſtionleſſe in it ſelfe, is iuſt and honeſt, neuertheleſſe, I thought fit therein to vſe your authoritie as an inſtrument: knowing what fauour, and aſſiſtance, the rare qualities of your minde may afford me: which haue brought you into ſuch reputation with euery man, that your meanes in obtaining any great matter of moment, are exceeding powerfull. And to this effect, I was deſirous in this preſent letter, fully to aduertiſe you, of the courſe I tooke, to retaine the amitie of our aſſociats; and of the Iuſtice, and Charitie, which I ſhewed to their Subiects: hoping that by this way, I ſhould more eaſilie incline you, to fauour me. The laſt

laſt of Iuly I was in my Prouince, and perceiuing how it was a ſeaſon, to repaire to the Armie without any delate: I ſtayed onely in *Laodicea* three daies, in *Apamea* foure, three in *Sinadis*: and as many more in *Philomelium*: and leauing in all theſe townes multitudes of ſouldiers. I diſburdened manie other Cities, who were ſurcharged with intollerable tributes, and heauie vſuries: and clear'd them of infinite debts vnſufferable; growing by taxations, which were impos'd vpon them, beyond all reaſon. And becauſe the Armie, was diſſeuer'd, through a certaine diſorder, growing before my arriual; vpon which cauſe, fiue Cohorts of it, were withdrawen, vnder *Philomelum*, without either Legate, or Tribune; and finally, without ſo much as a Centurion; the remainder of the Armie lying in *Lycaonia*, I gaue Commiſſion to *Marcus Anneius* the Legate, to reconduct the ſayd cohorts thither, where the others were: and ſo knitting together the whole Armie, that he ſhould encampe himſelfe there in *Lycaonia*, vnder *Iconium*. After, he hauing performed all things according to mine order giuen him, I came to the Campe, the xxvi. of Auguſt: hauing firſt drawen together, a good number of the beſt forraine ſouldiers I could take vp, both foot, and horſe, beſides thoſe, which were voluntarily

luntarily offered me, by the free Nations, & those Kings, who are in league with vs. In the meane while hauing mustred my men, I directed my march towardes *Cilicia*. And the first of September being on my way, Embassadors ouertooke me, from king *Commagenus*, which being all astonished, & fraught with feare, related to me for a certaine truth, how the *Parthians* were passed into *Syria*; whereat my mind was wonderfully troubled, in respect of *Syria*, and mine owne Prouince, and briefly, in respect of all *Asia*. Wherefore I resolu'd too, to hold on my way by that part of *Cappadocia*, which confineth with *Cilicia*; perceiuing that if I should fall into *Cilicia*, I might easily defend it, through the naturall situation of *Mount Amanus*, (for there are but onely two entries, out of *Syria* into *Cilicia*, and both of them are narrow, that with a very few men, the enemies passage may be stopped, and on the part of *Syria*, *Cilicia* could not be better fortified) but *Cappadocia* I feared: because it lay open to *Syria*, and is expos'd to the danger, that might accrew from bordering kings. Who, though they be our frends, yet dare they not manifest themselues, enemies to the *Parthians*. Therefore, in the furthest part of *Cappadocia*, not farre from *Mount Taurus*, vnder the towne of *Cybistra*, I encamped; both to

to defend *Cilicia*, and to supplant the new dissegnes of bordering Nations, holding *Cappadocia*. And in the meane time, rumors on all sides being spread, and a great warre expected, king *Ariarathes*, a wise, and valiant man, (of whom both you & I, together with the whole Senate, had euer a singular good conceipt, hauing found him vpon all occasions faithfull, and well affected to the people of *Rome*,) sent Ambassadors to me, informing me, that he would come with all his Forces in to my Campe. Whereupon, I, being mou'd, through so louing and courteous a demonstration, giue him thankes by letters, exhorting him to hasten his comming as much as was possible: and hauing stayed at *Cybistra* fiue dayes, to furnish my selfe of things necessarie for the warre, I deliuer'd king *Ariobarzanes* from an imminent perill, which before he had not perceiued. And, being recommended to me, at your requist by the Senate, I did not onely procure his safetie, but so effected, that he might cause himselfe to be both obey'd, and feared. Besides this, I preuailed so far with the same King, that he shew'd fauour to *Metra*, and that *Athenæus*, whom you so seriously recommended to me. Who through the malice of *Athenaides* had beene banished: so that he now maintaines them about him, in great, and honourable

honourable fashion. And perceiuing what warre, might ensue, betweene king *Ariobarzanes*, and the Priest, if the Priest with Armes meant to defend himselfe: as the common opinion was he would doe, being a powerfull young man, and furnished with horse & foot, and which imported most, with money, being fauoured by them, that affected innouation; I caus'd him to depart out of the kingdome, and so accommodated the Kings affaires, as without tumult, or Armes, he might beare himselfe as a King, and liue without any iealousie, keeping a roiall guard within his Pallace. In the meane space, by letters receiu'd from diuers; and by messengers arriued, I vnderstood, how a great Armie of the *Parthians*, and *Arabians*, made approach to *Antiochia*: and that a great troope of their horse, who were gotten into *Cilicia*, were discomfited and hewen in pieces, by my Cauallerie, and Prætorian Infanterie, who were of the guarison of *Epiphania*. Whereupon, seeing that the *Parthian* Nation, giuing ouer the enterprise of *Cappadocia*, drew neare to *Cilicia*; with great dayes iourneyes, I conducted the Armie towards *Mount Amanus*: who ther being come, I had aduertisement, how the enemy was risen from before *Antiochia*, & *Lbalus* was entred thereinto. And hearing that *Pacorus* was

hasting

hasting towards me, with a strong Cauallerie, and Infanterie, and multitude of Forces: I sent him word, that I now saw no need, why he should remoue himselfe so farre from his kingdome: but vpon any occurrent, I would suddainly giue him notice. After these euents, retaining a firme resolution, to pacifie the people of *Mount Amanus*, and to expell them, that euer were enemies, though I came with an intention, to succour both the one, and other Prouince, if the time permitted: nertheless, I iudging, that this would redound to the benefit of both those Prouinces; I thought it most expedient to bring my determination to effect. And therefore making a shew of departing from the sayd Mountaine, and remouing about a dayes iourney off: and pitching my tents vnder *Epiphania*, the xij. of October, about the shutting in of the euening, I, with the most actiue of my souldiers aduanced: and so marching all night, at breake of day, we ascended the mountaine; and deuiding the Armie, part remained vnder mine, and my brothers command, part I committed to *Caius Pontinius*, and the rest I left to *Lucius Annius*, and *Lucius Tullius*, who were all the Legates I haue: and so marching on in this equipage, we assailed the enemies on a suddaine: of whom some were slaine, some taken, hauing

hauing no time left them for flight. *Ponctinus* beleaguer'd *Erana*: Which being the Metropolitane of *Amanus*, may rather be tearmed a cittie, then a Burrough; and moreouer, *Sepyra*, and *Commoris*. Which townes were verie strong, defending themselues resolutely. But yet they were so oppressed, that in the end with great slaughter of the enemies, they were taken. And this assault beginning before day light, continued till two houres within the night. Besides this, we tooke six small towns, and burnt diuers others. After these effects ensued, we pitched at the foote of *Amanus*, call'd by the name of *Alexanders* Altars; in which place, staying some foure dayes, we spent the time in extinguishing our enemies, and in forraging, and wasting that part of *Amanus*, which lies against my Prouince. These things being perform'd, I conducted mine Armie within sight of *Pindenissus*, a Burrough of priuiledged *Cilicians*. Which is seated vpon a verie high mountaine, a place inexcugnable, and inhabited by men, who alwayes scorn'd to be gouern'd by their owne Kings, much lesse by others. And perceiuing that they gaue receptacle to all that fled, making open defence, through hope they had, that the *Parthians* would arriue to their succour: me thought the honour of the *Romane* soueraigntie,

spurred

ſpurred me forward, to ſuppreſſe their inſolencie, that others therein might be aſtonished, who ſtood our ſtiffe againſt our dominion. I therefore impaled, and intrenched them, and I beleaguer'd them, with ſix Bulwares, and encamped about them, with as great an extent as I was able. And I oppugn'd it with Countermures, ſhelters, and tourrets. And ſo, battering it with diuers engins, and aſſailing it with Croſſe-bow ſhot, with great labour, and without any diſturbance, or charge to our Aſſociates, I tooke it, within the ſpace of leſſe then two moneths. For they within, perceiuing the Cittie burnt, and ruined on euery ſide, out of neceſſitie yeelded themſelues. A little beyond, are the *Tibarani*, as wicked and audacious as the former. Who hearing of the taking in of *Pinſentiſſus*, ſent me hoſtages. And then I diſmiſſed the Armie, (winter being now come on,) to their ſeuerall quarters. And gaue charge to *Quintus* my brother, that he ſhould diſperſe the Armie, in the taken, and ſuſpected Burroughs. Now be aſſured, I ſhall repute it for a great honour, if, when theſe my actions are related to the Senate, you will but approue, that a thankefull demonſtration may be made thereof. And, though I know it to be the cuſtome, of mature, and qualified men, to employ one another in

such like cases, and to adde their earnest entreaties: neuertheleſſe, I thinke it may ſuffice me, onely to haue giuen you information thereof. Calling to mind, how many times, you haue with your ſentences, fauoured me, in how many places exalted, and honoured, and vpon how many occaſions benefitted me: your words I euer eſteemed of ſuch power, that when ſoeuer you commended me, I was ſure to compaſſe all my pretences. And finally, I remember when not minding to grant the celebration of a publicke feaſt, vnto a famous man, and endued with ſingular integritie; you ſaid you would grant it him, if it were demanded for matters effected by him, as Conſull in the Cittie. And the ſame honor you yeelded to me in my gowne: not by vertue of Armes, as it was graunted to many: but, (as neuer any had it;) for my Countries preſeruation, I forbeare to alledge, how for my ſake, you car'd not to excite againſt your ſelfe many enemies, to expoſe your ſelfe to many perils, and to reſiſt the violence of my Fortunes. Which you were ready to oppoſe, euen to the end, if I had beene ſo pleaſed. And laſt of all, that you reputed mine your enemie; whoſe death you alſo approued, defending *Milo's* cauſe, in the open Senate. So that I might eaſily perceiue, how worthily you eſteemed of

me

me On my part, I will not now produce the good offices, I euer perform'd for you; but onely an affectionate enclination towards you: Through which, I was enforced not alone, to reuerence you in heart, and imitate your example, and your vertues, (For, there's none that doth not so much) but in all my actions, in all my writings, as well *Greeke*, as *Latine*; and breefly in all those Sciences, wherein I exercised my selfe, I could not, but prefer you before all men, aswell those, whom wee know by sight, as those whom fame hath giuen vs notice of. You will, peraduenture, demand of mee, what the reason is, I make so great an accompt, of receiuing this fauour from the Senate? To which, I will freely answer, because I thinke I can, & ought so to do; aswell by reason of our studies, as for our inward friendship, and also for the domesticall familiaritie, that hath beene betwixt our fathers. If euer there were a man, that by nature, (if ney, (if mine owne affection deceiue me not) that out of iudgement and learning) neuer relished the vaine praises, that are giuen by the vulgar; I certainely am that man. And thereof my Consulship can giue testimonie; wherein, as in all my life past, I confesse, I haue practised those courses, from whence a true glorie might arise vnto me. But yet I was

euer of this opinion, that glorie ſhould ſhould not be affected. And that this is true: refuſed I not, the Prouince aſſigned to me by the Senate? Which, being munified, and ſecure, yeelded mee mee vndoubted hopes of a Triumph. And when I might with little labour, haue obtain'd the Augurall dignitie, as you cannot but conceiue; did I not contemne it? but after I receiu'd that iniurie, which notwithſtanding, turn'd to my great renowne; although you euer termed it the ruine of the Common-wealth; I applied all my endeuor, that the Senate and people of *Rome*, might fauour me, with all titles of honour, for a ſigne, as it were, of mine innocencie. Whereupon, afterwards I tooke vpon mee the Auguriſhip, which at firſt I cal'd not for: and the ſame honour, which the Senate is accuſtomed to grant thoſe men, that by armes haue augmented the State of the Common-wealth, heretofore by mee contemned; I now ſeeke, that with iuſt title it may bee alſo relucent in mee. And to the end, my minde may bee herein ſatisfied, (and in this may bee perceiu'd a little ſparke of deſire, to cure the wound of my receiued iniury;) Though before I told you, I would not entreat you, to lend mee your ayd, and helpe; now, with my whole heart, I requeſt your furtherance. But

now,

not, vnlesse my actions at this present be such, as doe not onely not seeme friuolous; but of that moment, that many haue for matters of lesse consequence, been with greatest honours, by the Senate dignified. And surely, if I haue truely obserued your renowned vertues, as in effect I haue (for you know, with what vigilant attention, I vse euen to collect your words) I conceiue, amongst the rest, how you were wont, not onely to looke into the actions of Captaines valiantly atchieued, but also into their customes, life, and institutions: and consequently, to honour them, according as these qualities were in them, more, or lesse resplendant. Which, if you please to consider in my actions, you shall discerne, that to preuent the rebelling of those people, who perceiuing so great a war readie to ruine them, would presently haue reuolted; I betooke my selfe to the safeguard of equitie and moderation: And by these stratagems, I haue compassed such designes, as by no Armie were euer atchieued: hauing drawne these Associates to our amitie, who were our capitall enemies: and re-vnited those subiects with our dominion; who, perceiuing things in a commotion, were alienated; expecting to what part, Fortune would bee enclined. I know not what conceit hath transported mee fur-

ther then was requisite; especially with you, to whose eares, the complaints of al those people come, which are our Associates. Of the aboue-mentioned successes, they will plentifully enforme you, who thinke themselues re-established by mine ordinance. And omitting to alledge, that there is not anie one man, who will not concur with mee, in making a faithful relation of my euents; They of the Ile of *Cyprus*, and the Kingdome of *Cappadocia*, shall bee the men, who shall speake vnto you, in my commendation. The like will bee done, as I suppose, by your especiall friend, King *Deiotarus*. These put all together, cannot peraduenture, speake so far, that they can with words, adde anie thing to the effects. But because in all ages there was a lesser number of those that could subdue their owne appetites, then of those, that knew how to vanquish an enemie; certainely, you ought to repute my operations the greater, and more iust, comparing with the excellencie of armes, these parts which are more rare, and found with greater difficultie. I will not proceed to more efficacious entreaties But, as it were, distrusting to be heard, I will cal Philosophie to mine ayde, which is the deerest thing that I esteeme in the world, and the most worthie gift, that euer the Gods bestowed

ſlowed vpon humane generation. This communion therefore of ſtudies, wherby (both of vs, hauing from our childhood, applied all our thoughts and endeuors thereunto); we haue almoſt alone, brought that ancient & true Philoſophie, (which ſome hold, to taſte of ſloth & idleneſſe,) into the *Forum*, and Common-wealth, & almoſt into the armie; ſhal preach my deſerts vnto you: which, I ſuppoſe, *Cato* cannot (but vnlawfully) denie. Wherefore aſſure your ſelfe; that if it ſo happen, that the Senate, through your perſwaſion, grant me this honour; I ſhall repute, I haue attained to my intention, by the meanes I moſt deſired, that is, by the loue you beare mee, and your owne authoritie. Farewell.

Marcus Cato to Cicero, Imperator. Epiſt. 5.

HAuing vnderſtood of the vigilant care you haue taken of the people committed to your charge, and the Iuſtice you haue executed in your gouernment: & your zeale, in procuring their happines. I haue found ſuch contentment therein, as our friendſhip, and the loue I beare vnto my Countrey, requireth.

quireth. Which, notwithstanding, to me is no new thing, nor to anie that haue knowne the diuine forme by you obserued, in the Regiments of *Rome*. wherefore, not thinking it fit, that your praises should bee concealed, hauing with innocencie, and good counsels, defended the Prouince, preseru'd the Kingdome of *Ariobarzanes*, with the King himselfe; & recalled to the obedience of our Empire the Confederates; I spake openly in the Senate, in testimonie of your vertues, which had produced so happie effects. The Senate vnderstanding your desire, according to the ancient order, did deliberate, that all the Temples of the Citie should bee visited. And, if, for that which you haue effected, not by anie fauour of prosperous Fortune, but by meanes of your owne moderation and prudence, you had rather, the people of *Rome* should giue thankes to the immortall Gods, then acknowledge it from your selfe: I in like manner reioyce thereat. But if you affect this honour, esteeming it an earnest of your Triumph; And would for this, haue vs more bouud to Fortune, then to your selfe; Know, that Triumph doth not alwaies second such honor. In my opinion, 'tis farre greater glorie, when the Senate iudges, that the Prouince was maintain'd and preseru'd, rather

ther by the clemencie and sinceritie of the Captaine, then either by the force of Souldiers, or the Gods benignitie. And about this point, I haue been longer then vsuall, to make you conceiue the great desire I haue, to settle you in this opinion; that I haue both procur'd that for you, which in my iudgement did accrue most vnto your greatnesse: and that I reioyce, that you haue obtained, what you most desired. Farewell. Loue vs, and as you haue begun, prosecute the affaires of the Common-wealth, and our Associates, with diligence, and seueritie.

Cicero to Marcus Cato. Ep. 6.

NÆVIUS, as I remember, by the mouth of *Hector*, saith; *I finde, O Father, inestimable contentment, in hearing my selfe commended by you, a commendable person.* The like may I say, who thinke I haue gained wonderfull glory, because you congratulate with me, for my obtained honour, and much more, in that with the testimonie of your opinion, you haue praised my actions. For that Fame, which springs from the iudgement of some graue man, and one of authoritie, augmenteth a mans renowne and reputation; and euery man

presumes, that it proceeeds from trueſt vertue. But what in this I take for a ſingular fauour, and yeelds mee high contentment, is, that I conceiue, how in reſpect of our friendſhip, you haue been moſt liberall to me of that, which you would willingly haue afforded any, for the truths ſake. And if our Citie, in which, it is a miracle to finde one Cato, had not only that one, but did abound in many Cato's, there is no Pompe, nor Triumph ſo magnificent, which I would not eſteeme, as nothing in comparison of the praiſes which you haue deliuered of me. For, according to my opinion, and in their iudgement, who, with diſcreet and ſound vnderſtanding, reſpect the end of true glory: nothing in the world could haue added vnto my good name ſo much, as by your ſpeeches hath beene added. In which, as I haue beene aduertiſed from home, you exalted me to heauen. I will not contend, in alledging the reaſons, that made me not ambitious; but deſirous to purchaſe vnto my ſelfe that generall grace, which is ſo much eſteemed; hauing written thereof at large, in my laſt letters. And though you infer, that a man ſhould not bend to ſuch like reſpects, this no waies diſtaſts me, for 'tis true, that honors ſhould not be ſo openly hunted after; but when they are offered by the Senate, they ought not

to

to be refuſed. And becauſe it pleaſeth me to ſuppoſe, that the Senate, in recompence of my labours ſuſtained in the ſeruice of the commonwealth, reputes me not vnworthy of an ordinary fauour. In ſuch a caſe I deſire no other from you, but after you haue granted me, what your owne iudgement implyes; that you will alſo reioyce, if I happen to attaine to my deſire, as you reioyced at the honor, which not long ſince was conferred on me. Whereof I know, you tooke that contentment which was requiſite; in that you were preſent, at the recording of the decree thereupon paſſed; conſidering that ſuch deliberations are vſually regiſtred, by the deareſt Friends of that part, whom the Act concerneth. I hope we ſhall ſhortly ſee one another againe, and God grant, in a better State, then I can expect of the Commonwealth. Farewell.

Cicero Vice-conſull, to Marcus Marcellus Conſull. Ep. 7.

I Am wonderfull glad that you obtained the end of your reaſonable deſire. For your pietty towards your friends, and loue towards your country deſerued the reputation, which your ſingular, and excellent vertues in your Coſ full-

Conſulſhip haue procured you: wherein, you haue ſet vp a ladder, as it were, for *Caius Marcellus*, to mount vnto the ſame degree of dignitie. I am aſſured, there is none in *Rome*, that will not ſhew himſelfe therewith, as contented as we doe. Who being ſent by you, to the vttermoſt bounds of our Empire, doe highly exalt you, with iuſt and true praiſes. For, though I haue ſpecially loued you from your childe-hood; and you haue not onely ſatisfied mee at all times, and vpon anie occaſion, but alſo reputed me worthie of all honour: Neuertheleſſe, obſeruing the kinde part, that you ſhewed to your brother, & the ſingular grace that the people of *Rome* haue afforded you: the loue I formerly bare you, is manifoldly redoubled. And I will not conceale, how I finde ample ſatisfaction, when I heare from prudent perſons, and thoſe worthie of credit, how in all opinions, actions, in all our endeuours and proceedings, we both aime at one marke. Now, if to the other excellent operations of your Conſulſhip, you alſo adde this, that a Succeſſor may forthwith be ſent me, or that my time be not prorogu'd, which you limited mee by decree, and by the Law, I ſhall remaine highly ſatisfied. Bee carefull of your health, and loue, and defend mee; as you were accuſtomed. Touching

newes of the *Parthians*, not minding yet to aduertise the Senat, I thought not good to write to you thereof: for in writing to the Consull, I might seeme, as it were, to write vnto the Senate. Farewel.

Cicero Vice-Consull, to Caius Marcus, Consull elected. Epist. 8.

TO my wonderfull content, I vnderstand you are created Consull; which dignitie the Gods felicitate vnto you, and aduance from good to better: that you may administer it, with your owne, and your fathers honor, giuing such testimonies of your valor, as I desire you should; both because I haue found, in the great instabilitie of my fortunes, how heartily you loued me, and also in that the infinite benefits I haue receiued from your father, binde me to loue you; & consequently to wish you all happines: he neuer failing me of his ayde and fauour, either in my miserie or prosperitie. Besides, your Mother a vertuous Ladie, and of great magnanimitie, hath manifested by euident effects the inexplicable good will she beares vnto me; hauing laboured in my safetie and honor, with the greatest feruencie, that can be required in a woman. Wherfore I entreate you, to loue and defend me, while I remaine in this gouernment. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero vice-Conſull, to Marcus Marcellus his Colleague. Epiſt. 9.

I Am wondrous glad, that *Marcellus* is made Conſull, and that your wiſhes haue taken effect. And no newes could haue come of greater ioy vnto me not onely in reſpect of himſelfe, but alſo in iudging that your vertue meriteth al felicity. To this may be annexed, that not onely when Fortune fauoured my affaires, but alſo when ſhe frowned on me; I made infallible tryall of the ſincerity of that affection which you bare mee: and finally, I haue alwaies found your houſe, ready to procure my honour, and ſafetie, at all times when need required. Wherefore you ſhall doe me a fauour, to manifeſt this my contentment to your wife *Iunia*, a moſt graue and worthie Lady. I beſeech you, loue, and defend me according to your accuſtomed manner. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero Imperator, to Caius Marcellus Conſull, ſon to Caius. Epiſt. 10.

BEhold, Fortune concurring with our deſire; in hauing miniſtred an occaſion, whereby the family of the *Marcelli*, and *Marcellini*, who, in louing of me, were alwaies of one conſent, hath found a meanes to certifie mee of the affection which they bare me; You are exalted to the Conſulſhip, which I greatly deſired. And in truth, neither could I haue had greater hap, then to haue a Conſull to mine owne minde, nor you meete with fitter times, to make me capable of your affection: For, I hauing performed ſome ſeruice in the behalfe of the Common-wealth, it lies in you to manifeſt, how farre you loue me, by intimating to the Senate, how worthie I am of commendation; and by perſwading them to remunerate my deſeruings. I would therefore, if you finde the Senate thereunto enclined, that when my letters are read, you would take the paines (as with eaſe you may,) to procure, that the honorableſt decree may bee thereupon made that you are able. If the knot which faſtens me together with your kindred, were ſtronger then the chaine,

that

that bindes mee to your friendship, I would choose them for my meanes. Whom you know, to wish mee very well, but it imports not. From your father I haue receiued important benefits, and I may truely auerre, that neuer any man shewed himselfe a greater friend to my safetie, and honor then he did: your brother obserues, and respects mee, as is knowne to all men. And to include many words in one, your whole familie, was neuer slacke, to attempt any enterprize, in my fauour. And yet for all this, your selfe was neuer inferior to any of yours in louing me. Whereupon with all fernencie, I request you really to fauour me, and to take vpon you, the protection of mine honor; first, in procuring those honors to be conferred vpon me, which fore-run a Triumph; and then, in furthering me in any other respect, that shall seeme accrewing to my benefit. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Caius Marcellus Consull. Epist. 11.

THough the effect it selfe relateth, how deare my honour was vnto you, and how stedfastly you remain the

the ſame in your Conſulſhip, that you alwaies weare amongſt the reſt of your houſe, and kindred: yet the letters alſo of all my friends doe ratifie the ſame. Wherefore I finde my ſelfe ſo much bound vnto you, as there is no trauaile ſo great, which I would not moſt readily, and cheerefully put my ſelfe vpon for your benefit. For the perſon to whom a man ſtands bound, is a matter of great moment; and I was euer glad to remaine obliged vnto you, to whom, both through the ſame profeſſion of letters, and for benefits receiued from your father, and your ſelfe I am much endeared. Beſides, that louing band, which ties vs with a ſtronger knot; in that you haue euer diſcharged your place and dignitie, to the benefit of the Common-wealth, is a thing that I loue aboue all other things. So that I refuſe not to ſtand ſo farre bound vnto you, as all good cittizens are engaged. And I pray, Fortune to ſend you that iſſue of your honor, which you deſerue, and I hope will follow you. I am in hope that ſhortly, wee ſhall ſee one another, ſo we be not oppoſed by the ſoutherne windes. Whereof I am in great feare, becauſe now is their proper ſeaſon. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero Imperator, to Lucius Paulus elected Conſull. Ep. 12.

THough I neuer doubted, but that the people of *Rome* in recompence of your infinite deſerts, and for the nobilitie of your blood, would with ſingular fauour, and generall ſuffrages, create you Conſull: neuertheles, being at this preſent certefied of ſo acceptable and pleaſing newes, it poſſeſſeth my heart with an incredible delightfulnes. And I pray the Gods to proſper you in ſuch a dignitie, and vouchſafe you meanes to diſcharge it with that honor, as belongs to your eſteeme, and the degree of your progenitors. I would I had been preſect that happy day to haue aſſiſted you as I euer deſired: and that with my diligence, and endeauour, I might haue wiped out ſome part, of that great obligation, wherein I ſtand bound vnto you. Which opportunitie, being taken from me, by this vnexpected, and ſuddaine accident, becauſe I was to depart to the gouernment of my Prouince: I requeſt at your hands as a ſpeciall fauour, that you will effectually labour, and procure that no wrong may be done me; which is, that the due time aſſigned for my Office be not prorogued; that I may thereby

thereby arriue in ſuch a time, as I may taſte the contentment, of your excellent gouernment. And fauouring mee heerein, I will annexe this benefit to your many others. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Lucius Paulus Conſull. Epiſt. 13.

FOR diuers reſpects I could haue wiſhed, I had beene in Rome with you; but principally, that both in demanding and managing your Conſulſhip, you might haue diſcern'd the good affection, that deſeruedly I beare vnto you. True it is, that I was euer certaine, that in your petition you would finde no obſtacle at all: but yet I would haue beene glad vpon ſuch an occaſion, to haue manifeſted ſome louing demonſtration. And in your conſulſhippe, though it be my deſire, that you ſhould not incounter with many troubles: yet doe I much diſtaſte, that in exchange of ſo many fauours, which being a young man I haue receiued from you, I at theſe yeares ſhould not haue the power, to returne you ſome ſuch gratitude, as is befitting. But I thinke it was a certaine influence of the heauens which alwaies opened the way to you, in,

in obliging me; and clos'd it vp when I should shew my gratitude vnto you, in that I euer had a prompt and readie will thereto; but meanes that were slow, and vnable to accomplish. You assisted me to attaine to the Consulship, and to returne into my countrie, from which I was vniustly banished. And now the happie times permits, that vnder your consulship, it hath beene my fortune, to compasse some laudable effects. Wherefore seeing you are placed in so high, and honorable a dignitie, and occasions are presented vnto me, of being honoured: on the one side I am instigated humblie to intreat, and vrge you to endeauour so, that the Senate may establish a decree vpon my Fortunate successes, with all the fauour & regard y can be imagined: on the other; I dare not with you vse ceremonies, least I should make you conceiue, that either I haue forgotten the forme which you haue heeretofore vsed in doing me courtesie; or, that I might imagine you are forgetfull. Wherfore, laying aside (as I thinke you desire) all circumstances of faire words, I will breefely demand a fauour of him, whose deserts towards me are knowne to all nations. If your selfe were not Consull (O *Pauline*) I would vse your meanes, that you might procure me their affection, who had that dignitie.

But

but because this great honor and authoritie placed in your selfe, and our mutuall amitie, is hid from no man, I entreate you in the best manner I am able, to procure, that with all favourable interpretation, and possible expedition, my actions may be scanned and gratified. Wherof I write to you that are Consulls, and to the Senate. You shall vnderstand, that they are worthy to bee accounted of, and such, for which thankes are deseruedly to bee rendred vnto the gods. And not only in this, but in any other occasion, wherin the interest of my honor represents it selfe, I requeſt you to vouchsafe your vndertaking the defence thereof. And aboue all bee carefull to cut off euery designe, which is intended for the prolongation of my gouernment. I desire to see you Consul, and to obtaine from you being Consull, both absent & present, the end of mine intentiõs. Farwel.

Cicero to Caius Cassius vice-Quæstor. Epist. 14.

YOu fauour me, in recommending *Marcus Fabius* a friend vnto me; wherein I make no great gaine, because I haue, for many yeares, I haue beene able to dispose of him at my pleasure; and in that I loue him, as farre as the nobilitie of his mind, and his respective obseruance

obseruãce towardes me, deseruiet. But neuertheless perceiuing, how he loues you aboue any other, I am become a greater friend vnto him. Wherefore, though your letters haue preuailed: yet the certaine knowledge I haue had of his great affection towardes you, hath so much the rather recommended him. In conclusion, I will labour hard for the dignitie of *Fabius*, as you entreat me. For diuers reasons, I would we could meete together: first, to satisfie the longing I haue had to see you, to whom these many yeares, I haue beene well affected; and that in presence, I may reioyce with you, as I haue done in letters. Withall, that we communicate betweene our selues, you, yours, I, mine occurrents: and finally, to weaue the web of our friendship, which wee haue framed with sundrie obligations: but, through instabilitie of the times, could neuer arriue to it full perfection. Which falling out so contrarie, in stead thereof, wee'le vse the helpe of letters, wherby we may in absence conuerse, as if we were together. It is most true, that by writing, I shall not reape that fruit, which I should by your presence: and that contentment which growes from congratulation, would be much the greater, if I could face to face reioyce with you. But yet, I will not forbeare to discharge this office, as heretofore I

haue

haue done; first to congratulate with you, for the magnanimous effects which you haue produced; and then for the opportunitie of the time, in that by these fortunate successes, you are departed from your Prouince, attended with greatest glory, and infinite commendations; and with the generall satisfaction of the whole inhabitants. And thirdly, to negotiate the same affaires afarre of, which we would in presence haue discussed. Mine opinion is, that you should with all expedition goe to *Rome*, considering that at my departure from thence, your businesse went on successfully: and then, by reason of your late, and honourable victorie, your returning thither will vndoubtedly augment your reputation. But if your kinsmen discouer themselues so malicious, as to put some iniurie vpon you; If you know your selfe to be of that power, that you can acquite your selfe; you cannot any where get greater glory: If not, then be circumspect, lest this return of yours proue mischieuous. You must relie on your owne strength; and you know what you are able to vndergoe. If you can goe through; It will be laudable, & popular: If not; the reports of men, in absence, are more tollerable. Touching my occasions, againe I request you, to applie all your power, that the office of my Prouince may not be

be prorogued, which both by the Senate and people, was committed to me, but for a yeare onely: and I exact this of you, as that whereon my whole fortunes are depending. You shall haue herein the consent of *Paetus*, my verie good friend, and enclin'd to doe me any pleasure. *Curio*, and *Furnius* labour in this matter most feruently, supposing, that all my contentments depend thereon. Nothing now remaines to be mentioned, but the confirmation of our friendship, and herein it shall not be requisite to vse many words. You in your tender years affectionately sought my amitie: and I was euer of beleefe, that your conuersation, was an ornament vnto me. Afterwardes you were the secure Port, in my terrible stormes, and safe shield, against the trecherie of mine enemies. And after your departure, I contracted friendship with *Brutus* your kinsman: so as I perswade my selfe, that from so noble a wit, and absolute learning as yours is, in all times, great honour and contentment will accrew vnto me. And I request you as earnestly as I may, to worke so, that you confirme me in this beleefe, and aduertise me of all euents that happen, but especially when you come to *Rome*. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Caſſius.
Epiſt. 15.

THough each of vs departed from the warre vpon like deliberations, with hope of peace, and hatred of ciuill bloudſhed. Yet, being the firſt, who retired, I am peraduenture the more bound to defend the courſe that wee had taken: though many times I call to minde, how being togethers, and conſulting of ſundrie, and great matters betweene our ſelues, to prouide for our ſafeties, we held one opinion, and made one concluſion. Which was; to attend what ſucceſſe the firſt battaile would haue; after which, of neceſſitie it was expedient, that either the whole cauſe ſhould be determined, or at leaſt our iudgement reſolued. Which reſolution was neuer reprehended, but by thoſe, who maintained, that it was better for the Common-wealth to be abſolutely diſſolued, then to remaine weakned, and diſmembered. And I ſaw, that if ſhe once periſhed, all hope of reducing her to her due ſtate, went with her. But if ſhee were but languiſhing, there would be yet ſome comfort. But things haue happened, ſo farre beyond all mens opinion, as it is a greater miracle, that euer they could fall out, then

that we were not able to foresee, or being men to presage them. Questionlesse, I confesse, that I supposed, that after the fatall battaile fought, the victorious would prouide for common safetie, and the vanquished for themselues. But I likewise iudged, that these effects could not grow from any other roote, then from suddaine victorie, and humilitie of the vanquished: and had this humilitie beene; they who were in *Africa*, had found in him the same clemencie, which they that went into *Asia*, and *Achaia* had experienced. And that without any other mediation, but his owne. But the euill proceeded from this, that times were carelesly let run on; which greatly imparts in ciuill warres. For a yeare and an halfe running on in this manner, some conceiu'd hope to ouercome, others without hope of victorie, choose rather to die fighting; then to liue, by comming to their enemies for mercie. And of all these disasters, Fortune beares the blame. For who would euer haue thought, that the *Alexandrian* warre, would euer haue drawne to such a length, the warre ciuill? And that one *Pharnaces*, could haue stroke such a terror into all *Asia*? We concurred all in one election, though with a diuersitie of Fortune; you went into a part, where you might consult, and discerne the end

end of things a farre off; which greatly rids the minde of cares: And I was desirous to meete with *Cæsar* in *Italie*, supposing he would haue come thither, with that troupe of renowned men, whom he hath preserued: and with an intention, to moue him to peace, whereunto he seem'd readie, and verie willing. But I could not doe as I would, because he pursued his enemie, and went farre from these parts. Now, in what state I liue, coniecture you. I heare on euery side, of the deepe woes, and direfull lamentations of miserable *Italie*, and our distressed Cittie. Whereunto both you, and I, and euery man, according to his Forces, might peradaenture haue found some remedie, if the chiefe Commander had arriued. Wherefore I request you by all the loue that you haue euer borne me, to write vnto me what succesfe things haue, what foundations you lay, what may be hoped for, and how we should carrie our selues. I will performe whatsoeuer your letters enioyne me. And I would to God I had followed the councell which you gaue me in your first vnfortunate letters, which you sent me from *Luceria*: for then; I had without any molestation, preserv'd my dignitie. Farewell.

Cicero vice-Consull to Caius Cassius. Epist. 16.

I Perswade my selfe, that you will be halfe ashamed to see your selfe surprised with this third Epistle, before I can get so much as a lyne, or a letter from you. But I write not these to vrge you to so small a matter, for I expect, nay, I challenge longer discourses from you. If I had opportunitie, I would send you euery houre three letters. For in writing to you, methinkes I haue a kind of a representation of your owne person euer before me; though I allow not of these phantasticke apparitions of *Catius*, who approues of those mentall visions of Idols: on whose authoritie your new friends relying, affirme, that the phantasie is able to frame in it selfe, the similitude of any imagined bodie. And to the end you may vnderstand, that *Catius* the *Insubrian*, of the sect of *Epicurus*, lately dead, calleth those *Spectra*, which *Gargettius*, and before him *Democritus*, by another title terme Idols. And though it may be that these *Spectra*, may be seene, because they represent themselues vnto the eye. Yet would faine haue any man tell me, how they can also penetrate the minde. And how is it probable, that thought or co-

gitation should haue this priuiledge, that as soone as I thinke of you, your *Spectrum* should present it selfe vnto my minde? And not onely of yours, who are seated, in the most secret cell of my memorie; but if a conceipt should rise in my imagination, in what forme the Iland of *Britannia* lyeth, should I beleeue that the Idoll of it, would be presented vnto me? But I'le reserue this present subiect till another time. Now I meane to trie you: and if I perceiue, that you should grow cholerike, or that you take it as an affront, I will goe further: and I will grieue for the violence hath beene offered you, praying that you may be restored to that heresie, from whence you were by A mes expelled. Neither will it suffice to alledge, that for these two, or three yeares, you haue voluntarily exiled your selfe from vertue, that you haue beene allured by the sweet bait of pleasures, and delights; but with whom speake I? Marie, with a man of grauitie and maturitie: who since you dedicated your selfe to publicke negotiations, haue in all times gouerned your selfe with that prudence, that you haue replenished *Rome*, with honourable, and rare examples. So that a doubt growes in me, whether this sect sprung not out of a better Trunke then we imagine, seeing you affected, to insert your selfe

thereinto. But what new conceit leads thee, O *Cicero*? Why I'le tell you the truth: It neither being ſecure, nor I being willing, to write what I thinke, about the Common-wealth, I entred into theſe phantaſies, thinking it better to write of them then nothing. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius.
Epiſt. 17.

YOu haue a companie of prepoſterous Corrier's: when they go from hence they demand my letters, when they come hither they bring me none. Although in truth, they herin offend me not, being ſo deſirous to write vnto you as I am. True it is, they ſhould doe much more diſcreetly, if they gaue mee a little more time. But they euer come to me, in their trauailing atyre, making all haſt to be gone, becauſe their companiõs attend them at the gates. So that you muſt pardon me, if at this time, I be alſo briefe; But know you what? I will ſhortly recompence the defect, to which I haue by their haſt beene enforced. Though I know no reaſon why I ſhould excuſe my ſelfe: conſidering yours come hither emptie, and returne with

with letters. We haue it here for current, (ſomewhat I muſt write) that *Publius Sylla* the Father is dead, ſome ſay, murdered by theeues, others affirme, by ſurfeit of meates. The people take no great care, now they vnderſtand, that his bodie was burned. And no doubt but you alſo, who are wiſe, will take it patiently enough: the euill is, that we haue loſt the forme of the Common-wealth. The generall opinion was; that *Ceſar* would haue taken it verie heauily, as he that feared, leaſt the ſales which were made by publicke outcry, might haue beene abated. *Mindius Marcellus*, and *Atius*, the complection-maker reioyced they had loſt their aduerſarie. There's no newes out of *Spaine*, but a wonderfull expectation. There are certaine reports, rather bad then otherwiſe, but they are not credited, by reaſon they come from no certaine places. Our *Panſa* departed from *Rome*, the thirtieth day of December, with honourable employment: ſo that euery one may manifeſtly diſcerne the power of vertue; which, as a loadſtone lewn, drawes others to follow her, ſeeking no other reward then the poſſeſſion of her ſelfe. And though ſome other opinion, hath within this little while beg'loomed your vnderſtandings; yet if you will but looke with a direct eye, ſhee euer honours and rewardes

thoſe ſpirits that obſerue her: as wee may ſee by *Panſa*, who, relieuing many out of miſeries; and leauing in theſe afflictions of the Citie, an example of his wonderfull integritie, and loue, hath wonne the hearts of euery good man. I am glad you continued hitherto in *Brundoſium*; and I thinke it was the beſt reſolution: and I aſſuredly beleeue, you ſhall alſo doe verie wiſely, to keepe your ſelfe within your bounds, without entangling your ſelfe, in dangerous matters. You may be well aſſured, that we who loue you, ſhall receiue therein great ſatisfaction. And I pray you from this time forward, when you haue anie occaſion to write home, to be mindfull of my buſineſſe. Euery man that comes vnto you, ſhall, if I know thereof, bring letters from me. Farewell.

Ciceroto Caius Caſſius.
Epiſt. 18.

THe letter ſhould haue been longer, but that the meſſenger required it of me, at the very inſtant of his departure: and yet longer, if I had delighted in Fables: for matters of moment cannot be written of, without daunger. You'l ſay, we may be pleaſant amongſt

our

our ſelues, and ſalute one another with letters of recreation. In troth, verie hardlie. Why, what ſhall we then doe? do we what we wil, ther's no wandring for vs out of the path of miſeries. But you'le aske me, what's become then of Philoſophie? Where is ſhee? Yours is amongſt pleaſures, mine in perpetuall moleſtations, out of ſhame to ſee my ſelfe hampered with the chaine of ſeruitude. And therefore, I ſeeme to doe ſomething elſe, not to infringe the precepts of *Plato*. Ther's nothing certaine reported out of *Spaine*, neither is there any newes at all. I am ſorrie in mine owne behalfe, you are ſo farre from vs; I reioyce on yours. But this Corrier is verie importunate. Farewell therefore. And as you haue lou'd me from your infancie, ſo euer loue me. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius. Epiſt. 19.

I Proteſt, I haue no greater comfort in this my abſence, then to write vnto you. For me thinkes I talke, and toy with you, as if we were together. And yet this proceeds not through the *Spectra* of *Catius*; in whoſe fauour I will by my next, produce you ſo manie ruſti-

call *Stukly*, that I will driue you to affirme, that *Catius* was borne in *Athens*. I am much contented, that our *Panſa*, with the wonderfull ſatisfaction of all men, hath obtain'd ſo honourable a charge. And I vow to God, I doe not reioyce for him alone, but for all of vs. Hoping that it will be diſcerned, how much euery man naturally ſhuns, and abhorres tyrannie: and on the contrarie, how chearefully they embrace, and fauour the iuſt, and mercifull; and that thoſe honors which wicked men labor and deſire to obtaine, are diſtributed to honeſt and good men. It's a great matter, that it ſhould be ſo difficult to perſwade men, that vertue of her ſelfe is amiable, and an excellent rewarder of her followers: being truer, then truth it ſelfe, that vertue, iuſtice, and honeſtie, are thoſe ſeedes which produce the true repoſe and peace of minde: as *Epicurus* himſelfe (from whom all the *Cati*, and *Amafinij* his erronious interpreters are derived:) beareth witneſſe, ſaying, *That he cannot liue comfortable, that liues not iuſtly, honeſtly.* Wherefore *Panſa* purſuing the honeſt delectations of life, poſſeſſeth vertue: and thoſe whom we call louers of delights and pleaſures, are louers likewiſe of honeſtie and iuſtice: and ſuch as endeuouring themſelues in all vertues, doe poſſeſſe them. And therefore, *Sylla*, whoſe iudgement

we

we muſt needs approue; perceiuing the Philoſophers to bee diſſonant among them ſelues, without ſeeking out which was the chiefe good; purchas'd in a moment, all goods. Whoſe death certainely I haue borne with a conſtant mind; and ſo much the rather, being aſſured, that *Ceſar* will not ſuffer vs long to looke after it, hauing abundance of condemned men, whom hee may in his place reſtore vnto vs, though there is a ſonne of his, remaining, who is well able to diſcharge his Fathers office. Now, to come vnto the Common-wealth. I looke for a relation of the warre of *Spaine*. I would I were dead, if I, be not much perplexed; and I had rather liue vnder our vſuall, that's a mercifull Lord; then to vndergoe a new yoke of one that is full of crueltie. You know how preſumptuous *Curio* is, and arrogates euery great thing vnto himſelfe; you know, how he maintaines, that cruelty is a kind of vertue: you know how ridiculous hee thought himſelfe vnto vs. And therefore, I am affraid, leaſt in exchange, he may, with his Sword, baſely laugh at vs. If you loue me, write vnto me. Oh! how glad I would be, you did but aſſure me, whither you read this letter, with a troubled mind, or a diſburdened. For at the ſame inſtant, I ſhould come to know, what reſolution to vndertake in mine owne

owne occurrents. To auoyd prolixitie, I will bid you farewell: and as you loue me, loue me. If *Cæsar* vanquish, looke for me presently. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Trebonius. Epist. 20.

I Haue commended my Orator, (for so I stile him) to your *Sabinus*: whom I should euery way thinke well of, for his nations sake; had he not also vsurped their libertie, which hunt after honors, and therby assum'd that surname vpon himselfe, out of his owne braine: but yet his modest countenance, and solide discourse, shew him to retaine some thing, of those ancient customes. Thus much of him. Now that which toucheth me more neerely. My *Trebonius*, if God prosper you, to your hearts desire, seeing after your departure with nery courtesies, you haue a little kindled the flame of my loue; to the end wee may endure the thirst of your absence, with lesser difficultie, afford vs by your dailie letters some refreshing. But not vnlesse we truly and vnfeynedly do the like, Though you should do it oftner then our selues for two reasons. First, because they which remained in

Rome

Rome were wont, to write vnto their friends, that were in the gouernment of Prouinces, the accidents of the Commonwealth; now 'tis requiſite you ſhould write them vnto vs, the Commonwealth being there: and then, becauſe wee may pleaſure you by other offices; in that for any thing I perceiue, you can ſtand vs in no other ſted, then to ſend vs letters. Firſt, therfore I would vnderſtand, what iourney you haue had: where you ſaw our *Brutus*, and how long you were togeather. If you haue proceeded further, I would haue you aduertiſe vs, how the warre is managed, and vpon what tearmes matters ſtand: to the end we may apprehend, in what ſtate we are. So much as your letters informe me of, ſo much I ſhall hold my ſelfe to bee certaine of. Be carefull of your health; and loue me with your accuſtomed ſincere affection.

Cicero to Trebonius.
Epiſt. 21.

I Read your letter and your booke with great contentment, but my pleaſure was mingled with the greefe of your departure. For in the greateſt deſire

desire of perpetuating our conuersation, you haue left vs with this onely comfort, that with daily, and long letters, the ardent desire of each partie may be mittigated. Which, as on mine owne part I dare promise it shall take effect; So I am reaute to beleeue that it will not faile on yours; in that the loue you beare mee, is more then manifest. For to omit the fauours, whereof the Cities can giue vndoubted testimony; when you shewed your selfe an enemie to my enemies. When you defended me to the people; when being Quæstor, you discharged about my selfe, and the publike office of a Consull; and would not obey the Tribune of the people, though your Colleague did crowch vnto him. And not to rip vp these late matters, which shall remaine perpetually fixed in my memorie: what a trouble had you with me, when wee were employed in armes? how did you reioyce at my returne? what greefe, and discontent surpriz'd you, when you heard of my dolors, and molestations? and finally, how readie were you to come by all meanes vnto me at *Brundusium*, had you not beene sent into *Spaine* vnexpectedly? Laying therefore these things apart; which notwithstanding I so highly esteeme, as I doe mine owne life and safetie; tell mee I praie you, what greater notice of your

loue

loue could you haue giuen mee, then what you haue afforded mee in this booke? Firſt, becauſe all my ſayings, appeare vnto you full of pleaſing delightfulneſſe; which to others peraduenture ſeeme otherwiſe. Then, were they ſo, or but ſo ſo; they are as you deliuer them, moſt ingenuous: & ſuch, as in your graceſull, and happie carrying of them foreſtalle euery mans laughter, before they come to conſider them to be my paſſages. But, if you did, as of neceſſitie you muſt, thinke onely on me; all the while you were about this compoſition; I were an Iron fellow if I ſhould not loue you. And in that you could not write this ſubiect, without a friendly, and louing remembrance of me. I am readily perſwaded, that the affection you beare vnto mee is no leſſe, then that which is borne by euery man to his owne perſon. To which affection, would I had no leſſe abilitie in deeds, then I haue in loue to be anſwerable. Wherein notwithſtanding I hope you ſhall remaine well ſatisfied. Now to your letter: Which pleas'd me exceedingly: for beſides that, it was ingenuous, and copious: it was alſo in euery part full of affection. I anſwer thereof, firſt, I wrote that Epiſtle to *Calaus*, thinking it ſhould no more haue come to light, then this which you now read: For a thing muſt

bee

be otherwiſe written, which wee determine ſhould be onely read of thoſe, to whom 'twas ſent; then that which is to paſſe through the hands of many. Then, where as you meruaile that I exalted his wit with ſuch great commendation, you ſuppoſing that they exceeded the bounds of veritie: I anſwer, that I thought fitting ſo to doe. Hee ſhewes great promptitude in writing; hee proſecutes a certaine method of his owne, conducted by a kinde of error in iudgement; wherein notwithſtanding he doth very well; he is full of learning, but does not liuelie expreſſe his conceipt: therefore I exhorted him thereunto. For if you would put ſpirit into any man, or ſharpen his vnderſtanding, there is no better way in the world, then to commend him. This is my iudgement, and counſell about *Calaus*: Counſell; in that I prais'd him, to exhort him: Iudgement; in that I held him to haue a wit worthie to bee eſteemed. It remaines that I pray, that your iourney may proue happie; that I expect your returne with hope, that I viſite you oftner in my thoughts, and betweene writing to you, and reading your letters that I mittigate the inſatiable deſire I haue to ſee you. My deſire is, that you ſhould often call to memorie, your owne officious endeauours for mee. Of which if it bee lawfull

to

to be mindefull; 'twere baſe in me to be forgetfull. For I would not onely haue you to eſteeme me for an honeſt man, but one, of whom your ſelfe may haue opinion, you are much beloued.

Farewell.

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THE SIXTEENTH *BOOKE OF* THE FAMILIAR *EPISTLES OF* M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Quintus Tuo. *Epist.* 1.

SEE how pleasing your conuersation is. We staid about two hours at *Thyreum*; where *Xenomenes* entertaining vs, made shew of as much loue vnto you, as if he had alwaies liued with you. Hee hath promis'd to prouide you, of all necessarie things, and I doubt not thereof. I should bee glad, if you finde your selfe any thing better, that-

that you would remoue to *Leucas*; that there you might wholie be recouered. Take counsell of *Curio*, and *Lyso*, and the Phisition. I thought to send *Marie* backe vnto you. Whom you might haue returned when you had found your better cheared. But I bethought me, that *Marie* could bring me but one letter: and I expected many. You may therefore procure (and will doe it you, if you loue me,) that *Acastus* may be euery day about the Port. Messengers will not be wanting, that may faithfully, and willingly deliuer me letters. And I will not omit any opportunitie of such as come to *Patræ*. I haue confident hope in *Curio*, that he will attend you, with all care. He is kindenes it selfe, and loues vs aboue all the world most vnfeinedly. Therefore expect all courtesie from him: and be not you too hastie to follow me; for I had much rather see you come late cured, then presently infirmed. Labour therefore onely to recouer, and leaue the rest, to my prouidence. Many times farewell. Vpon my departure from *Leucas*, the vij. of Nouember.

Cicero

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 2.

WEE haue beene ſeuen daies at *Corcyra*. But my brother *Quintus*, and his ſon, are at *Buthrotum*. Wee were maruellous carefull about your health, neither doe I wonder, that wee receiue no letters from you; For, with thoſe windes that ſhould ſerue you hither, we ſhould faile from hence; which if they had ſerued, we would not haue lien waiting at *Corcyra*. Looke therfore vnto your ſelfe, and get ſtrength: and when conueniently, both for your health, and ſeaſon of the yeare, you can haue paſſage, come vnto vs that loue you dearely. None loues vs, that likes not you. Euery man wiſheth you well, and lookes for your comming. Good *Tiro*, haue a ſingular care of your health. Farewell. This xviij of October: From *Corcyra*.

Cicero to his friend Tiro.
Epiſt. 3.

I Thought I ſhould more eaſily haue endured your abſence; but I finde I cannot

cannot. And though it greatly concernes mine honour, to be with all possible speed at *Rome*. Yet mee thinkes I sin in leauing you; But in that I thought you were firmely resolu'd, not to put your selfe vpon the voyage, before you were well recouered. I approued your determination, as now I doe, if you be also of the same opinion. But, after you haue recouered your appetite, if you finde your selfe in state to follow mee, doe your pleasure. I haue sent *Mario* to you, that if you thinke good to come, he may beare you companie. If not, I would haue him presently turne backe againe. Bee assured, I desire nothing else, but that you should come with your owne ease, if it be possible: but if you perceiue it requisite, to remaine some daies in *Patre*, for your better recouerie; Know, that I desire nothing more, then to haue you cured. If you presently commit your selfe to sea, follow vs by *Leucas*. But if you meane to attend, till you are absolutely well, bee carefull of your companie, of the weather, and of getting good shipping. But, as you loue mee, *Tyro*, take heede, that you let not *Mario*'s comming, or these letters anie way moue you; for, in doing that which shall bee most auailable for your health, you shall doe mee the greatest pleasure. Therefore looke you vnto it: for, I so desire you, as you

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may finde I loue you. My loue would ſee you here ſound, my deſire, preſently: but the firſt eſpecially. Therefore, aboue all, bee care all to bee well: for, amongſt the infinite courteſies, which you haue done me, this will proue the greateſt. Farewell. The third of Nouember.

Cicero to his Two.
Epiſt. 4.

I Neither can, nor am willing to write vnto you, how it troubles me, to be without you. I onely write, it will be an exceeding great content vnto vs both, if we could preſently come ſo together, that I might ſee you recouered. The third day, after wee departed from you, we arriued at *Aletia*, a place on this ſide *Leucas*, ſome fourteene miles. In *Leucas*, I hope, you will ouertake mee, or at leaſt, *Mario* with your letters. As you loue me, or thinke I loue you, ſo looke to your health. From *Aletia*. This v. of Nouember.

Cicero

Cicero to his friend Tiro.
Epist. 5.

WE staied all yesterdaie at *Alycia*, from whence I wrote before vnto you; *Quintus* not being yet arriued. To day, which is the fifth of Nouember, I write these before daie being in a readinesse to depart. I entreat you, for the loue you beare to all of vs, but especially to my selfe, your Master, endeuour to recouer. With a verie vnquiet minde, I expect, especially your selfe, and then *Marie* with your letters. Wee long all, but I aboue the rest, to see you presently, but in no case without your health, good *Tiro*. And therefore make no haste, I shall thinke I haue euerie daie seen you, so you come lustie and strong vnto vs. I can doe, what is to bee done, without your helpe, and therefore suppose not, that mine owne benefit driues mee, to desire your health, so much as the loue I beare you. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to his Tyro.
Epiſt. 6.

I Haue read your letter, with diuers agitations of minde; the firſt ſide much diſturbed me: but the other gaue me ſome relaxation. Wherefore, now know ſeriouſly, that you muſt not take anie iourney, either by land, or ſea, till you are perfectly cured. You write vnto me, how you haue a good opinion of the Phyſician, and I heare no leſſe. But yet I commend not in anie ſort, his courſe of dieting ſicke perſons; for I tooke it not to be well done, that hee made you drinke broth, hauing a diſtempered ſtomacke. Notwithſtanding, by a letter of mine, I entreat him effectually, that he would cure you with all diligence: and in another, I likewiſe recommend you to *Lyſo*. To *Curius*, being of ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, full of integritie, and courteſie, I haue written at large, about your occaſions: and among other things, if you ſo thinke good, that hee ſhould conueigh you to his owne houſe: becauſe I put no confidence in *Lyſo*'s diligence: firſt, becauſe the Greekes ordinarily are verie negligent; and then, in that hee return'd mee no anſwer to my letters which he receiued; but you commend

him, and therefore take what course shall best please your selfe. One fauor I require at your hands, my *Tiro*, that you will spare no charge, in things requisite for your health. I write to *Curius*, that hee should giue the Physician what you appoint; because it were good, to giue him some thing, to the end, he may attend you with the greater diligence. When, in what, or where-soeuer, it hath beene my hap to employ you, I haue receiued good satisfaction, & euer was highly contented with your endeuour: But you shall exceed, what-soeuer you haue formerly done for me; if (as I hope) I may but see you lusti. If you finde your selfe strong in bodie, you may imbarque your selfe with *Messinius* the Quæstor: for, I suppose, you shall haue pleasing and louing companie of him. Hee is verie affable, and so far as I can perceiue, beares an affection to you. But, as I said, take counsell of your abilitie of bodie, and then bee carefull, to saile commodiously, and in seasonable weather. I desire no other, but that you may returne in health and safetie. And bee assured, my *Tiro*, that there's none, who loues mee, but beare you singular affection. And though it more imports vs, then anie other, that you were in health, yet manie besides; also, are desirous of the same. Hitherto, because you would not leaue me

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in anie place, you could not recouer your maladie. Now, there's nothing hinders you. Laie aſide all cares, and attend wholly to your recouerie: for, if you bee careſull thereof, I ſhall thinke you make great eſteeme of mine affection. Farewell, my *Tiro*: Be healthfull, and merrie. *Lepta*, and the reſt, ſalute you: The vij, of Nouember: From *Leucas*.

Cicero to his friend Tiro.
Epiſt. 7.

I Will adde this third vnto the two letters I wrote this day vnto you; more to obſerue the vſuall cuſtome, then for anie thing I had to write. Once againe let me tell you, that I would haue you, according to the loue you beare mee, vſe all diligence for your recouerie. Adde this to the reſt of the courteſies, I haue had from you; for it will, aboue all the reſt, be moſt acceptable to mee. I am confident in your prudence, that you will not vndertake anie iourny, except you find your ſelfe well. But when you come, ſeeke to ſaile with the beſt conueniencie. Let no meſſenger come into *Italie*, without your letters, as I write to you, by euerie meſſenger that

comes to *Patræ*. Recouer, recouer, my *Tiro*; for, seeing Fortune would not permit vs, to saile together in companie, it fits you not now to be too hastie: and thinke of nothing, but how you may bee restored. Bee carefull of your recouerie. From *Actium*: The vij. of November in the euening.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 8.

WEE are verie pensiue about your sicknesse: for, though we vnderstand, that you are out of all danger: nevertheless, perceiuing how matters will require a long time for effect, this comfort is accompanied with notable discontentment: imagining what a while, I shall bee depriued of your companie: the sweetnesse whereof, I measure by my desire of it. But though I heartily desire to see you; neuertheless, I earnestly entreat you, that you will not expose your selfe this winter, to so long a voyage, except you be strong; nor put your self to sea, without good consideration. Scarcely vnder roofs, and within townes, can men of weake complexions defend themselues from cold; much lesse by sea, or

in long voyages, is it eaſie to ſhun the iniurie of the ſeaſons. And, *Cold is verie hurtfull to tender bodies*, as *Euripides* reporteth; to whom I know not what credit you giue: But I eſteeme euerie verſe of his to be a teſtimonie. If you wiſh me well, ſolicite your health, and returne luſtie, & preſently. Loue vs, and Farewell: *Quintus* the younger, commends him heartily vnto you.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 9.

WE departed from you, as you know, the ſecond of Nouember: the vj. wee arriued at *Leucas*, on the vij. at *Actium*. Where, through contrarietie of windes, we ſtayd all the next day. From thence, on the ninth, wee ſailed proſperouſly to *Corcyra*. At *Corcyra*, by reaſon of a ſtorme, we were ſtaid all the xvij, and the xviij. Leauing the Port of *Corcyra*, wee came to *Caſſiope*, xv. miles from thence, where wee were detained by the windes, till the xxv. And manie ouer-haſtie, not willing to ſtay, while the raging of the ſea was downe, were caſt away. The foreſaid day after dinner, wee ſet ſayle, and hauing a

pleasant Southerne gale, and faire weather, betweene that night, and the day following, wee came with pleasure to *Hydrus* in *Italie*: and with the same winde the next day, (which was the xxvj.) betweene eleuen and twelue a clocke, wee arriued at *Brundusium*; and going a shore, *Terentia* met mee, and entred with me into the towne, enquiring much after your selfe. On the xxviij. being in *Brundusium*, extremely desiring your letters, at last came a seruant of *Cneius Plancius*, who presented me those of the xij. which eased me of much sorrow: I would they had wholly free'd me. Though *Aesopo* the Physicion assures me, that you shall in short time be cured. Now I must a little exhort you, to bee verie carefull, to recouer your forces. I know your prudence, I know your temperance, and the loue you beare me. I conceiue, you will vse all meanes, to bee speedily with vs, which I excedingly desire, so you may take no hurt thereby. I would not haue you carried away with *Lyso's* harmony, lest you lie by it for a whole month. But seeing you would needes rather satisfie his kindnesse, then obserue your owne health, from this time forward take better heed. I haue vsed meanes to *Curius*, that he should satisfie the Physician, and that hee should supply your wants: And I will pay it here, to whomsoeuer

ſoeuer hee appointeth. I haue left an horſe, & a mule for you in *Brundiſium*. I am much afraid, that in the beginning of Ianuarie, there will bee great tumults in *Rome*; wee will proceed in all things verie moderately. It remains, that I entreat you, that you will not rathly take ſhipping. Theſe Mariners, for gaine, vſe to make haſte, therefore bee circumſpect, my *Tiro*. You haue a great and difficult ſea to paſſe. It would be good (if you could) to aſſociate your ſelfe with *Meſſalla*, for he was wont to bee warie in voyages. If not, then ioyne with ſome honorable perſonage, whom your Pilot may vſe reſpectiuely. If in this, you vſe all care, and comfort your ſelfe in your health, you ſhall giue me great ſatisfaction. I haue written to the Phyſician, to *Curius*, and *Lyſo*, and recommended you. Farewell: And with ſafetie.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 10.

THough I deſire euerie where the benefit of your endeuour; yet it greeues mee, not ſo much for mine owne, as for your reſpect that you haue not your health. But ſeeing

the violence of the infirmitie is turn'd into a Quartane, as *Curio* writeth. Being circumspect, I hope, you shall easily bee free'd thereof. Now, doe mee the pleasure, to minde nothing else, but your recouerie. I know your desire: but all things will succeed well, if you returne in health. I would not haue you make ouer-much haste, lest being ill, besides offending your stomacke, your winter voyage might bee dangerous. I came to *Rome*, the fourth of this month, where I was receiued with the greatest honour, that could be imagined. But I am fallen into the verie flame of ciuill discord, or rather, ciuill warre. Which I desiring, and in my opinion, being able to preuent, I was hindered by some mens vnbridled humours: for there are of each part, that long to bee together by the eares: and *Cæsar* also our friend, hath written to the Senate, threatning them much, and vilifying them with insolent speeches: and hee is not asham'd, in their despite, to hold both his Armie, and his Prouince: and my *Curio* ceaseth not, to put him forward. And withall, our *Antonius*, and *Quintus Cassius*, not being anie waies vrged thereunto, are with *Curio*, fled to *Cæsar*: Vpon the Senates charge giuen to the Consuls, Prætors, Tribunes of the people, and to vs, who are in the place of

of Conſuls, that we ſhould defend the Common-wealth from all ſucceeding detriment. The Citie was neuer in greater daunger: nor euer had bad Citizens ſo cruell a Ring-leader. On our part alſo due prouiſions are made; And herein the authoritie and care of our *Pompeius* is employed: who now too late beginnes to doubt of *Cæſars* power. Yet in all theſe hurlie-burlies, the Senate forbeares not to aſſemble, and to deliberate vpon my Triumph: but *Lentulus* the Conſul, being deſirous that I ſhould acknowledge the whole benefit from himſelfe, hath promis'd preſently to ſet it forward, ſo ſoone as he hath diſpatcht ſome vrgent neceſſities of the Common-wealth. Wee ſhew our ſelues no wayes ambicious thereof: Which augments our reputation. The gouernments of *Italie* are diſtributed; and wee haue choſen that of *Capua*. Theſe are all the aduertiſements, which occurre at this preſent. Bee carefull of your recouerie, and when opportunitie is offered, write vnto me. The xii. of Ianuarie. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 11.

INto what hazard my safetie, and that of all good men, and the whole Common-wealth is brought; you may conceiue by this, that we haue abandoned our proper habitations, and our countrie it selfe, leauing her as a pray, to whosoeuer will destroy, and set her in combustion. We are come to that point, as if some God, or Fortune doe not succour vs, I see no meanes for our escape. Since I came to *Rome*, I assure you, I haue vsd all persuasions to compound these discords: but I haue found such obstinacie in the hearts, not onely of those wicked, but also in them that are reputed honest, as my Force is not able to dissuade them. They will haue battaile, and will not heare me, when I tell them of the miseries, which a ciuill warre drawes after it. For hauing heard how *Cæsar*, intraged with furie, and bearing no respect, either to his name, or dignitie, tooke into his hands, *Arimi-num*, *Pisaurum*, *Ancona*, and *Arretium*; We haue left *Rome* wholly abandoned, with what wisedome, or courage it auaileth not to argue. Now you see to what passe we are arriued. True it is, that he moues Articles of accord; that

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Pompeius goe into *Spaine*; that the souldiers leuied in our defence, be cassiered: and in this case, hee is content to assigne *Galliæ Transalpinæ*, to *Domitius*; and *Cisalpinæ*, to *Considius Nonianus*, Who were elected for those Gouernements: that he cares no more to haue the fauour, that he may demand the Consulship in his absence, but that himselfe in person, will come to demand it. We haue accepted of his conditions, but so, that he will remoue the garrisons out of these townes, that are in his hands, to the end, that the Senate without feare, being assembled in *Rome*, may consult vpon the abouementioned conditions. In performing this, there is some hope of peace; but I acknowledge it to be scarce honorable, for we submit our selues to his conditions: but it's better to be any thing, then what we are. And, if hee should not obserue his propounded conditions, there is prepar'd so grieuous a warre, as he cannot sustaine it. I say if he doe flinch from the conditions himselfe hath set downe, wee hope to bee able to cut off his way from *Rome*, by hauing many men in a readinesse: and we suppose also he will not bend thither, for feare of loosing the *Gallia*, who are his vtter enemies, excepting onely the *Transpadani*: especially if he perceiue six Legions on his backe that are in

Spaine,

Spaine, conducted by *Afranius*, and *Petreius*, with many succours: but if he wil needs be cõtumacious, tis thought, it will be no great matter to suppresse him, so he make no approach to *Rome*. For he hath had one shrewd crosse, in that *Titus Labienus*, who was of great credit in his Armie, not minding to be a companion of his wickednesse, hath left him, and takes part with vs: and they say many are readie to doe the like. I remaine in the Gouernment of the Sea coast, about *Firmie*. I would not vndertake a greater charge, that by my letters, and exhortations, I might worke the better effects with *Cæsar*, about quietnesse. But if the warre goe on, I see I shall haue the gouernment, and command of a Campe, & certaine Legions. I am wonderfully disturb'd that our *Dolabella* is with *Cæsar*: I thought good to giue you these informations; but as you loue your health, let them not trouble you. *Aulus Varro* is my great friend, and beares you singular affection. I haue recommended you vnto him, entreating him to haue a speciall care of you, as well in the occasions of your infirmitie, as of your voyage. He hath courteously promis'd me, and I know hee will performe it. Seeing you could not be with me at that time, when I had occasion to employ your fidelitie, & endeuour, make

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no haſt in any wiſe to come while you are thus weake, eſpecially being the depth of Winter. Your comming to me ſhall neuer be too late, ſo you come in ſafetie. Hitherto I neuer ſpake with any man that ſaw you; but with *Marcus Voluſius*, who deliuered me your letters: and no maruaile; for, I doe not thinke that mine haue this bad wether, had any ſpeedie conueyance. Be carefull to recouer, and commit not your ſelfe to Sea, till you may haue a ſecure paſſage. My ſon is at *Formianum*; *Terentia*, and *Tullia* are in *Rome*. The xxviij. of Ianuarie, from *Capua*. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 12.

I Long for your comming, but I feare the voyage; for you haue bin grieuouſly ſicke; & what with faſting, purging, and the anguiſh of your diſeaſe, you are conſumed. The leaſt diſorder a man can commit in theſe daungerous maladies, may returne to the great dammage of ſuch as are infirmed. I will bee in *Cumanum* at the end of this moneth. There my *Tiro*, let me ſee you luſtie, and healthfull. My (rather our) ſtudies, through the griefe of your abſence,

sence, are languished. Yet by the letter, which *Acastus* brought, they haue a little lifted vp their eyes. *Pompeius* was present at the writing of these, and being desirous to heare some composition of ours, I merily, & freely told him, that my wits grew barraine, through your absence. Prepare your selfe to render your endeuours to our Muses. For at the appoynted day ours shall bee in a readinesse. For I haue heretofore taught you th'Etymologie of *Fayth*. Looke that you throughly recouer your health: in which wee are very happie. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tyro.
Epist. 13.

ÆGYPTA Arriu'd the xij^th^ of April, and though he told me, the Feuer had left you, and that you were verie well: yet in that he said you could not write to me, I remain'd vnsatisfied: and so much the rather, because *Hermia*, who should haue beene here the same date, was not yet come, I am troubled with doubtful cogitations, out of the abounding loue I beare to your life. Whereof if you free me, I will make you free, and contented

contented. I would write vnto you more at large, if I thought I ſhould not annoy you. Applie the power of your owne vnderſtanding, which I eſteeme to be moſt exquiſite, for the preſeruation of your ſelfe, to both our comforts. And let me yet againe requeſt you to bee diligently carefull of your ſelfe. Farewell. After the writing hereof, *Hermia* came, and deliuer'd mee yours, and by the raggednesſe of the letters I diſcern'd the agonie of your diſeaſe. I ſend *Ægypta* backe againe vnto you, becauſe I take him to bee a louing and diſcreet fellow, and one that wiſheth you well: and with him I ſend a Cooke, to doe you ſeruice. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 14.

I Haue had an ill night, and full of diſtractions, by reaſon that *Andricus* came not yeſterday as I expected. This morning hee came with your letters: from which though I could conceiue no further of your ſtate and being, yet am I ſomewhat recomforted. Till I ſee you, I ſhall haue no apprehenſion of delight, neither can I betake my ſelfe to my vſual ſtudies. Prouide that the Phyſition

sition may be promised the reward which he demaundeth, as I gaue order to *Manius*. I heare you are oppressed with melancholie, and that the Physition perceiues as much. Rowse vp from sleepe, your reading, and your humane studies, for which you are so deare vnto me. You must disburden your minde, that your bodie may fare the better. And this I request you, both for your owne benefit, & for my contentment. Reserue *Acastus* for the attendance of your person, and preserue your selfe for my consolation. Now comes the time of the promises, which I will also exhibite at your comming. Farewell. The xiij. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 15.

If you should giue me the whole world, you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, then to let mee see your selfe in health. Neither shall I bee quiet in minde, till *Menander* returne, whom I sent vnto you. If you loue me, be carefull of your recouerie. And when you feele your selfe, in good plight, come vnto vs. Farewell: the tenth of April.

Quintus

Quintus to Marcus Cicero his brother. Epiſt. 16.

I Would I might never ſee your ſelfe, (my *Cicero*,) my *Tullula*, or your ſon; if you did not highly fauour mee when you made *Tiro* rather our companion then our ſeruant, finding him worthie of a better Fortune then hee formerly liued in. You would not imagine, with what ioy, both his, and your letters, haue poſſeſſed me. And I thankefully congratulate with you. For if the fidelitie of *Statius*, pleaſe me ſo well: how much more eſteeme doth the ſame propertie deſerue, being accompanied with knowledge, diſcourſe, and humanitie? Which vertues farre exceed all other conſiderations. I loue you for all; and moſt worthie reſpects: as alſo for this, and for hauing written vnto me in ſo chearefull a ſtyle. For I reade your verie ſelfe in your letters: I will performe what I promiſed to the ſeruants of *Sabinus*. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 17.

I Know your desire: you would haue me put your Epistles in a volume also. But harke you Sir; How comes it, that you, that were wont to be the corrector of my writings, should be so improper in your speeches, as to say, *Attending faithfully to my recouerie:* from whence comes *faithfully* to be placed here? the proper place of this word, is in office: Though it may be ma nie other wayes applied, as when we say, faithfull doctrine, a faithfull house, a faithfull Art, and also a faithfull field. So that the application thereof be made with modestie, and according to the true meaning of *Theophrastus*: but this shall bee discussed, when we come together. *Demetrius* came vnto me: you are sufficiently enformed, with what companie; but I haue rid him of them. But you'le tell me, you could not see him; To morrow he will be here againe, and then you shall: for the day following I'le be gone from hence. I am much perplexed, about your recouerie. But, attend vnto it, and doe euery thing that is befitting; for so you shall not onely giue me full satisfaction, but I shall imagine you are present with me. I

am

am glad you pleaſured *Cuſpius*: For I with him all contentment. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 18.

WHat now? muſt it not bee ſo? I know it muſt, and it's neceſſarie, that *Tobi* ſhould bee added. Yet if you haue a deſire vnto it, let vs, to ſhunne that enuie you ſpeake of, leaue it out; though I alwayes contemned ſuch like enuie. I am verie glad, your breathing did you ſo much good. And if the ayre of *Tuſculanum* would bee alſo helpefull, O Gods! How it would content me. But if you loue me, (which ſurely you doe, or at leaſt after a cunning manner, you diſſemble: yet howſoeuer) attend your recouerie. You know the beſt Phyſicke to bee, light meats, moderate exerciſe, a chearfull mind, and a ſoluble bodie. Labour to returne, with your vſuall alacritie: I ſhall thinke the better, not onely of you, but euen of our *Tuſculanum*. Try vnderhand if you can get *Parbedrus* to hire my garden; for, that's the way to make the gardener deſperate. See the fame of this glutton, that dares venture fiue and twentie thouſand Crownes, vpon

vpon one possession; where neither Sunne, nor water commeth; neyther hath it wall, or house for habitation: Shall this fellow laugh at vs with so great expences? Put a tricke vpon him, as I intend vpon *Marcus Otho*: Whereupon I neglect his presented garlands. I would faine know what is done about the water of *Crabra*: though now we haue water in abundance. When time serues, I will send the horologe, and the Bookes. But is it possible that you should bee in want of Bookes? Or are you about some compositon in imitation of *Sophocles*? Let the worke bee published. *Aulus Ligurius*, *Cæsars* familiar acquaintance is dead. He was an honest man, and my verie friend. Aduertise mee of your comming. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 19.

I Expect your letters in answer to many things, but much more your comming. Purchase the loue of *Demetrius*, and if you can do him any other kindenes, doe it. About my debt with *Au-*

fidius,

ſaius, I ſay nothing becauſe I know you to bee very carefull thereof; but diſpatch it. If this ſtay you, I excuſe you, if not come flying. I greatly expect your letters. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epiſt. 20.

AS I liue (my *Tiro*) your infirmity troubles me. But I hope, if you proſecute with the ſame care you haue begun, to ſee you ſhortly in perfect health. Set you vp the bookes, in good order: and let an Index of them be made when it pleaſeth *Metrodorus*: ſeeing we muſt liue according to his direction. Concerning the Gardener, I refer my ſelfe to your diſcretion. The firſt of this moneth, you may ſtay to ſee the Fencers, and the next come away; for thus I thinke good: but do as you will; If you wiſh me well be carefull to preſerue your ſelfe. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero the sonne, to his sweetest Tyro. Epist. 21.

AFter a tedious and daily expectation for sixe whole weekes togeather after my departure from you, your welcome messengers came with letters. The Epistle of my most sweet, and deare Father, gaue me wondrous contentment; and your owne letter ouerioy'd me. Whereupon I repent no longer my silence, but am glad thereof. In that it brought mee wondrous encrease of the fruite of your humanitie: Whereby you haue made good my excuses. I am sure my sweet *Tyro*, that the good reports, which according to your desire, were spread of me, did highly please you. And I will employ all my endeauour, that this growing opinion of me, may euery day bee more established. Therfore you may securely promise of me, hereafter, a more reformed life, then that which is past, hath at any time beene. Wherein, if I was drawen from the true waie, I greeue much more then I make shew of. Of which greefe I know you haue beene partaker, in that you take part also in my prosperities, wherein I euer desired to haue a companion. I will therefore restore with double ioy, the affliction

you haue ſuffer'd for my ſake. Vnderſtand that I conuerſe with *Cratippus* in an inward faſhion, not as a diſciple, but as his childe. He hath a ſweet manner of diſcourſe, which delights me greatly: Wherefore I am with him all the day, and often, part of the night alſo. For hee many times meales with mee. And our familiaritie hath proceeded ſo farre, that many times on a ſuddaine, he takes vs before wee haue halfe dyned: and laying aſide philoſophicall concluſions, hee entertaines vs with pleaſant diſcourſes. Wherefore endeauour as ſoone as you can, to come and enioy the ſocietie of ſo noble, and ſo compleat a man. But what ſhall I ſay of *Brutus*? Whom I neuer ſuffer to be from me: ſo modeſt, and loyall he is. Whoſe diſpoſition though it be to bee thriftie and graue, yet is he moſt pleaſing companie; and alwaies in matters of learning. Within the compaſſe whereof wee lay the boundes of our contentments. I haue rented a place for him neere hand, and according to my abilitie, I ſupplie him. Beſides this, I am reſolued to exerciſe oratorie in *Greeke* with *Caſſius*, and in *Latine* with *Brutus*. I liue daily with certaine learned men, which came from *Mitylene* with *Cratippus Epicurate*: the cheefeſt of the *Athenians*, *Leonides* and other ſuch like, ſpend their time with me. I will deliuer

no

no further of my selfe. Whereas you write to me of *Gargas*: certainely hee furthered mee much in my pleading: but because I would not oppose my fathers will, I put him from me: he having written earnestly vnto me, that I should dismisse him. I would not shew my backwardnes in obeying his will, because I would put no conceite of suspition into him. Besides I conceiu'd, how 'twas not a thing fit, that I should oppose my fathers iudgement; notwithstanding, your office heerein, and counsell, was acceptable to mee. I admit of your excuse, by reason of your penurie of time, knowing that yours, is a life much employed. I am very glad of the purchase made of that Farme. Wonder not though in the conclusion of my letter I reioyce with you: for you also in the end of yours, giue me aduertisement thereof. You haue meanes now to lay apart your cittie customes, and to become a rusticke *Romane*. When hourely I set before mine eyes your pleasing aspect, me thinkes I see you buying countrie commodities, reasoning with labourers, and to gather into the lap of your garment, the seedes of fruites after meales. But to come to the matter, I am sorrie as well as you, that I could not assist you. But doubt not my Tyro, that I will euer faile you, if Fortune faile

not

not me, especially, understanding, that this Farme is bought for common vse. You did me a great pleasure to dispatch what I gaue you in charge. I pray you send to mee as soone as you can a writer, but principally a *Gracian*. For I loose a world of time, in writing out the Commentaries. Be carefull of your health, that we may once discourse togeather. I recommend *Antherus* vnto you. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 22.

BY your letters I am in some hope of your amendment; I'le assure you, I wish it. Wherefore be carefull therof, and no waies suppose, that you doe any thing against my will in not being with me. You are with me, if you bee carefull of your recouerie. I would therefore rather haue you obserue your health, then either mine eyes, or mine eares. For though I both heare, and see you willingly, yet your life is farre more deare vnto me. Heere I doe nothing; that is, I write not; but I read most willingly. If the writers there cannot so well read my hand, teach them. There is one intricate interli-

ing, which I my selfe scarcely vnderstand, about *Cato* when hee was foure yeares old. Looke to the building of the refectorie, as you doe. *Tertia* will be there, so that *Publius* be not bespoken. This *Demetrius* was neuer *Phalareus*, but now it plainely appeares that he is *Bilbienus*. So as you shall doe me a good office to obserue him. You know his manner of phrase: *Although: Nevertheless; Of those*; &c. Yet if you speake with him, giue mee aduertisement, that I may haue matter whereof to write, and to write more at large. Looke to your recouerie, for you cannot doe me a greater pleasure.

Cicero to his Two. Epist. 23.

THough these moneyes come not vnder accompt, neuertheles if you may, it wil be good to take an acknowledge thereof; *Balbus* writes to mee, that he is troubled with such a terrible flux of humours to his eyes as hee can not tell me what *Antonius* hath done about the law. I hope they forbid vs not to liue in the countrie. I haue written to *Bithinicus*. See you, who contemne not old age, whether *Seruilius* vnderstand it. Though our *Atticus*, because

because hee heard, how heeretofore I was dismayed at every false alarme concernes alwaies the like; and perceiues not, with what rampiers of Philosophie I am now enuironed. And certainely because himselfe is fearefull, hee seekes to possesse others with feare. Yet I will not breake with *Antonius*, but preserue entire our ancient friendship, and write vnto him, so soone as I haue spoken with you. But come not before you haue call'd in your debt. For the knee is neerer then the legge. To morrow I looke for *Lepta*. I shall need the sweetnes of your discourse, to moderate his bitternes. Farewell.

Cicero to his Tiro.
Epist. 24.

THough I had written to you, but this morning by *Harpalus*: notwithstanding hauing a fit messenger, I will not forbeare to make a repetition of my former. Not because I am distrustfull of your diligence, but because respects of importance vrge me. Great necessitie mou'd me to send you thither for dispatch of our businesses. Procure in any wise, that *Ofilius* and *Aurelius* be satisfied, If you cannot get all

of *Fiarum*, get at least some part; call for the peation dew the Calends of Ianuarie. See you satisfie our Creditors, before your departure. Thus farre of matters domesticall. About publike affaires I am sufficiently enformed. I see what bee the ends and scopes, of *Octauius* and *Antonius*. I know, what you and others may well imagine. I thinke the worse of my selfe, that I come not with all speed vnto you. But I forthwith expect your letters. And know that *Balbus*, was in *Aquinas*, as was told you, and the day after *Hortius*. I thinke they went both vnto the *Barbes*. Wee shall heare, what they haue contriued. Giue notice to *Dolabella's* agents, and call earnestly vpon *Popia*. Farewell.

Cicero the sonne to Tiro.
Epist. 25.

ALthough you haue vsed a iust and fit excuse, of not writing vnto me; yet I entreate you not to make a custome of it. For although I bee both certified, by messengers, concerning the rumors of the Commonwealth; and my father writes continually,

tinually, vnto me touching his good will towards me: yet a letter written of euery leaſt matter, from you to mee, hath beene euer moſt acceptable; wherefore ſeeing that aboue all things I deſire your letters, deale not with me in ſuch ſort, that you performe the the dutie of writing, by excuſe rather then by daily ſending. Fare you well.

Quintus Cicero to his Tiro. Epiſt. 26.

HAuing receiu'd another Packet, without your letters, I ſilently complained of you. You will not bee able, to exempt your ſelfe from the penalty of this offence. *Marcus* muſt defend you, and ſtudie well too vpon the matter: and yet I cannot tell how he will proue, that you haue not committed an error. When I was a little one, I remember our mother, would cauſe euen the emptie butts to bee ſealed: becauſe, if any of the full were by ſtealth drunke out, they might not ſay, 'twas one of the emptie ones; and I would haue you doe the like. Though you haue nothing whereof to write,

yet write. Your letters carrie alwaies with them, truth and contentment. Loue vs, and Farewell.

Quintus Cicero to his Tiro. Epist. 27.

IF my brother, either in modestie, or through hast hath lightly reprehended mee of my negligence; you haue freely touched mee euen to the quicke; and in words no lesse significant, written to me of the Consulls assigned; Whom I know to be more lustfull, and languishing then any woman. And if by misfortune they bee not remou'd from the gouernment, wee are all in danger of a shipwracke. A man would not beleeue the wicked prankes, which I know they perform'd in the *Gallia*, when they lay in the face of the enemy that Summer that I was there; and if it be not prouided for, the vices of *Antonius*, being like their owne, hee will be easily able to allure them. It is requisite, that the counsell either of the Tribunes, or of some priuate person, should defend the commonwealth. For these two are scarce worthy,

thy, that one of them should haue *Cesena*, or the other the Free-hold of the foundations of the *Cessutian* Tauernes committed to him. I loue you as I told you, hartily. And about the end of this moneth I will see you: and wheresoeuer I meete you, I will sweetly kisse your eyes, though it were in the midd'st of the market place. Loue me and Fare-well.

FINIS.

Tityre, tu patulæ: Cecinit molimine primo;
Posteræ qui repetens; ARMA VIRVMQVE CANit.

Faults escaped.

PAge 3. line *pra: Hipsæus.* read *Hyp:* p. 15. line *si: can without,* read *cannot without.* p. 59. l *sh: put out,* for *this.* 68 *ti: put out sodainly.* p. 70 *wi: put out, you might rather haue foreseene then any of vs.* p. 8. l. *ti: which our.* r. *which your.* 109 *he: could.* r. *could.* p. 123. *Mo: gaue entertainment.* r. *kept your Sessions.* *ti: gaue.* r. *kept.* p. 150. *me: not standing.* r. *notwithstanding* p. 146. *fr: her;* r. *it.* p 153. *vi: vs; both.* r. *vs both;* p. 165. *th: put out, one of.* 169. *ne: neither.* r. *either.* *nor.* r. *or.* 177. *hi: seruice.* r. *suruiue.* p. 209. *Lelius.* r. *Lælius.* p. 214. *fo: Dionisius.* r. *Dionysius.* 219. *me: prosected.* read *prosecuted.* 225. *ma, the.* r. *their.* 225. *Gyminician.* r. *Gymnician.* 137. *na: neither.* r. *either.* 259. *as: put out, he.* 267. *of: vnwilling.* r. *vnwillingly.* 299 *si: rip the.* r. *rip vp the.* 302. *do: this.* r. *his.* 314. *Ki: kinde beast.* r. *kinde of beast.* 318. *en: soons. soone.* 334. *th: schoole Epi.* r. *schoole of Epi.* 355. *an: and of the.* r. *and the.* 356. *La: put out, I.* 364. *all: put out, not.*

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to you, in iustification of my selfe, about the false reports, that were deliuer'd you of me: and in iustifying my selfe, I complaine of you, for giuing them credite: and me thought our friend might lawfully vse such expostulations with another. But if you relish them not, I'le vse them no more. And if the letters I wrote to you, vpon such a subiect were (as you write) destitute of eloquence: I tell you they were not mine. For as *Aristarchus* accounted no verse to be *Homers*, which he approu'd not of: so, (giue me leaue a little to be pleasant,) suppose you nothing to be mine, which is not smooth and elegant. Farewell. And if you be Censor, be mindfull to looke backe into the Censorship of your great Grand-father.

Cicero Imperator to Appius Pulcher. Epist. 12.

I Will first congratulate with you, (for so the order of things requires) afterwards I'le returne to my selfe. I am glad therefore of your being cleared of the action *de Ambitu*, not so much for your acquitall, whereof no man doubted; as, in that the better citizen you are, the more valiant man, the more constant friend, and the greater

ter aboundance there is in you of those parts, that deriue from vertue, and endeuour: so much the more was it to be admired, that in the Articles of so mine iudges, who are of power to accuse, without producing the accuser, there was no secret malice found our, which durst oppose you. This was not a proceeding answerable to these times, to men of these daies, nor to present customes. For my part I haue not obserued any thing this many yeares, that strooke me into a greater wonder. Now, to come to that part, which concernes me: Imagine your selfe for a while in my place, and account you are my selfe. If you can easily deuise what to obiect vnto me, shew me no fauour, if I know not how to replie. I pray God this affinitie, which my friends haue made without my priuitie, procure to me and my daughter *Tullia* that contentment, which, out of your loue, I know you wish her. Which, though I hope it will come to passe; yet should I grieue much, that this should fall our, in time of your molestations, but that your prudence and humanitie affords me comfort. Wherefore I know not how to get cleare of this businesse: For of the one side I ought not to disapproue a thing, which you desire to be successfull; and yet on the other, I cannot tell what still

ſtill vexeth my minde; although I am perſwaded I may be ſecure, that you vnderſtand very well, that all this matter was brought about by my friends meanes: to whom, at my departure I gaue commiſſion, that I hauing to liue ſo far of, they ſhould not attend my will and pleaſure, but of themſelues ſhould doe what they thought fit, and conuenient: And what if you had bin perſonally here, you may ſay? ſurely I ſhould haue entertain'd the match, but concerning the time [of conſummation] I would haue done nothing without your aduiſe, and counſell. You ſee, how I ſweat with the paines I daily take, while I ſtriue to defend a matter, which I am bound to defend, and not to offend you. Eaſe me therefore of this ſo waightie a burden. For to my remembrance, I neuer handled ſo intricate a matter. And be aſſured, that, when I heard the newes of this affinity, though, heretofore I had beene ſlacke, in performing any thing that appertain'd to your honor, I ſhould ſuddainly haue betaken my ſelfe to the defence thereof, by making you diſcerne; not any better affection then before, (for better I could not) yet a more feruent zeale and readie will to proſequute your occaſions. In departing out of the Prouince, the whole yeare of my gouernement being expir'd, on the third of Auguſt

August, when we drew neare to *Sida* by Sea, I heard of this thing by my friends letters. I said presently to *Quintus Servilius*, who was with me, and seem'd not verie glad of these newes, that I would affect you, more then euer I did. What should I say more? I will not protest that my loue is growne greater, but I'le boldly affirme, that my desire to manifest it vnto you, is much augmented. For, as the regard of our precedent enmitie, before vrg'd me, to be verie warie how I gaue the least mistrust, of my fained reconciliation vnto you; so this new affinitie, excites me to vse all my best endeuours, that it may not be thought, that vpon this consideration, the tender affection I euer bare you, should in any part be diminished. Farewell.

Cicero Imperator, to Appius Pulcher. Ep. 13.

PRefaging, as it were to my selfe, that in such alike office, I should one day haue need of your fauour; when your gouernment and proceedings in the Prouince, were debated in the Senate, I maintain'd your honour, with my whole power. Yet I must needs say, and that truely, that you haue ren-

dred me more, then euer you receiu'd. How many haue written to me, that not onely with the authoritie of your words, and opinion; for which things of themselues, from so great a man, I ought to haue beene contented; but further, with your endeuour, and counsell, and with your repairing home to my house, and solliciting al my friends, you omitted no office of kindnesse to any particular [in my behalfe]? I esteeme more of these things, then of those, for which these endeuours are vndertaken. For the ornaments of vertue, haue beene obtained by many, without vertue; but such high fauours, from men of that raritie, none certainely but a vertuous man, could at any time obtaine. So that I propound vnto my selfe no other reward of our amitie, but meere friendship; which in her selfe comprehends aboundant felicitie; especially in those studies, wherein we mutually take liking. Because I offer my selfe vnto you as an associate in the cause of the Common-wealth, of which, our opinions are not different: and I will daily conuerse with you, in the exercise of those vertues, that both the one, and other of vs loueth. I would to God fortune had so dispos'd, that your kindnes might haue bin as great to my friends, as mine to yours: and yet I despaire not thereof, for a secret foreknowledge

that

that my mind giues me: but you need not care for this: the burden is to lie on my ſhoulders. And I entreat you to beleeue, that by this new affinitie, my affection towards you is not onely not diminiſhed, but it is encreaſed: though before, it ſeem'd to be perfect. When I wrote this preſent letter, I hop't you were Cenſor, and for this cauſe, I contriu'd the letter, briefe, and modeſt, as letters ought to be, that are directed to a maſter of behauiour.

Farewell.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO.

Cicero to Sernius Sulpitius. Epiſt. 1.

Caius Trebatius my familiar friend writes vnto me, that you demanded of him where I was; and that you were ſorrie that ſickneſs was the cauſe, you could not come to ſee me after my returne out of my Prouince; and that now, if I came neere

Rome, you would be glad to confer with me about both our offices. Oh *Seruius*, I would to God we could but haue spoken together, before the ruines of the Common-wealth: (for we may now truely say, she is ruined,) out of question we might haue deuised some way to vphold her. For I know that both in, and after your Consulship, you affected nothing but peace. Foreseeing the euill that was to ensue. And though I commended your iudgement, and was of the same opinion my selfe; yet could I neuer procure the atonement of ciuill discords. For I came late; I was alone; and, as it seemed, but weakely informed of the cause. And finally, I found my forces vnable to alter their stubborne mindes, that desired warre. Now, seeing we are out of hope to assist the Common-wealth, if we may take some course for the safetie of our owne liues, not to maintaine any forme of our auncient state, but to mourne for the Common-wealth, so far as any wayes may stand with our reputation, I would rather consult with you then any other person in the world whatsoeuer. For I know you rich in the treasure of all learning, and deepely read in all auncient, and moderne histories. And know, that I had formerly written to you, that your going into the Senate, or rather, into the assembly of Senators, would be

be to ſmall purpoſe, but that I was afraid to offend him, who (as you may conceiue) would haue taken it very ill, that I ſhould diſſwade your reſidence in *Rome*; when he ſo inſtantly requeſted me to doe as your ſelfe did. To whom, when he intreated me, that I would returne into the Senate, I anſwered: that I would ſay as you ſaid, about the peace, or our going into *Spaine*. You ſee on what termes we ſtand: our Empire is diuided: warre is kindled in euerie quarter: *Rome* is abandoned, and expos'd to combuſtion: the lawes, iudgement, and finally all good cuſtomes are ſuppreſt. Whereupon, ſo farre I am from hoping after better, that I know not what I may preſume to deſire. But if it ſeeme good to your wiſedome, that we conſult together, though I reſolu'd to remoue further off from *Rome*, then now I am, whoſe very name I cannot heare ſpoken without extreme griefe: yet I will come nearer hand. I haue bidden *Trebatius*, that, if at any time, you would ſend him to ſpeake to me, he refuſe not this endeuour: the which I pray doe: or elſe, you may if you pleaſe ſend ſome one of your owne people, whom you moſt truſt: that it may neither be neceſſarie for you, to come out of *Rome*, nor for me to approach it. I am ſo confident in your vnderſtanding, and fooliſhly peraduenture, relie ſo

much on mine owne, that I assure my selfe, that whatsoeuer with ioynt opinion, we shall both conclude vpon, will by all men be approued. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 2.

ON the nineteenth of Aprill: being at *Cumanum*, I receiued your letters, and after I had perused what you wrote, I might perceiue how little discretion *Philotimus* shewed: who being to speake to me in your name, about what occurred; he came not himselfe, but sent the letters: the which you said were but briefe, supposing him to bee bearer. Notwithstanding, when I had read them, your *Postumus*, and sonne *Seruius* came vnto me; and determined, that you should come to *Cumanum*, entreating me to write vnto you, to that effect. Whereas you require me to aduise you: I haue more need of councell my selfe, then to aduise another. And why should I presume to councell a man of your authoritie, and wisedome? If we seeke after our peculiar offices and duties, we may easily finde them out: but if benefit, we shall hardly finde it. But if we be the men, we ought to be: that is, if we esteeme

steeme that onely profitable, which is iust, and honest; we must needes know what we should doe. In that you write how your state and condition is like mine own; it is most certain in vs, both that when wee held the best opinion, we erred alike: for our councels aymed at concord, which being most behouefull to *Cæsar*, we likewise thought in maintaining peace to haue fauoured him; but how we were deceiued in our iudgements, and what 'tis come vnto, you plainly see: and you doe not onely know things present, and past, but you foresee also those to come. It's an hard case we are now put vnto, to doe one of these two things: either to approue what is done; or to be present thereat, though you approue it not. One of which courses, in my opinion, is base; the other full of daunger. To conclude, I am resolued, that we must depart; but this is to be thought of: after what manner we shall order our departure, and whither we shall goe. Neuer was there either condition more miserable, nor deliberation more difficult: because we cannot dispose of any thing, but that we shall light vpon some great contrarietie. If you so thinke good, I would haue you doe thus: that if you haue determin'd of any course, wherein your iudgement, and mine owne doe not concur, in any wise take not the paines

to come; but if you desire first, to consult with me, I'le willingly stay for you: And I shall be glad, if you can conueniently, that you would come out of hand, as is likewise the desire of *Seruius*, and *Posthumia*. Farewell.

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius. Epist. 3.

I Daily heare, that you are pensiue; and that, for the publick shipwracke, you mourne extreamely. Wherein though I cannot wonder, but confesse, that I likewise, vndergoe the same affliction: neuertheless, I both grieue beyond measure, that you being a man endowed with such singular wisedome, will not rather reioyce at your owne good, then vexe at another mans hurt. And I, though I graunt not, that any man is more grieu'd at heart, then I am, for the lamentable ouerthrow of our Common-wealth: yet now for many reasons I take comfort, especially in calling to minde, that I neuer fail'd to pay vnto my countrie, whatsoeuer was due from a good Citizen. For long since, as from an eminent and high tower, I discern'd a far off, the ruine that was comming. And I saw it the better,

better, because you pointed it out vnto me. For though I was in my Prounce a great part of your Consulship, yet so remote as I was, I knew your opinion about the preuenting this pestiferous warre. Besides I was in *Rome*, at the beginning of your Consulship, when a discourse falling out, vpon all the ciuill warres, you admonished the Senate, to take heed, by the calamities that were past: and to thinke how much more intollerable those would be, which oppressed the Country in these times, seeing they had beene so cruell, who oppressed it heretofore, hauing thereof no former president or example: In that men, doe vsually thinke, that they may in all reason doe, what they haue example for; nay, and to doe worse, then their president allowes. Remember therefore, they are in extreame misery, who might haue beene in happier estate, if they had followed your authoritie, and counsell. You will say: What fruit reape I by this, amidst such darkenesse, and so great ruines of the Common wealth? Such is my griefe, I confesse, that it's scarcely capable of consolation: so great is the losse of all things, and the despaire of their recouerie: yet, you should mitigate your sorrow, with this comfort; that *Cæsar* himselfe and with him all other Cittizens are possest, that there

remaines no other light of sanctitie, prudence, and reputation, but your person. These reasons, may afford you, wonderfull relaxation. Concerning your being farre off from your friends, you ought the easelier to support these troubles; being at one instant likewise, far remou'd from many, and grieuous molestations: of which I would write somewhat to you, but that I will not in writing certifie you of things, which, in that you see them not, I iudge you lesse vnhappie, then our selues, that daily behold them. Hitherto me thinkes, I haue vsed all the arguments of consolation, that the loue I beare you could put into my minde, to ease the burden of your aggreeuances: other comforts remaine within your owne breast, the which I know to be great; yea, greater then any that can be found: and I haue euery day, a feeling thereof in my selfe, with so great benefit of minde, that me-thinkes, I enioy a safetie thereby. But I well remember, that you from your infancie, were studiously addicted to all learning, and especially to Philosophie; which in prosperitie yeeldes vs profit, and contentment; and now being in aduersitie, wee haue no other comfort but it. I will not bee arrogant, nor prescribe vnto you, who are endued with so great learning, and so noble a soule, the studie of these Arts,

Arts, which you euer affected from your youngest yeares. Thus much only I will say vnto you, (and I hope you will commend me for it) that I, seeing how the estimation of my Art is declin'd, I mean of eloquence, I haue applied all my endeauours to the studie of Philosophie. And because you see, that your Art also, though it bee excellent and singular, is notwithstanding almost as lightly valued, as ours: I need not labour to put you in minde; that in so boisterous a storm you retire your selfe also into the same Port; being perswaded, that already, you are thither withdrawne: for it is such refuge, that though it cannot restore our publike losse, yet will it be verie available, in razing out the memoriall thereof. Your sonne *Seruius* is a wonderfull proficient in all the liberall Artes, and principallie in this, wherein, as I write, my repose consisteth. I wish him so well, that besides your owne, no mans loue can exceed mine towards him Wherein he returnes me iust exchange. For he loues, and honors me, with an opinion, (as may easily be discerned) that heerein hee performeth, what your owne heart desireth. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Seruius Sulpitius.
Epist. 4.

I Accept of your excuse, in hauing written vnto mee sundrie letters of the same tenor, and in the selfe-same words: but I accept it only, in that you write you did so, by reason through negligence, and vnmindfulnes of messengers, letters oftentimes miscarried. Touching that part where you excuse your selfe, by saying, that through penurie of words (for so you terme it) you vse to write many letters, in one and the selfesame forme; I cannot in any wise admit of it. And whereas you saie by waie of a iest, (for so I take it) that I possesse the treasures of the tongue, certainely I am not ignorant, that of words I am not very barren, (for why should I dissemble) but notwithstanding all this, (and in this I hate as little) I easilie, or readilie giue place, to the pregnancie, and elegancie of your writings. Touching the gouernment of *Achaia*; I euer liked of your course, in not refusing such a charge; but after the reading of your last letters, I farre more highly approued it. For all the reasons which you alledge are most iust, and beseeming both your authoritie, and prudence.

Wherein

Whereas you are greeued, because there ensued not that contentment of minde, you look't for, you supposing, that we liue not so ill here at *Rome*: Vndoubtedly you are deceiued. But because the commotion, and confusion of things is such, and the ruine so great, which this most wicked warre hath wrought: that euery man deemes himselfe vnhappie where soeuer: therefore you repent you of your owne opinion, and we at home, seeme happie men vnto you. But cleane contrarie, wee heere iudge you, not altogether to bee free from molestations; but in respect of our selues, fortunate, or blessed. And were it but in this, your condition is farre better then ours; for you may securely write the occasions of your griefe, which wee cannot doe, without danger: not through any vice of the Conqueror, who cannot possiblie be more clement, but in respect of the victorie it selfe, which in ciuill wars, is alwaies insolent. In one thing wee haue exceeded you, because a little before your selfe, we saw the grace, which *Cæsar* did to *Marcellus* your Colleague, and withall, in that I beheld, how the matter was carried. For I may truely affirme vnto you, that since these miseries, that is, since that time that men began to striue for the Empire of *Rome* by armes, there hath passed nothing in the

the Senate, with the dignitie of the common-wealth. For *Lucius Piso* making mention of *Marcus Marcellus* and *Caius Marcellus* prostrating himselfe at *Cæsars* feete, humblie entreating him that he would bee pleased, that his Brother might returne to *Rome*; the Senators rising vp altogether at the same instant, submissiely requested the like of him: Then *Cæsar* accusing th'austeritie of *Marcus Marcellus*, (not so hee cal'd it) and in honourable tearmes exalting your worth, and wisedome, on a suddaine beyond all expectation, he said, that for all this hee would not forbeare to comfort the Senate. Be no further inquisitiue. This seem'd vnto me so glorious a day, that me thought I saw a forme and Image of the Commonwealth raised vp againe from death; whereupon all they, who were demanded before my selfe, hauing giuen thankes to *Cæsar*, besides *Pulcarius*; who said, if hee were in *Marcellus* case, hee would neuer returne to *Rome*; when I was sought vnto, I changed my minde: For I resolued, not out of slothfulnesse, but for meere griefe, of lost dignitie, neuer to speake more in the Senate. But this generous part in *Cæsar*, and so friendly an office of the Senate, broke off my resolution; and in many words I gaue thankes to *Cæsar*, which peraduenture may bee a cause, that

that I shall no more enioy that honest repose, that was the only mitigation of our euills. But yet, I hauing begun to speake, that I might not offend *Cæsar*; who if I had beene altogether silent, might peraduenture haue thought, that I held, this Common-wealth no Cómonwealth; I wil hereafter speak so seldome, as it shall rather bee too little, then too much: and this I'le doe, to satisfie in one, both his will, and mine owne studies. For although from my tender yeares I was well affected to all liberall Sciences, and especially to Philosophie: yet this studie delights mee more euery day then other, out of the maturitie of my yeares, as I suppose, which inclines to wisedome; and through the malignitie of these times, which is so violent, that no other remedie is availeable enough, to defend our minde from those molestations that environ it: to which studie, you write you could not attend, by reason of the multitude of negotiations: which you may well doe, allowing your selfe some time in the night's, now growing somewhat longer. Our *Seruius* honours mee with great respect: and hee breedes my infinite contentment; for besides his learning, I discerne in him singular goodnesse, conioyn'd with valour. He often discourseth with me, of your affaires, asking mee

me the queſtion, whether you muſt remaine ſtill in your Prouince, or depart. Hitherto my opinion is, that we diſpoſe of our ſelues to *Cæſars* will. If you were at *Rome*, beſides your friends, you could finde nothing wherewith to bee deiighted; *Cæſar* himſelfe is the beſt of all other conſiderations. But the eſtate of the Common-wealth, is ſuch, that you would rather deſire to heare of it, then ſee it. This I ſpeake againſt mine owne minde; becauſe I deſire to ſee you in *Rome* for my conſolation: but I ſpeake it, becauſe I preferre your benefit before mine owne contentment. Farewell.

Seruius Sulpitius to Cicero. Epiſt. 5.

FOr the death of your daughter *Tullia*, I was as truely ſorrowfull, as behoued me: but this I reputed a common misfortune; and had I been there, I would haue aſſiſted you with all poſſible kindneſſe, and with your owne eies, you ſhould haue read my griefe. Now, though their eſtate be pitiful, & lamentable, that vndertake to comfort others; who either being kinſfolkes, or neere friends, haue more need of conſolation themſelues

themselues, being no waies able to discharge this office, without aboundant teares, in that they are afflicted with the same care and griefe: yet will I not forbeare to set before your eyes those things, which at this present come into my minde: not because I imagine, that you did not discouer them, but in that by the vaile of your griefe, they are peraduenture concealed from you. What's the reason, that the death of your daughter should so afflict you? Remember how Fortune hath hitherto tossed vs. Shee hath depriued vs of those goods, which men ought to esteeme no lesse deere, then their children; our countrey, our dignities, all honours, and commendable customes. What greater sorrow could pierce your heart, through the accesse of this disaster? or what minde is there, that is not so inured to these things, that it is ere this time hardned; and that in feeling them, is sorrowfull? haue you compassion of her, because she is dead? In deed I suppose, this greeues you: Though necessarily you must, as wee also oftentimes consider, that they haue beene very fortunate, to whom the heauens were so fauourable, as depriuing them of life, they brought vpon them a death without vexation. And why should shee desire longer life? To what end? Vpon what hopes? To marry

marry with some Gentle man, with whom she might haue liu'd happily? I beleeue, that amongst our young Nobilitie, you might haue made choice of a son in law, correspondent to your owne dignitie: to whose trust, you might securely haue committed your children. Or, because she might haue occasion to reioyce, when shee saw her children in flourishing estate? And such, who, of themselues, might be able to gouerne their fathers inheritance? might attaine successiuely to all honours? might shew courtesie in their friends occasions? Which of these things was not taken away, before it was giuen? Oh, but you'l say, The losse of children goes neere the heart. 'Tis true, it is an euill, but to suffer what we suffer, is far worse. Ile relate a thing vnto you, which gaue mee no small consolation; to try, if it can afford you as much. Returning out of *Asia*, and sailing from *Ægina*, towards *Megara*, I cast mine eye round about. Behinde me lay *Ægina*, before *Megara*, on the right hand *Piraeus*, and on the left *Corinthus*: which were sometimes renowned Cities, but now appeare to euery mans view, demolished, and euen with the ground: And thus I began to consider with my selfe: Doe we then, poore wretched men, so dismay our selues, when any one of vs is slaine, or dead

dead; When in one onely place, so many bodies of razed Cities are seene lying on the ground? Wilt not thou, ô *Seruius*, acknowledge and remember thy selfe, to bee borne mortall? If you thinke good, propound to your selfe this other example: Not long since, at one instant, many honourable men were slaine: The Empire was much impayr'd: All the Prouinces were tormented: And doe you, for one silly womans breath expir'd, poure out so infinite lamentation? Who, if shee were not now dead, within a few yeeres, of necessitie shee must dye; being mortall borne. Alas! banish this passion from your heart, and rather recall those things to your minde, that are worthie of your person: that shee liu'd as long time as was requisite; that she liued in the flourishing estate of the Common-wealth; that she saw her father Prætor, Consull, and Augure; that shee was married to one of the noblest young men in *Rome*; that shee tasted all contentments, that possibly may bee enioyed in this world; and at last, departed this life at the same instant, when the Common-wealth her selfe failed. And therefore neither you, nor shee, could complaine of *Fortune*. Besides you must remember, how you are the same *Cicero*, that was wont to perswade, and comfort others. Doe

not

not therefore imitate ignorant Physi-
ans, who in other mens maladies, pro-
fesse they haue the Arte of Physicke, but
by no meanes can cure their sicke: ra-
ther haue recourse to those remedies,
with which you were wont to cure o-
thers misfortunes. There is no greefe
so great it, which length of time doth not
make lesse, and extenuate. It becomes
you not to expect this time, and not to
withstand it by your wisdome. And if
it bee true, that the soule is immortall:
then she questionlesse, out of the loue
she beares to you, and the affection to
the rest of her friends, would not haue
you commit this errour. Deny not this
fauour therefore to your daughters
soule. Deny it not your good
friends, who sorrow for your greefe.
Nor deny it to your Country, because,
if shee stood in need of you, shee may
vse your aid and councell. And seeing
we are reduced to such a point, that we
must also haue a respect to this; take
heed, lest others censure, that you la-
ment not so much for your daughter,
as for another mans victorie, and the
calamities of the Common-wealth. I
am asham'd to write vnto you of this
more at large, because I would not
seeme to be diffident of your wisdome:
with this breefe record therefore, I will
make an end. We heretofore saw, that
you gouern'd prudently in your happy
fortunes;

fortunes; and reaped thereby high commendation. Now, let it appeare vpon this accident, that you know how to demeane your selfe also in disasters, without taking greater greefe then is conuenient: to the end, that of all other vertues, this may not onely seeme wanting in you. As for the occurrents of these parts, when I heare of the pacification of your minde, I will presently giue you aduertisement. Farewell.

Cicero, to Sernius Sulpitius. Epist. 6.

I Wish, my deere *Sernius*, as you write, that you had beene at *Rome*, when this grieuous accident befell me. For if your letters haue somewhat easde my mind, so much the more doe I suppose, that with your presence you might haue assisted me, both in comforting me, and mutually mourning for the cause of my griefe. For first you set me downe reasons, that are of force to stay my teares; and then your selfe also, as it were for a kinde of comfort, haue associated your griefe with mine. But yet your *Sernius*, in all the louing offices, that at such time could be shewed, did

did manifeſt both in what eſteeme himſelfe held me, and how he thought that you alſo tooke well at his hand, this his affection towards me. Whoſe loue did ſo comfort me, that I know not what greater contentment I could haue deſired; for ioy I cannot tearme it. Neither do your words onely cheare me vp, and your fellow feeling, as it were, of my heart griefe; but your authoritie alſo turnes to my eſpeciall conſolation. For me thinks I am aſhamed, I ſhould not tollerate my miſ-fortunes, with that fortitude of minde, as you, being a man of ſingular wiſedome thinke fit I ſhould doe. And yet ſometimes I am ſo ouerwhelmed with ſorrow, that I can ſcarcely ſuppert it; wanting thoſe comforts, which others in the like Fortunes faild not of, whoſe example I propound vnto my ſelfe. For both *Quintus Maximus*, who loſt a ſon, that had beene Conſull, and after the ſame dignitie, performed many famous enterprizes: and *Lucius Paulus*, who in ſeauen dayes, was depriu'd of two: with our *Gallus*, and *Marcus Cato*, who had one died, that was repleniſhed with prudence and valour: theſe liued in thoſe times, that the honours which the Common-wealth afforded them, were to them a comfort. But no other comfort was left me, then that which death bereau'd me of. I had loſt thoſe

ornaments

ornaments, which you recount, and which I with painefull endeauours had purchased: my minde was not busied, neither with my friends occasions, nor the managings of the Common-wealth: I could not plead any cause, nor could I counsell the Senate: it appeared vnto mee, euen as in effect it was, that I had lost all the fruits of my labours and fortunes. But on the other side, considering that this misfortune happened not to mee alone, but extended itselfe further to you, and some others also. I arm'd my minde with patience, and so much the more readily, because I knew whither to flye, where to repose mee, and where, with sweet and pleasant discourse, to expell out of my minde, all clouds of disk e and heauie meditations. But now, this greeuous wound makes me feele those olde scars, which I tooke to bee healed Heretofore, though I were depriued of the Common-wealth, yet I found them at home, which yeelded me comfort But now, of that societie, which I so deerly loued, finding my selfe left alone, mee thinkes I haue lost all those delights, that should haue eased my afflictions about the Common-wealth. And thus I haue lost all, both publique and private comfort: which makes me the rather desire, that you wou'd speedily returne: all the consolations of letters,

are nothing, in respect of those, which our conuersation and conference will afford me: and hereof I shortly looke to receiue comfort. For I heare, your returne is expected. I desire for many causes, to see you out of hand, and amongst the rest, that we may, before it be too late, consule, how to passe our this time, wherein, the forme of our life must bee fram'd, according to the will and pleasure of one man: who, though he be replenished with wisdom and courtesie; and, so far as I can perceiue, beares towards mee, rather a good minde, then otherwise; and a singular affection to you: yet herein we must be circumspect, how wee resolue, and that we stir in nothing, but quietly repose our selues, vnder the shadow of his gracious fauour. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epist. 7.

THough I will not presume to reprehend the courses, which hitherto you haue taken; not because I am likewise of the same opinion: but in that I repute you so wise, that I will not take vpon me to prefer mine own iudgement before yours: yet for our ancient loues sake,

sake, and for the infinite good will, you haue borne me, from your child-hood, I could not but impart that vnto you, which I iudge most profitable for your life, without any preiudice to your honour, or reputation. I remember full well, you are the man, which in your Consulship performed wonderfull matters: I likewise call to minde, that you neuer approu'd, that a ciuill war should bee made in such forme and manner, as it hath beene. Neither did you euer like of *Pompeyes* Armie. And you alwayes fear'd the perils, which since haue happned, as also you cannot forget, that my selfe was euen of the same opinion. And therefore, as you would be present in the war, but a small time: so I vsed all the meanes I could, to keepe from thence, because there was no fighting with counsell, au horitie, or cause, which were things wherein we excelled: but the buckling was by force and hand-blowes, wherein we were not equall: and therefore wee were vanquished; and if not vanquish't, (for it seemes, that a iust and honest cause can neuer be ouercome) at least, wee were disturbed, & discomfited. Wherin, not only your counsel is by every man to be commended, in that together with the hope of victory, you gaue ouer your desire of fighting: giuing in this to vnderstand, that every wise & good Citizen,

as he enters into a ciuill war against his will, so doth he as vnwillingly persecute in the same, till it bee ended. I see that those, who followed not your aduise, are diuided into two sorts: For some of them, did what they could, to renew the war in *Africa*: And others haue cast themselues at the feet of the Conquerour; as also I my selfe haue done. You haue kept a middle way; reputing peraduenture of the other two waies, the former very imprudent, & the second to be scarse honourable. Questionlesse, most men, yea all in general, both censure, that you did wisely: and many likewise, extoll them in your magnanimity and fortitude. But it may suffice you, that you haue made your selfe known for such a man: especially, seeing you want nothing else, for the recouery of your former estate; but a will in your selfe. For I vnderstand, there is nothing troubles his mind, that's Lord of all, but onely the doubt he is in, that you will not accept of your restitution at his hands. In which it boots not, for me to deliuer my opinion, considering what I haue done my selfe. Notwithstanding, if you were formerly resolued, to liue in perpetuall exile, rather then to behold your Countreyes seruitude: yet you should consider, that whersoeuer you are, you shall be euer vnder his power, whom you flye, who although

although hee were content, that you should liue abroad in any place in liberty, and quietly: yet you should doe well, to bethinke your selfe, whether were better, either to liue at *Rome*, and in your own house, or at *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. But his dominion, whom we so much feare, being extended so far, that there is no part of the world, which it reacheth not vnto; had you not rather continue in your owne house, without danger, then abroad, with perill, in another mans. For my part, were I to lose my life, I had rather lose it in my Countrey, then in strange and forraine parts. What I write vnto you, all that loue you thinke the same: who, for your famous & noble vertues, are very many. We also stand in doubt of your habitations, which we would not haue sackt in any wise. For, though peradventure, they can take no hurt of long continuance: (because neither *Cæsar*, who hath in his hands the Common-wealth, nor yet the Common-wealth her selfe, would permit it.) Neuertheles, I knowing that in *Rome* there be Huckſters, I would not haue them outragiously entred, and pilfered. And who these are, I dare set downe in writing: but that I am affeared, you know them well enough. Your brother, *Caius Marcellus*, who is vexed with continuall afflictions, with many teares in his eyes, sues

for your returne. And I feele no leſſe greeſe then he: though the offices he vndergoes to helpe you, are not permitted mee to doe. I hauing ſtood in need my ſelfe of another mans helpe with *Caſar*, with whom I can doe no more, then what the vanquiſhed, vſually obtaine from the Conquerour: Neuertheleſſe, I forſake not *Marcellus*, either in my councels, or endeauours: your other friends make no vſe of mee. In all occurrents command me. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epiſt. 8.

I dare not aduiſe you, nor offer you any comfort, knowing, you of your ſelfe to be exceeding wiſe, and of great valour. For if it be true, that you ſupport thoſe terrible accidents, which haue happened, with ſuch conſtance as I heare; I ſhould rather reioyce in your fortitude, then mitigate your ſorrow. If alſo the ſiniſter euents of the Common-wealth excruciate you: I dare not preſume to haue ſo copious a wit, as to thinke I can comfort you; not being able in that kind to helpe my ſelfe. In other offices be aſſured, that I will neuer faile, whenſoeuer your friends

friends requeſt me; to whom I will in all occaſions, giue to vnderſtand, that I am bound to doe for you, not onely whatſoeuer I can doe, but what I cannot doe alſo. This I would requeſt you to accept from me, either as a remembrance, or an opinion; or elſe, that you would beleeue, that my affection towards you vrged me to ſpeake it: which is, to enter into this cogitation, that my ſelfe hath done; that if there be any forme of a Common-wealth, you muſt liue therein; and though you be, both in euery mans iudgement, and in effect an honourable Cittizen; yet the qualitie of the times muſt beare greater ſway: then your peculiar will: nay, though no forme of a Common-wealth ſhould remaine, yet you may think *Rome*, a place fit enough for your exile. For if we affect libertie, what part is not ſubiect to this dominion? if likewiſe you care no more to liue in one place, then another; what ſweeter reſidence is there then a mans owne countrie? But I aſſure you, that *Caſar* cheriſheth all good wits; and embraceth noble, and eſtimable men, ſo farre as may ſtand with the ſtate, and dignity which he holds: but I goe further, then I thought to haue done. Againe I ſay, I will ioyne my whole endeuour, with that of your beſt friends, if they be your friends: if not, I for mine owne part,

in all opportunities, will satisfie whatsoeuer is due; to the auncient amitie hath beene betweene vs. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epist. 9.

THough I wrote vnto you at large before, by *Quintus Mutius*, and explained my opinion to you; yet *Theophilus* your Free-man going thither, whose fidelitie and true loue towards you, is well knowne vnto me, I would not let him passe, without my letters: Once againe therefore I perswade you, to returne into your countrie, in what state so euer it stand. You may well see many things which you would not; but not more, then what euery day comes to your eares: and thinke not, but there may come as much offence vnto you, by the eare, as by the eye: rather, that which we heare, seemes oftentimes far greater then it is in effect. Oh, but you'l tel me that sometimes you must needs say, and doe that, which willingly you would not. First; to yeeld vnto the times, that is, to obey necessitie, hath euer beene reputed singular wisedome: Then; so farre as I can see, this your argument is not true: For, remaining

maiuing in *Rome*, peraduenture 'tis not lawfull for you, to speake what you thinke: but you may lawfully conceale it. There is onely one at this present, which gouernes; who is not aduised by his friends, but followes his owne counsels: and the like would *Pompeius* haue done, if Fortune had permitted him to seruue Conquerour. Shall wee beleeue, that after victorie, he would haue made any reckoning of vs; when, during the vncertainties of the warre, when he saw, all men, runne one and the selfe same fortune, he onely made vse of the directions of some shallow fellowes? And if when, you were Consull, he would not follow, your prudent instructions, neither would be directed after our prescriptions, in the yeare of your brothers Consulship: suppose you, if he had beene once possest of the whole common wealth, that he would euer haue lent so much as an eare, to our admonitions? Ciuill warres are full of all miseries; which our predecessors neuer saw; and [yet] this present age, by reiterated experience hath felt them. But there is nothing more lamentable, then victorie it selfe: the which, though it fortune to the best qualified men, yet it makes them more fierce, and vnbridled: so as, though they be not such by nature, yet necessitie constraines them so to be. In that the victor must graunt

many things, contrarie to his owne minde, to those by whose meanes, he vanquished. Did you not perceiue as well as I, how cruell likewise Pompeie victorie must needs haue beene? If therefore he had subdued, would you in this case haue forsaken your countrie, because you would not behold some things displeasing to your mind? If you say, you meant to liue at Rome, because you would haue enioy'd your substance, and retain'd your dignitie: I will answere, that out of your vertue, you ought to haue contemn'd your owne respects, and to haue no other obiect, but the Common-wealth. Withall, what will the effect of your opinion be? For hitherto, your resolution is not onely commended; but considering the matter, your good Fortune also: your resolution; because necessitie draue you to a ciuill warre, and your wisedome reuir'd you from the issue of it: your Fortune; by reason that in an honorable vacancie, you preseru'd the qualitie, and fame of your place, and dignitie. But now, no place ought to be dearer to you, then your countrie; neither should you loue her the worse, for her deformitie, nor depriue her of your comfortable presence, seeing shee is become the widdow of so many, so great personages. Finally, if you haue made knowne the greatnesse of your

minde, in not humbling your selfe to the Conquerour; take heed you be not censured proud, in refusing his courtesie. And if we repute him wise, that flies farre off, from his countries oppression; sometimes it is likewise esteem'd but wilfulnesse, not to affect it: and if we are denied to enioy publicke fortunes, yet let's make much of that, we are permitted to enioy priuately. To conclude, I say, that if you thinke that you liue there more commodiously: yet ought you to consider, that you rest not peraduenture in any great securitie. The libertie of Armes is vnlimitable: but in other countries, there is also lesse respect of doing mischiefe. I so desire your safetie, that your brother *Marcellus*, little, or nothing at all surmounts me. Haue a respect, as is conuenient, to the qualitie of the times, to your wisdome, to your life, and to your substance. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Marcellus. Epist. 10.

THough I had no newes whereof to write, and euerie day expected your letters, or rather indeed your selfe: yet was I not willing *Theophilus* should come to you, without my letters.

Determine

Determine therefore to come so soon, as you can; and make account, you shall come long looked for; not only by vs, that is, by your friends, but of all men in generall. Sometimes I muse with my selfe, that you delight as much as you can, to prolong your cõming: questiõles I should haue held you excused, if you had no other sence, but that of your eies. But things heard, making as deep an impression, as those that are seene; and being my opinion, that you ought without all delay to repaire to *Rome*; I thought good by this, to instigate you thereunto. And seeing I haue made knowne my minde vnto you, it remaines for you to resolue in such a sort, as best stands with your wisdome. Yet I would desire you to write vnto me, at what time we are to expect you. Farewell.

Marcus Marcellus to Cicero. Epist. 11.

HOW farre your commands preuaile with mee, you might euer vnderstand, but in this present occurrent more then at any other time. For though *Caius Marcellus* my most kinde brother, not only exhorted me, but humblie

humblie entreated mee, that I would bee pleased to returne to *Rome*: yet could hee neuer perswade mee, nor worke that effect, which, since that, your letters haue done; by which I perceiue how the matter went. Your office of congratulation with mee, springing from a most sincere affection, is to me very acceptable: and it yeelds mee the greater contentment, because amongst so few friends and kinsmen, which seriously employed themselues for my safetie, I particularly discouer your desire, and the singular affection you beare me. At the first I little regarded my returning vnto that countrie, where men ruled more then laws: but now I am perswaded, that from such men, or such friends, as you are, no man can liue farre distant, either in aduerse, or fauourable fortunes; wherfore this makes me reioyce in my selfe, and I remaine so much obbeg'd vnto you, that I will deuise by all meanes to make you knowe, that you haue beene beneficiall to one, who in his loue vnto you, is no whit inferiour to the best of your acquaintance. Farewell.

Seruius

Servius Sulpitius to Cicero.
Epist. 12.

THough I know well, that I shall informe you of lamentable, and fearefull newes, neuertheleſſe becauſe fortune and nature exceedes all mens diſcourſe: whatſoeuer it is, I thinke good not to conceale it: On the xxviij of May, comming by ſhip from *Epidaurus*, to *Piraeum*, I there found *Marcus Marcellus* our Colleague, and I ſpent all that day with him. The day following, when I departed from him, with intention to goe into *Baetia*, and to viſite the reſt of my Prouince; he, as hee told me, was to ſaile towards *Italy*, by the way of the *Malea*. The day after I being to leaue *Athens*, about ten a clocke at night, *Poſtumius* his familiar friend, came, and told mee, that after ſupper *Publius Magius Chilo*, one of *Marcellus* his domeſticall friends, had ſtabb'd him with a poinyard, and giuen him two wounds, one in the ſtomacke, another in the head, cloſe vnder one of his eares; but that yet there was hope, that hee might eſcape it: and that *Magius* after ſo wicked a fact, ſlue himſelfe: and *Marcellus* ſent him to relate vnto me the accident, and entreat me, that I would aſſemble ſome Phiſitions: the

which

which I presently did; and about break of day went without all delaie, towards his lodging: when, not far from *Piræeum* I met a boy that belonged to *Acidinus*, who deliuered me a letter, which inferred, that a little before day *Martello* left this life. Thus, a noble gentleman, renowned for great valour, by a base fellow, and of meanest condition, was lamentably murdered: and, having for his honor, and dignitie been pardoned by his enemies, hee met with a [pretended] Friend, that butcher'd him. I would not stay till I came to his lodging, where I found none but two free-men, and some few seruants; for the rest, they said, were fled distrasted, because their Master was slaine, before his owne lodging. I was enforc't to carrie him, into the Citie in my litter, and there I prepared for him as solemne a funerall, as in *Athens* I could. The *Athenians* would not grant me a place within the Citie where to burie him: For they excus'd themselues that they were prohibited by their religion, neither had they granted the like to any before; but they were content he should be buried, in any publique Schoole we best liked. And we of many made choice of the most noble; which was the schoole of the *Academie*: where burying his bodie, we ordained, that the *Athenians*, should

should erect in his memoriall, a marble sepulcher. You see then, how both before and after his death, I did him those offices, whereunto I was tied, both in respect of inward amitie, and by reason I had beene his Colleague in the Consulship. Farewell. From *Athens*, this last of May.

Cicero to Publius Nigidius Figulus. Epist. 13.

THE reason why I haue not written to you of long time, is first because I had no certaine subiect whereof to write; and secondly, because I would not vse those kinde of letters, which are ordinarie. For Fortune hath so taken from vs all kinde of cheerefull argument; that wee cannot onely not write, but not so much as thinke of any ioyfull matters. There remaines a kinde of writing, that's miserable and lamentable, and comformable to these times: this I want also. For when I should offer you assistance, and comfort, I am able to offer you none. For my selfe ouerwhelmed by the same stormes, am driuen to rely on others. And I lament more often, that I liue in this manner, then ioy that I liue: for though

though I haue not particularly receiu'd any notorious iniurie by Fortune: and *Cæsar*, without attending my supplication, hath conferred vpon mee, many reall fauours: yet haue I inwardly such discontentment, that mee thinkes I liue grieuously in remaining aliue. For many of my familiar friends are by death taken away, and diuers for feare of the victor, are fled into sundrie countries. And, of all those friends, which ioyned with me, and you, in defence of the Common-wealth, I haue not one that suruiueth: and I am enforst to behold the ruine and rapine of their goods: neither do I onely heare, but to my extreame heart griefe I see, their substance ill dispos'd of, by whose ayde wee heeretofore extinguished the flames of the Common-wealth. And where wee had before, fauours, authoritie, and great glorie; now wee finde no such matter: true it is, that wee enioy the grace and fauour of *Cæsar* himselfe: but that can not preuaile, aboue the violent mutation of all things, and of the times. Being therefore depriued of whatsoeuer I was accustomed vnto by nature, enclination, and vse; I am distastfull not onely to others, as I vnderstand, but to my selfe also. For being borne, to haue alwaies somewhat a foot, beseeming a man; now, I want not onely the meanes of employment, but

but euen to ruminate, how I might helpe any one: And whereas before, I was able to pleasure persons ignoble, yea, and the guiltie; now, to *Paleon Negilion* my deare friend, who heretofore was so highly honor'd, and who excells all men, both for learning, and pietie; I cannot so much as offer my assistance. It therefore remaines, that I labour to comfort you, and remoue from you with lucky reasons, that griefe which oppresseth your minde. But if any man be of true force to comfort, either you or any other, it is your selfe: whereupon, I will not touch that point, which containes in it learned, and exquisite reasons; But I will leaue it absolutely to your selfe. Obserue you, that, which is requisite for a valiant, and wise man, exacted at your hands by your grauitie, height of spirit, life past, the studies, and Sciences, which you euer prosecuted with singular commendation. I'le deliuer vnto you, what I can know, remaining in *Rome*, and therunto bending my minde, as I doe. I therefore affirme vnto you, that you shall not long dwell in these molestations, wherein at this present you are involued; but in those which also oppresse vs, I feare, you will euer continue. First of all I conceiue, that hee which beares all the sway, hath a very good opinion of you. This I write not

not without good ground. The lesse familiar I am with him, the more diligently I dive into his disposition. And therefore be secure, that he delates your restitution for no other reason, but because hee would haue so much the iuster occasion, to denie their suits with whom hee is displeased. Besides, all his friends, I meane those in greatest opinion with him, stand greatly affected to your vertues, whereunto may bee added the peoples fauour vnto you, yea, and of all *Rome* besides. And moreouer the Common-wealth, which, to tell truth; at this instant, is but weake, (but of necessitie it must recouer it former abilitie) with the same strength it shall haue, will constraine her gouernours, to restore you to your countrie. I said in the beginning, that I could not offer you my endeauour, and yet now I'le presume to offer you it: for I will seeke by all ceremoniall obseruance, to gaine, and binde vnto me *Cæsars* friends, who loue me well, and spend much time with me; and by all artificiall meanes, I will studie to insinuate my selfe into *Cæsars* amitie; which hitherto hath beene denied me, through my ouer respective nature. In conclusion, take my faithfull promise, that I will leaue no waies vnattempted, by which I may thinke to compasse our ends: And in this I'le doe much more, then I

dare

dare to write. In all other occurrents command me, for you shall see mee exceed the loue of all your other friends and kindred. I haue nothing in the world, which you may not esteeme as well yours as mine owne; But of this I'le dilate no further, being desirous that you should hope rather to helpe your selfe with your owne; as I hope you shall. Nothing remaines, but to exhort, and intreate you, that you would arme your minde against Fortune: and remember not onely those things which you haue learned of other great men, but also those which haue proceeded from your owne studie and vnderstanding. Which doing, you shall relie on good hopes: and with fortitude ouercome any aduerse accident. But who is better acquainted with these reasons, then your selfe? I will enterprise any thing, whereby I may yeeld you assistance: and I will preserue in memorie the good: which you wrought for me in the vnfortunate time of my banishment. Farewell.

Cicero, to Cneius Plancius. Epist. 14.

I Receiued from you two letters, deliuered in *Corcyra*: in one of which you

you did congratulate with me, for having understood, that I still retained my former dignitie. In the other you wished me happie successe of the new marriage. And I affirme vnto you, that I hold my dignitie; if it may bee cal'd dignitie for a man to carrie that minde towards the Common-wealth, which all honest men ought: but if dignitie consist in effecting your vpright counsels and ends; or at least in defending freely your opinions; there is not so much as the least appearance of dignitie; and 'tis no small matter, if we may governe our selues so, that with patience we may wade through the torrent of euils, which partly threaten, and partly lie vpon vs; which is very difficult in so miserable a warr, whose ends threaten slaughter on the one side, and seruitude on the other. Amidst which daungers I am much comforted, when I call to minde, that I foresawe these dreadfull calamities, euer since the time, that I feared not onely the victory of our enemies, but our owne also. For I saw, but too plainely, how daungerous that contestation would be, which propounded to it selfe, the *Roman* Empire for a reward. And admit they had vanquished, to whom through hope of peace, and no desire of warre I was linked; yet I well vnderstood, how bloudie the victorie of enraged, ambitious

ambitious, and insolent men would be: but if they had lost the day: how many great men, and excellent Citizens would haue lost their liues. Who, when I laboured for peace, and laid open to them the miseries, which ciuil warres produce, they supposed, that my exhortations proceeded rather from feare then prudence. Whereas you reioyce for my new marriage, I know assuredly, that you affect my repose & quiet: but I had neuer taken any new course, in these so lamentable times, but that, at my returne I found mine owne estate, in as bad termes as the Common-wealth: For I was not secure vnder mine owne roofe: my whole house was full of entrappings and snares; I found gins laid euery where for me, euen by those, who for my singular benefits, should rather haue had a tender care, of my goods, and safetie. Whereupon I thought, by the trust of a new affinitie, to secure my selfe, from the perfidious practises of the olde: But enough hath beene said, concerning our affaires, and more peraduenture, then was requisite. As for yours, take a good heart, and feare no particular contrarietie: For ouercome who will, I see not how you runne into any great danger: *Cæsar*, hauing alreadie as far I can conceiue, asswaged his anger towardes you; and the *Pompeians* hauing neuer hated

hated you. *Cæsar* I know, hath receiued you into grace, and *Pompeius* neuer wished you ill. For mine owne part, I promise you, that wherein soeuer I may doe you good, although at this present, I see, I can pleasure you but little; yet will I striue, with endeuours and counsell, or at least, with heartie affection and loue, to procure your profit, honour, and safetie. I beseech you, aduertise me, of what soeuer you doe, or intend to doe, with expedition. Farewell.

Cicero to Cneius Plancius.
Epist. 15.

I Receiued from you a very briefe letter, wherein I was not certified of that, that I desired to know: and haue vnderstood that, which before I knew very well For I was not informed, how constantly you support, the common miseries; I plainly discern'd, how much you lou'd me: but this I knew before; if the other had beene knowne vnto me, I had beene furnished with matter to write of. But though heretofore by letter I expresst my mind vnto you; yet at this present likewise, I thought good to admonish you, that you would not thinke your selfe, to be at any worse point

point then others. We are all in great danger, but the perill is common. This disaster is vniuersall: you must not therefore shake it off, nor request, that, that be done for your selfe alone, which is denied all others. Let vs therefore till betweene vs retaine that minde, which we euer maintain'd among our selues: whereof, I hope well on your behalfe; and for mine owne, I'le warrant you. Fare-well.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE FAMILIAR EPISTLES OF M.T. CICERO.

Quintus Metellus Celer, sonne of Quintus, Vice-consull, to Cicero. Epist. 1.

IF you be in health, I am very glad. I should neuer haue thought, that you had so little esteemed our mutuall loue, and the amity betweene vs renued, that for a word only, you would seeke the ruine of my brother *Metellus*; to whom some respect was due, if not for his owne sake, yet at least for the nobilitie of our

 family,

familie, & for the singular loue I beare, both to you, and the Common wealth. But now I both see him to be beset with enemies; and small accompt to be made of my selfe, by him that had good reason to esteeme me. So that I, who haue charge of the Prouince, and Armie; I that am armed for your defence, am extreamely distracted. And because you haue neither borne you as equitie, nor as the clemencie of our predecessors required you; no maruaile though hereafter you repent you. I did not beleeue, you could haue carried so mutable a minde, towards me, and mine: And yet your iniuries cannot be of so great efficacie, as to separate me from the Common-wealth. Farewell.

Cicero, to Quintus Metellus Celer; sonto Quintus, Vice-Consull. Ep. 2.

IF you and the Armie bee safe, and in health: I am glad. You write vnto me, that for the mutuall loue, and late amity renewed betweene vs, you could neuer haue beleeued, that I should haue held you in so base an esteeme: by which words I know not, what you would infer: But I imagine, that it

might be reported vnto you, how I arguing in the Senate, vsed this speech; That many were greeued, because I had preserued the Common-wealth: and that your neerest kinsmen, whom you could not well denie, wrought you to farre, that you should not vrge my commendation in the Senate, as before you were resolued. In saying of which, I further added, that the office of preserving the Common-wealth, was equally diuided betwixt vs. For, I had defended *Rome* from domesticall practices, & from the treason of corrupt Citizens; and you, *Italy*, from the armed enemy, and priuie conspiracies: and that this our society, in so great & honourable an enterprize, was broken off, by your kindred: who tooke it ill, that I, who had wonderfully approu'd of you, in matters of so great importance, should be in any part, by you recompenced. And declaring in this discourse, with what ioy I attended your praise, and approbation; and how frustrate I remain'd of that hope; the Senators tooke contentment herein, and began to smile; not for what I spake of you, but because my expectation prou'd vaine and fruitlesse: and because openly, and sincerely, I reueal'd the desire I had, to bee commended by you. It cannot therefore in this be sayd, that I haue not honoured you, manifesting

what contentment I should take, to heare your testimonie, adde greater grace to my renowned actions. Whereas you speake of mutuall loue, I know not how you vnderstand loue mutuall: but I suppose, that then it is truely mutuall, when the one, and the other party loues, with equall and answerable affection. If I should haue sayd, that to doe you a fauour, I renounced my Prouince; you would rather haue thought mee vaine herein, then otherwise. For the renunciation was made, to giue my selfe satisfaction, and euery day I am better pleas'd therewith, then other. It is true, that in giuing it vp, I sought to haue it committed to you. I will not mention the offices I did you, before you were drawne by lot: onely, be assured of thus much, that my Colleague did nothing in it, without my priuitie. Remember you the rest: with what expedition, so soone as your lot was drawne, I assembled the Senate on the selfe same day; how aboundantly I spake in your commendation. Did not you once tell mee your selfe, that I did not onely commend you, but exalted your praise, with the scorne and contempt of your Competitors? Besides, the decree, which past vpon such an election that day from the Senate, will testifie my true loue towards you, so long as 'tis extant. And after you

went into the Province, I desire you would call to minde the favours, that I did you, both in the Senate, and with the people; as also the letters I wrote vnto you. And when you haue collected all these things, consider I pray you, whether at your last returne to *Rome*, you requited so many good offices. Whereas you mention our renued amity, I know not herein your meaning, because you terme that renued, which neuer was altred. Whereas you write, that I haue done ill, hauing by one onely word, procured your brothers ruine; First, be assured, that I like wondrous well, this your zeale, and good will, accompanied with such vnfeeraall loue and affection to your brother: And then, if in any thing, for the respect of the Common-wealth, I haue beene opposite to your brother; I request you to pardon me; For, no man can loue the Common-wealth, better then my selfe: but if I defended my reputation, from his violent passion towards mee; it may suffice you, that I neuer complained to you, of the iniury hee did mee: who, because I knew, that he prepared, and disposed the whole power of his Tribuneship to my destruction: I besought *Claudia* your wife, and *Mutia* your sister, whose good opinion towards me, I discouered in many things, for the

amities sake betwixt me and Pompey, that they would diuert him from so wicked a determination. But hee, notwithstanding I had been Consul, & had preserued the Commonwealth, did me such an iniury, as was neuer offred to any Magistrate, of what mean rank soeuer; nor to the worst Citizen. For, at the last of December, as peraduenture you haue heard, he prohibited me, in the resignation of my Consulship, to giue account vnto the people of my proceedings: which iniurie notwithstanding, at last redounded to my great honour. For, hee permitting me no further intimation, then mine oath; I swore alond, and the people with a loud voyce, and to my great glory, swore likewise, that mine oath was most true. Hauing receiued this grosse disgrace; yet the same day, I sent to *Metellus*, those that were friends to vs both; requesting him to remoue that resolution, he had vndertaken against me; To whom he made answer, That it was not in his power: because, speaking to the people, he had formerly implyed, that there was no reason, that he should haue authoritie giuen him to speake, who would not grant the same to others, but had punished them, without permitting them lawfull plea. Oh, what a graue Gentle-man, and braue Citizen was this! who, though I had deliuered the

Senate

Senate from death, *Rome* from combustion, and *Italy* from war, thought mee worthy of that punishment, which the Senate, out of the consent of all good men, had inflicted vpon them, who meant to set *Rome* on fire; hew the Magistrates & Senators in peeces; and to haue raisd vp, a most bloudy or cruell war. Vpon this, I opposd my selfe to your brother, who was present. For, the first of Ianuary, I so buckeld with him in the occasions of the Commonwealth, as hee might perceiue, I wanted neither courage, nor constancie. And afterwards on the third of the same moneth, hee hauing conuocated the people, in the beginning of his Oration, he went about to depraue mee, naming, and threatning me euery third word, with full resolution, vtterly to sinke mee; not by way of Iustice, or equitie, but by bitter violence, and passionate outrage. Whose temeritie, if I had not stoutly withstood; who would not haue thought, that in my Consulship, I shewed resolution, rather out of the benefit of my Fortunes, then either for vertue, or fortitude of mind: If you neuer perceiu'd how ill *Metellus* stood affected to mee; this may bee an euident signe, that he little esteemes you; neuer writing vnto you, of a matter of so great importãce. But if he did impart his minde vnto you, you should thinke

me very milde, and tractable, in that I neuer complain'd therof to you, though I had all the reasons [in the world] to doe it. For, not only in words, as you write, but with all maner of iniuries, he labour'd to persecute me. Now, obserue my humanitie, if it may be termed humanitie, when a man does not onely suppresse the choler of his mind but further humbleth himself, to his enemie. I, though your brother had shamefully iniuried me, yet neuer shew'd my selfe to him, otherwise then fauorable. And, whensoeuer his name came in question in the Senate; I alwaies ioyn'd with them in opinion, that proceeded mildly with him. Neither content with this; although hee were mine enemie: yet in that hee was your brother it did not onely displease mee, but further, I wrought by al my means, and power, that the decree enacted against him, might be cancell'd. So, as I oppos'd not your brother; but I haue resisted your brother, neither was I towards you, mutable, as you write; but so constant, that I haue perseuer'd in louing you, though you gaue me occasion to the contrarie. As also at this present, though you write to mee after a threatning manner, yet will I not complaine. Because I doe not onely pardon, but high'ly commend your passion: naturall affection intimating

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in this, of what force brotherly loue is. But yet I entreat you, that you will also truely waigh my passion; allowing, that if your friends did bitterly, and with cruelty, persecute me without cause; I ought in this case, not onely, not to giue them place, but make my repaire to you for aid; and make vse of the power, as well of your selfe, as of the whole Armie, vnder you. I euer desir'd to haue you my friend, as likewise, I haue omitted no endeauour, whereby it might appeare, that I was not your friend onely, but your most louing friend. My heart is now, that which it euer was, and so shall continue, so long as you please: and if the hatred that I deseruedly beare to your brother, can any whit extenuate the loue betwixt vs; I will hereafter forbeare to hate him, least it be an occasion, that I bee not beloued. Fare well.

Quintus Metellus Nepos, to Cicero. Epist. 3.

YOur manifold courtesies worke so with mee, that I giue no credit to those dishonest reports, which this importunate man sends vnto me. Neither make I any true account of such like men, by reason of their leuity: and

freelie taking your selfe in his stead, I accept you for my brother: imagining that he is no more liuing amongst men: Though twice I haue sau'd him, whether hee would or no. Touching my selfe, and the things I haue effected, I will write thereof at large to *Lelius*, not to be burdensome vnto you, with so many letters. You shall know my minde by him, about the state of this Prouince: Let mee intreate you, if it bee possible to continue the same loue, towards me, that you alwaies bare me. Farewell.

Cicero to Quintus Metellus Nepos Consul. Epist. 4.

THE letters of *Quintus* my brother, & of *Titus Pomponius*, my inward friend, so rais'd my hopes, as I expected aide, no lesse from you, then from your Colleague: Whereupon I wrote vnto you, conformable to the state wherein I stood, giuing you thankes for what you had heretofore done, and requesting you, hereafter neuer to faile mee. After this, my friends not onely wrote vnto me, but many that came hither, reported it by word of mouth, that your affection towards me was alter'd which was the cause, I would presume

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no more to write, because I would not bee irkesome, nor troublesome vnto you. Now, my brother Quintus aduertising mee, how exceeding kindelie you spake of mee in the Senate, I thought it but my dutie, and most requisite, to thanke you againe for the loue, which still you manifest vnto me. But if I shall not wrong your curtesie, I would intreate you, that you would preserue your friends, and me also, rather then by their arrogancie, and crueltie, to oppose mee: you haue ouercome your selfe, in pardoning the Commonwealth your priuate enmities, and will you foster other mens [rancors] against her? I giue you my faithfull promise, that if out of your clemencie you lend me your aide, in all occasions I will rest at your command: but if you permit the Senate, people, and Magistrates to be crosse, in reuoking me out of this vnworthie banishment, wherein I was driuen, by wicked violence, not onelie to my owne, but to the ruine of the Commonwealth: remember, that you may hereafter desire to succour vs both at such a time, when no means is left, either for her escape, or my safetie. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Antonius, sonne to Marcus Imperator. Ep. 5.

THough I resolu'd not to write any thing vnto you, but by way of recommending some Friend; not because I knew my commendations would take any great place with you, but that they who entreated me, might perceiue, that our friendship was no whit impaired; yet when *Titus Pomponius* was comming towards you, who better knowes then any other, what I haue desired, and effected in your behalfe; and doth besides long to gratifie you; and beares me singular affection: I thought good to write vnto you, especially not being able to satisfie *Pomponius* in any other wise. If I should say, that you were much bound vnto mee, I should not lie; hauing euer procured your benefit, honor, and reputation; whereas your selfe can ruely testifie, that you neuer did mee any fauour: rather you haue sometimes sought to hurt mee, for as much as I haue vnderstood from many: For I'le not affirme, that my selfe euer found it not to vse the very same word accidentallie, with which they say, you were wont to picke quarrels with mee. But I meane not to write that vnto you,

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which hath beene reported to me: I leaue it for *Pomponius* to deliuer vnto you; who apprehended the same discontentment which I did. The Senate and people of *Rome*, are witnesses of the notable offices which I haue performed for your honour: whither you euer recompenst mee in any part, none knowes better then your selfe. How farre you may command me, let others giue their censure: whatsoeuer I did for your sake, I did it first out of mine owne disposition, and then to be reputed constant. But now I giue you to vnderstand, that such an occasion prepares it selfe, that I must needes with greater zeale doe my endeauour. And I will bend my selfe throughly thereunto, so I hade not my paines, and trauell lost; for in this case, you your selfe would hold me for a foole. *Pomponius* will informe you wherein my helpe is so importing, the which *Pomponius*, though I am confident, you will doe any thing for his sake, neuerthelesse I commend him to you: And if any of the loue remaine with you, that heeretofore you bare me, I pray you demonstrate it to me wholly in his person; You cannot doe mee a more acceptable office then this. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Publius Sextius, sonne to Lucius Quæstor. Epist. 6.

Decius the Notarie, came and entreated me, that at this present I would prevent that any man should be allotted to succeed you. I, although I had the best opinion of him, that could bee had of one of his condition: and tooke him for your friend; yet, calling to minde what you wrote vnto me, not many daies before, I thought it hard to beleeue, that you should haue changed resolution: neither would I stand to his meere word, although I tooke him for a discreete and modest person. But after *Cornelia* your wife spake with *Terentia*, and *Quintus Cornificius* certified me thereof: I was carefull to bee present in the Senate, as oft as it fate. And concerning your desire, to remaine still in the Prouince, I had much a doe to make *Quintus Fusius*, Tribune of the people, and the rest to beleeue it, to whom a little before, as also to mee, you had written the contrarie. The affaires of the Prouinces were deferred till Ianuarie, but notwithstanding, at that time, wee hoped to obtaine our purpose. The kinde office you did me, in writing, that you desire, my

buying of *Crassus* house, might proue fortunate vnto me: was an occasion, that not long after, I bought it for an hundred, and fiue thousand crownes: so that I feele such a burden of debt vpon my shoulders, that I could wish, to enter into some conspiracie, so they would accept of mee. But the hatred they beare me is so great, as they offer mee repulse, and malice me openly, as the cause of their ruine: besides they are not confident, and are afraid, that I lay some snares for them; not beleeuing, that I can want money, who freed the vsurers, from their violence. In truth, I am reputed for that cause, a sufficient man: and there are some, that lend freely for fixe in the hundred. I went to see your house, and building, which I thought in euery part verie faire. I haue defended *Antonius* in the Senate house, with the greatest seruencie, and care I could; and by my speech and authoritie I haue much drawne the Senate to fauour him: I would not faile him: though for some offices past, 'tis well knowne, how ill hee hath requited me. I pray you, write often to me. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Cneius Pompeius magnus, Sonne to Cneius. Ep. 7.

I And all men elſe, tooke great delight in the letters, which you wrote to the Senate; For you giue ſo much hope of a ſecure ſtate, as putting my truſt wholly in you, I haue alwaies promiſed to euery one. But on the contrarie, thoſe your old enemies, who were become your new friends, hearing the newes of your victorie, remain'd amazed, and aſtoniſhed; ſeeing themſelues fruſtrated of the hope, they had, to come to the glorie of ſo noble an enterprize. The letters you wrote vnto me, though they containe but little demonſtration, of your loue towards me, were neuertheleſſe very deare vnto me. For I neuer reioyce more at any thing, then I doe when I vnderſtand, that I haue diſcharg'd my dutie: and, if afterwards any man in effects bee not anſwerable, I am glad, that I reſt ſuperior in courteſie. I make no doubt, but the Common-wealth will reconcile ioyne, and binde vs togethers; though my affection towards you, which in many reſpects you may haue deſerv'd, were not ſufficient to make mee enioy your loue and fauour. And becauſe you may know, what I would haue had you writ-

written to me, I will tell it you plainely, both as my nature and our Amitie requireth. I haue compassed matters of such qualitie, as I firmely beleeued, that you would reioyce with me; being bound thereunto, first, in respect of your countrie, and then in consideration of our friendship. But I imagine you forbare the doing of such an office, for feare of offending some man. Though I assure you, ther's none but commends that, which I affected for the safetie of my countrie. And when you come, you shall vnderstand, that I bare my selfe therein with so much iudgement, and greatnesse of minde, that you will not esteeme my amitie contemptible; perceiuing by the effects, that as you are far greater, then euer was *Scipio Africanus*, so I am not inferior much to *Lelius*. Farewell.

Cicero to Marcus Licinius Crassus, sonne to Marcus. Ep. 8.

I Know that all your friends haue written to you, with what endeuour, and affection, I haue defended, and augmented your dignitie. For I haue trauail'd in such sort, that they may very well perceiue, the desire I haue to pleasure you. I haue so bandied with the Consuls,

continually dispersed in the, and euerie day to encreased, that for my part, I hold both the Cure, and the peace of Citizens, vtterly lost. But it is so stop't, that, as for that reprochfull danger, I suppose, wee may liue for euer secure. Other things, that yet remaine to bee acted, are important and many: but one must be the man, that must effect them all. Though we are intermixed with those, which are of greatest moment. For, touching that which hath hitherto beene done, wee haue freed our selues of the King; but not of the Kingdom. For, though the King be absent, yet we put all that in execution, which the King appointed to be performed. And not onely this; but some things also, which hee himselfe, if hee had liued, would not haue allowed, wee approue because hee designed them. And of this, I know not when wee shall see an end. New Lawes are propounded: exemptions are granted: great taxes imposed: banished men are restored: [and] false decrees of the Senate are produced: so as it seemes, that the hatred onely of that wicked man, and the greefe of iniuries is removed; but the Common-wealth is still tormented with those troubles, whereunto hee brought her. Of all these things, you must make an end, of necessitie; and not suppose, that the Common-wealth hath

hath had dreadie from you what was sufficient. Shee hath indeed so much, as I would neuer haue hoped or: but shee is not content with this: and the greatnesse of your benefit and courage considered, shee expects, and desires from you, greater matters. Hitherto, with the death of the Tyrant, and by your meanes, she is reuenged of her inuaders: but which of her ornaments hath shee recouered? Take you, peradventure, these for ornaments, that shee obeyes him dead, whom liuing shee could not support? or, that wee defend his writings; whose Lawes we ought to abrogate? you'l tell me, we so determined. It is true: But wee did it, to giue way vnto the times, which is a Common-wealth, are of great force. But some, bearing themselues indiscreetly, and vngrateful, assume too much securitie, vpon our courtesie. Of which, and manie other things, wee will shortly discourse at our meeting. In the meane while, perswade your selfe that I, both in respect of the Common-wealth, which was euer most dease vnto me, as also for the loue we beare one another: haue an especiall care of your dignity. Looke vnto your heath. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 2.

I Am verie glad, that my sentence, and Oration, giues you content. The which, if I could often vse, it would be no great labour to vs, to re-establish the Common-wealth in libertie. But this foolish, and debauched companion, (and a wickeder wretch, then hee was, of whom you were wont to say, that there was slaine an impious man,) seekes all meanes to procure a murder: and hee doth [illegible] no other end charge me, that I plotted *Cæsars* death; but because the old souldiers might rise vp against mee. Which danger no wayes daunts me; so that I may also purchase praise for that, which you most gloriously haue effected. And thus, neither *Piso*, who was the first that spake against him, without anie man to second him; nor I, who a month after, did the like; nor *Publius Serailius*, who spake after me; can securely goe into the Senate. For, that bloudie fellow vseth all meanes, to procure some slaughter: and, the xx. of September, he thought to begin with mee. And I can tell you, he came prouided into the Senate, hauing for mante daies, in *Metellus* village, well considered that, which he

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meant to vtter against me. But, what sound consultations could hee haue amiddest wine, and brothels? and therfore euerie one thought, as before I wrote vnto you, that after his accustomed manner, hee would haue vomited, and not declaimed. Therefore, whereas you write, that you trust, that some good may be done by our authoritie, and eloquence: in truth, some benefit, in respect of so many euils, hath beene alreadie wrought. For, the people of Rome know, that there are three consular persons, who, for having spoken freely, what they thought behoouefull for the Common-wealth, cannot securely goe into the Senate. Neither must you expect any thing else. For, your greatest friend ioyes wholly in his new affinitie. So that, he cares no more for sports: and he bursts for enuie, seeing the fauour, which the people, with cheerfull flouts, afford your brother. That other kinsman, is also pacified by the new Commentaries of *Cæsar*. These things are tolerable: But this is insupportable; that there is one, who perswades himselfe, that in your veere his son should bee Consull; and for this cause, he seemes diligently to court his villanie. *Lucius Cotta*, my familiar friend, through a certaine fatall despaire, as he saith, comes not much into the Senate. *Lucius Cæsar*, an excellent,

lent, and valiant Citizen, is hindred by ſickneſſe. *Seruius Sulpitius*, who is of great eſteeme, and deſirous of the generall good, is not in *Rome*: the others, except thoſe elected, pardon mee, if I terme them not Conſulares you know, who are the principall defenders of the Senate; who, if the Common-wealth were peaceable, were but a few: but, fewer now, when ſhe is in moleſtation. Wherefore, all hope lies in you; the which, notwithſtanding, lies not in you neither, if you remaine far off for your ſecuritie; but if you enter into any enterpriſe worthie of your glorie, I would it might be compaſſed, with our fatherſ. If not; yet this is moſt certaine, that by your meanes the Common-wealth in ſhort time ſhall be able to recouer her former being. I neither am, nor will be wanting to your friends: who, whether they ſeeke mee, or not, I will diſcharge thoſe offices, for your ſake, which may beſeeme the truſt, and loue I beare you. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Caſſius.

Epiſt. 3.

YOur friend doth euerie day more then other, ſhew his vnkindneſſe and beſtialitie. Erit, in the Statua, that he erected

erected in the Rostes, he hath ingrauen these words. TO OVR BEST DESERVING PARENT. So that men thinke, that you haue not onely committed homicide; but that you haue betrayed your Countrey. Why doe I say, you? I should say, wee: for that furious fellow affirmes, that I was the Ring-leader of that your notable seruice. I would I had beene: he should not now haue thus molested vs. But this concerned you. Which, seeing it happened not. I would to God I had counsell to giue you. But yet I doe not see, what I should doe my selfe; and what can bee attempted against force, without force? And all their designe is this, of *Cæsar*. Whereupon he, being by *Cæsarius*, conducted to speake vnto the people, the second day of October: in verie truth departed disgracefully. But yet he vttered [such] things of you, who haue preserued your Countrey, as should haue beene deliuered of one, that had betrayed it. Of my selfe hee spake this; that hee was most assured, that, as vouhe retofore; so now, *Cæsarius* did all things by my direct ons. The rest, how it is, iudge by this; that they haue taken away the prouision from your Legate, which is vsually allowed, for his iourney. What is their meaning, thinke you, in doing this? Vndoubtedly, that he is the Legat, not of a

friend, but of an enemie to the Common-wealth. Oh wonderfull miserie! We could not support the Master: and now we serue our fellow-seruant. And yet, for all this, (though I desire more then I can hope for) there still remaines some hope in your valour. But where are the men? I conceale the rest: and leaue it to your selfe to bee considered. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 4.

I Would you had inuited mee to that supper, on the xv. of March; not a dish of meat should haue remained. Now your reliques disturbe mee, more then ame man else. We haue Consuls of singular valour, but bad Consulars; the Senate is verie resolute, but those that are most resolute, haue least authoritie. You can desire no more of the people: they are most valiant, and singularly well inclined; and so is all *Italy*. On the contrarie, *Philippus* and *Piso*, Ambassadours, beare themselues after such a fashion; as there was neuer any thing more brutish, or impious. [For] being sent to *Antonius*, to propound some things vnto him, in the behalfe of the Senate;

Senate; and he not willing to perform any of them: they, without the Senates order accepted from him, and brought vs intolerable demands. And therefore euerie one hath recourse to me; and at length, in matter of publique safetie, I haue the loue, and concourse of the people. But from you, I had no aduertisements, neither what you did, or intended to doe, nor where you were. The rumour was, you were in *Syria*, but there was no certaintie thereof. Of *Brutus*, not being so farre off, the newes that come seeme truer. *Dolabella* hath beene much blamed by men of vnderstanding, because hee so suddenly sought for the gouernment of *Syria*, your Prouince; you hauing not beene there full thirtie dayes. Wherefore, euerie man was of opinion; that he should not be receiued by you there. Great commendation is ascribed to you, and *Brutus*; because men iudge, that you haue, beyond all hope, raised an Armie. I would write more at large, if I knew how things stood, and in what estate you were. And what I now write vnto you, I write out of the opinion of men, and according to fame. I desirously expect your letters. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 5.

I Suppose, that hitherto the winter hath beene some hinderance, that we could not heare certainely, what you did; and least of all, where you were: neuertheleſſe, euerie one affirmed, (out of their deſire, as I ſuppoſe) that you were in *Syria*, and had forces. Which, was the more eaſily beleeued, in that it ſeemed probable Out *Brutus* hath made purchaſe of ſingular praiſe: hauing performed ſuch great matters, and ſo far beyond the opinion of all men; that, beſides their being acceptable of themſelues; they are, for the expedation vſed therein, much more welcome. Wherefore, if thoſe places bee in your power, which wee ſuppoſe; the Common-wealth is fortified with great defences. For, euen from the firſt limits of *Greece*, as far as *Ægypt*, wee ſhall be aſſiſted, by excellent Citizens, that gouerne thoſe quarters; and by their people. Although (in my opinion) matters were at that paſſe; that all the danger of the warre ſeemed to bee in *Decimus Brutus*: and we hoped, that hee would free himſelfe from the ſiege, by which hee is hindered; and valiantly come out into the field; which, if it fall out,

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the war will be thought ended. Howsoeuer, he was now at length beleaguered but by a few men. For, *Antonius* had a great garrison in *Bononia*; and at *Claterna*, was our *Hirtius*; and *Cæsar*, at *Forum Cornelium*, both of them with a great Armie: and *Pansa* had in *Rome*, leuied many men, which were raised in *Italie* by choice. The winter was an impediment, that as yet, the enterprise was not attempted. *Hirtius* made shew, as by frequent letters hee signifies to me; that hee would doe nothing, but deliberately. Except *Bononia*, *Regium* in *Lombardie*, and *Parma*, we had *Gaule* wholly deuoted to the Common-wealth. And the *Transpadani*, your Clients, stood wonderfully for vs. The [whole] Senate, (besides the Consulters,) was most resolued: of whom, there is onely *Lucius Cæsar*, that is most constant, and who aimes directly at the publique good. Wee haue lost a great stay, by the death of *Seruius Sulpitius*. The others, are partly hollow-hearted, and in part maleuolent: Some enuie their praise, whom they see commended in the Common-wealth. But the people of *Rome*, and all *Italie*, are wonderfully vnited. These briefly were the matters, with which I desired you might bee acquainted. Now I desire, that from those Easterne parts, the light of your valor may be resplendent. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 6.

HOw things stood, when I wrote you these letters, you may vnderstand from *Caius Tidius Strabo*, an honest man, and verie well enclined to the Common-wealth; and to you, so affected, that onely to come, and finde you out, hee hath abandoned his house and substance. And therfore it is needlesse, that I should recommend him to you; his comming may bee a sufficient recommendation. As for our affaires, you are to imagine, and perswade your selfe thus much, that all good mens refuge lies in you, and *Marcus Brutus*; if it fortune, that things succeed not in *Italy*, as they were wished; which God forbid. When I wrote these letters to you, matters were reduced to their last triall. For, *Brutus* could now no longer keepe himselfe in *Mutina*. Who being preserued, the victorie is ours: if not; which God grant otherwise; wee will all flye to you, as to the hauen of safetie. Wherfore, you must take vpon you so great a courage, and make such preparation, as is necessary for the recouerie of the Common-wealth. Farewell.

Cicero

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 7.

WIth what care, both in the Senate, and with the people, I haue defended your honour, I had rather you should vnderstand from other friends, then from my selfe. Which sentence of mine, in the Senate, would easily haue preuailed, if *Pansa* had not violently opposed it. This sentence being deliuered, *Marcus Seruilius*, Tribune of the people, brought mee to speake vnto the assembly. I deliuered of you, what I could, in the audience of so great a multitude, as the *Forum* was able to containe; with such a shout, and consent of the people, as I neuer saw the like. I desire that you would pardon me, though I did in this against the will of your mother in law. She, being fearefull, as women are wont to bee, doubted lest *Pansa* might haue beene offended. True it is, that *Pansa* speaking to the people, alledged, that your mother, and your brother, were not willing, that I should haue denounced such a sentence. But I was not moued with these things: my minde was of another matter: I sought the good of the Common-wealth, which I euer affected, together with your honour, and

estimation. But of that, which I both largely discourted, in the Senate, and deliuered to the people; I would haue you, to acquit my promise. For, I haue promised, and in a manner confirmed; that you neither did, nor would expect our decrees; but that of your selfe, according to your custome, you would defend the Common-wealth. And though wee had not yet vnderstood, either where you were, or what Forces were with you: yet I presupposed, that all the Forces, and people, of those quarters, were in your power. And I held for certaine, that the Prouince of *Asia*, was ere this, by your means recouered. Now beare your selfe so, that in augmenting your owne glorie, you goe beyond your selfe. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 8.

AMongst other aduertisements, which you haue of the proceedings of *Rome*, I think you haue vnderstood, of the wickednesse, extreme leasure, and inconstancie of your kinsman *Lepidus*. Which was the cause, that whereas wee iudged, the warre to haue beene ended, now wee are enforced.

ced, to war, more then euer. All our hope consists in *Decimus Brutus*, and in *Plancus*: but, to speake truth, we haue greater in you, and in my *Brutus*; hoping that you will not onely preserue vs, if matters here, which God forbid, succeed not; but also establish vs in perpetuall libertie. We heard of *Dolabella*, that which we desired: but we had no certaintie thereof. For your selfe, be out of doubt, that hitherto you are reputed a great man: and it is expected, that hereafter likewise, you will make your selfe, knowne for such. Proposing thus much vnto your selfe, labour to come on a pace, to the height of enterprises. The people of *Rome*, are of opinion, that there is nothing, but may by you be compassed, and obtained Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius.
Epist. 9.

THe breuitie of your letters will be the cause, that I also shall be briefe in writing. And, to speake truth, I haue not much whereof to write; knowing assuredly, that the proceedings of *Rome*, are related vnto you, by the ordinarie

aduises; and of yours, in these parts, we heare nothing. For as if *Asia*, were on euery side shut vp, there come no aduertisements vnto vs, but onely a rumor, that *Dolabella* is vanquished: which hitherto is not verified: though they still talke thereof. When wee supposed the warre ended, vpon a suddaine through your *Lentulus*, we are fallen againe into exceeding great trouble. And the greatest hope the Commonwealth hath, is in you, and your people. True it is, that we haue mightie armies: neuertheless, though all things should succeed, as I hope, happily, [yet] it much imports that you come [hither,] for, the hope of the Common-wealth, is but little: I will not say, none at all. But, what is, men looke it should take effect, in the yeare of your Consulship. Farewell.

Cicero to Caius Cassius. Epist. 10.

Epidus your kinsman; [and] my familiar friend; together with others, that reuolted against the Common-wealth; were, by common consent of the Senate, the last of June, denounced rebells. To whom notwithstanding,

standing, all August was graunted to bethinke themselues. The Senate, questionlesse, is full of courage, and the rather by reason of the hopes they conceiue of your succour. The warre at the writing hereof was very hot: for which we may thanke the wickednesse, and inconstancie of *Lepidus*. We heare euery day that newes, which we desire of *Dolabella*. But as yet they haue no ground; nor come they from any person worthie of credite. There is onely a muttering thereof amongst the multitude. Neuertheleſſe, by the informations of your letters, written from the Campe the seuenth of May; the Cittie was of firme beliefe, that he was by this time suppressed. And that you would come into *Italie* with your Armie. To the end, that if things here had the same issue, which we desired, we might employ your councell, and authoritie: but if through hard Fortune, they were doubtfull, as it ordinarily falls out in warres; we might be assisted by your armie; which I will helpe to the best preferment I am able. About which, it will then be a fit time to negotiate, when it shall be knowne what ayde it will [now] afford the Commonwealth, and what formerly it hath afforded. For hitherto, their endeuours onely haue beene heard of; extraordinary doubtlesse, and generous: but the

effect

effect is that, that is expected. Which, I trust, hath in some sort alreadie succeeded: or will succeede very shortly. For valour, and magnanimitie you are aboue all men esteemed. And therefore we desire out of hand to see you in *Italie*. If we haue but you, we shall thinke we haue a Common-wealth. The warre had beene altogether finished, if *Lepidus* had not receiued *Antonius*, who disarm'd, and spoiled, tooke his heeles. Whereupon, *Antonius* was neuer so harefull to the Citie, as *Lepidus* is at this present. For the one raysed warre in the troubles of the Cōmon-wealth; the other in her peace, and victorie. Against this man, we haue *Decimus*, and *Plancus*, elected Consulls. In whom, great hopes are conceiued: But the vncertaine issue of Battailes, makes vs remaine very doubtfull. Be therefore perswaded, that all lyes vpon you, & *Brutus*. And, that you are both expected; but *Brutus* hourely. And, though, as I hope, your enemies will be vanquished before you come; yet, by your authoritie, the Common-wealth will get vp againe, and settle her selfe in some estate, that shall be tollerable. For there are many things which must be look't vnto, when it fortuneth, that the common wealth, shall be wholly free'd from the daunger of her wicked st enemies. Farewell.

Cæsar

Caius Cassius Vice-consull, to Cicero. Ep. 11.

IF you be in health, it pleaseth me: I am health full. I giue you notice, that I am gone into *Syria*, to seeke *Lucius Marius*, & *Quintus Crispus*, Imperator's. Who, when they had heard in what agitation things were at *Rome*; as excellent, and valiant Citizens, they gaue into my hands their Armies: and couragiously, together with me, they apply themselues vnto the seruice of the Common-wealth. And I further aduertise you, that the Legion, that *Quintus Cæcilius Bassus* had, is come to me. And that *Aulus Alienus* hath consigned ouer the foure Legions which he conducted out of *Ægypt*, to me also. Now, I cannot imagine it to be anie wayes needfull, for me to exhort you to defend the common-wealth, and vs, so far as is requisite. I desire you should vnderstand, that powerfull aydes are not wanting, eyther to you, or to the Senate. Wherefore, with cheerefull hopes, and great courage goe on, to defend the Common-wealth. About the rest, *Lucius Carteius*, a friend of mine, shall conferre with you. Farewell. This fift of March. From the Camp's amongst the *Tarichea*.

Caius

Caius Cassius Vice-consull, to Cicero. Ep. 12.

IF you be in health, I am glad; my selfe am so. I redde your letters, wherein I perceiue your singular loue towards me. For, you seeme not only to fauour vs; as, in respect of the common-wealth, and for our owne sakes you euer did: but further; to be verie carefull in our behalfe, and to remaine much perplexed. Whereupon, I supposing you thought, that while the Common-wealth was suppreſt, we could haue no repose; and that you were much troubled, in that you doubted of our safetie: I had no sooner receiued the Legions, which *Anius Allienus* conducted out of *Ægypt*, but I presently wrote vnto you; and sent many post's to *Rome*. I also wrote vnto the Senate; but, I appoynted that my letters should not be presented, till you had red them, if my people haue obserued what I commaunded. But, in case my letters haue not beene safely deliuered; I am sure, that *Dolabella*, (which killing *Trebonius* by trecherie, hath polletted all *Asia*) hath taken my Cortier's, and intercepted them. All the Armies which were in *Syria*, are in my power. I haue beene somewhat slow in paying the

souldiers

souldiers what I promised: [yet] now at length, I find my selfe ridde of care. But, because you know, that I haue refused no perill, nor labour in the seruice of the Common-wealth; And that perswaded, and aduised by you, I haue taken vp Armes, against a faction of wicked rebels; and that I haue not onely assembled an armie, in defence of the Common-wealth, and liberrie; but also taken it by force from most cruell tyrants; (whereof, if *Dolabella* had bin Commander, he would haue encreased the forces of *Antonius*; not onely by his going; but with the fame, and expectation of his armie:) let me intreat you to take mine honour to your protection. And, if you conceiue, that the deserts of the souldiers towards the Common-wealth be of exceeding importance: for this, and the causes before alledged, be carefull to ayde, and fauour them. And so procure, that no man may repent him of choosing rather to follow the Common-wealth; then hope of spoyle, and rapine. In like manner, take vnder your protection, so far as in you lyes, the honour of *Marius*, and *Crispus*, Imperator's. For, that terchlesse *Bassus*, would not assigne ouer vnto me his Legion. So that, if the souldiers in despight of him, had not sent me Ambassadors; he would haue kept *Apamea* beleaguered till by maine force.

force, it had beene taken. This I request of you, not onely for the Common-wealth's sake, which was euer most deare vnto you; but also in regard of our amitie; which I assure my selfe, you greatly esteeme. And be secure, that this Armie which I haue, is for the seruice of the Senate, and euery honest man, but principally for your selfe. And it both loues, and esteemes you, hauing daily of the affection which you beare it: but if it vnderstand that you are carefull of their profit, it will also thinke it selfe bound to doe what it is able in your behalfe. After the writing hereof, I heard that *Dolabella* was come into *Cilicia*, with his forces. I will make to vardes him, and endeauour to certifie you of the issue. I would fortune would graunt me such happinesse, as is answerable to my deserts towards the Common-wealth. Looke to your health, and loue me. From the Campe this seuenth of May. Farewell.

Caius Cassius to Cicero.
Ep. 15.

I Hope you are in good health, as I was at the writing hereof. First, we reioyce for the safetie; and victorie of the

the Common-wealth; and then, in that your praises are euery day renewed. For, you procuring a powerfull Consular, and greater then when you were Consull, you haue gone beyond your selfe. Whereat wee doe reioyce, but cannot sufficiently wonder. There is annexed to your vertue, something that is fatall, which we haue now many times discerned by experience. For your gowne is more fortunate, then th'armes of other men. Which at this present also, hath wrung the Common-wealth, out of the hands of enemies, and restored it. Now, therefore we shall liue in libertie. Now, we shall haue you, most eminent Citizen; and my dearest, and (in the aduersities of the Common-wealth) approued friend, I say, we shall now haue you, a testimonie of our loue, both to your selfe, and to the Common wealth, which is so neere vnto you. And those things, which you haue many times promised, both to conceale, while wee were in seruitude; and to disclose in my behalfe: then, when they might be auailable: I now, desire not so much that you should vtter them: as that your selfe would but repute them what they are. For I more esteeme of your iudgement then any mans whatsoeuer: neither desire I that you should commend mee aboue my deserts.

ſerts. And theſe our laſt exployts will not I hope, ſeeme diſſonant from the reſt; nor performed vnaduiſedly, and without counſell: but conformable to thoſe cogitations, whereof you are witneſſe. Wherefore, you ought to adde no little to my eſteeme, that my countrie may entertaine the beſt hope of me. You haue O *Marcus Tullius*, children, and neighbours beſeeming you; and to you worthie moſt deare. You muſt alſo in the Commonwealth, next after theſe, make a deare eſteeme of thoſe perſons, who are emulous of your ſtudies. Of which I deſire there may be many; but yet I thinke not, that they are in ſo great a number, that I muſt be excluded; and that you haue no place left you, wherein you may embrace mee, and put mee vpon all things which concurre with your pleaſure, and my deſert. I haue peraduenture laide open my minde vnto you: but what my wit is, cannot through long ſcrutude, be perfectly apprehended. Wee haue, from the Maritime coaſts of *Aſia*, and the *Iſlands*, taken all the ſhipping we could. The preſſe of ſuch as were to rowe, though with great oppoſition of the Cities, was not long in compaſſing. We followed the Armada of *Dolabella*; whereof *Lentulus* was Admirall. Who oftentimes bearing vs in hand, that hee would v-

nite himselfe with vs; and oftentimes departing from vs; at length bare in with *Corcyrus*, and began to keepe himselfe within the port. Leauing it, wee went to *Cyprus*; because we thought it better to returne to the Campe, in that an other Nauie came after; which *Tullius Cymber* had the yeare before, gathered together in *Bithynia*, which was commanded by *Turulius* the Quæstor. And from thence; wee thought good with all speed, to giue you notice of what had happened. The *Tarsenses* most disloyall associats, and the *Laodiceni* farre more foolish, haue voluntarily call'd vnto them *Dolobella*. By the aide of which Cities he hath made vp a kinde of armie, consisting of *Gracian* souldiers. He hath encamped his men before the towne of *Laodicea*, hee hath broken downe a part of the wall, and hath vnited his souldiers with the townes-men. Our *Cassius*, with tenne Legions, and twenty Cohorts of the League, and with foure thousand horse lyes within twenty myles of *Palthos*; and thinkes he may vanquish without comming to fight. Because *Dolabella* is already enforced to buye his wheate at three Tetradrachm's. And, if he cause no prouision thereof to be conueyed in by the shipping of *Laodicea*; hee must of necessitie be shortly famished. And, that he shall not be able to procure

cure any such conueyance; by the great fleete of *Cassius*, which is vnder the gouernment of *Sextilius Rufus*, and those three, which are vnder the conduct of my selfe, *Tullius*, and *Fabius*; he will easilie be hindered. Be you therefore of good hope, and confident; that as you haue there deliuered the Common-wealth; so wee, for our parts, will therin vse all expedition. Farewell. From *Cyprus*, the 13. of Iune.

Lentulus, to his Cicero. Ep. 14.

HAuing met with our *Brutus*, and perceiuing that hee meant to make some stay, before his comming into *Asia*: I returned thither, to collect the remainder of my labours; and to send money forthwith to *Rome*. In the meane time I vnderstood, that *Dolabella's* Nauie was in *Syria*. With better then an hundred great ships to embarque his armie. And that *Dolabella* had made these preparations, to the end, that if his hopes in *Syria* were frustrated, he might get aboord, and make for *Italie*; to ioyne with the [illegible], and residue of Rebells. Whereof I

I was so fearefull, that laying aside all other care, with a few small shipping I made towards him. And, if the *Rhodij* had not crossed me: I had peraduenture ended that businesse. How-soeuer, the greatest number of those ships were taken, and the whole Nauie discomfited. Through feare of our arriuall, the Captaines & souldiers fled: and we tooke all the great merchant ships, of what burden soeuer. I am assured, that I haue preuented *Dolabella's* comming with any Nauie into *Italie*, which I greatly feared; and I haue crost his vnion with his Companions, which might haue put you to some trouble. How greatly the *Rhodij*, despaired both of vs, and the Common-wealth, by the publike letters which I haue sent, you may gather. And certainely I haue written lesse of their inraged disposition, then in effect I found it. But, that I haue written somewhat thereof, doe not wonder: Their follie is too palpable. Neither did any particular iniuries to my selfe, euer moue mee. Their bad practises against our safetie, their desire of following the factious, their standing out in defiance of euerie honest man; could not by me in reason be supported. And yet I esteeme them not all knaues. But the same parties, who neither receiued my father, when hee fled; nor *Lucius Lentulus*; nor

Pompeius;

Pompeius; nor other famous Captains; the verie same as it were out of destinie, are either now themselues in Magistracie; or else haue such therein, as are at their disposing. So that, persisting in doing euill, they shew the same arrogancie. And it is not onely profitable to our Common-wealth, but also necessarie, that such insolencie should bee chastised; which will grow greater, if by impunitie it be supported. As for our honor, I desire, you would haue a care thereof: and when you haue any occasion, either in the Senate, or in any other occurrent, vouchsafe to fauor me. Seeing *Asia* is deputed to the Consuls, and they permitted, that till they come themselues, they may place a Lieuetenant in the gouernment; entreat them, at my request rather to conferre this dignitie vpon my selfe then any other, and that they will constitute me Lieutenant, till either of them comes vnto their gouernment. For they haue no occasion to hasten their comming, or to send hither any Armie. For *Dolabella* is in *Syria*, and will, before these men come, be suppreſt by *Cassius*: as you diuinely foresaw, and did prognosticate. For *Dolabella*, being beaten from *Antiochia*; and in the assault he gaue, ill entreated; distrusting euerie other Citie, is retir'd to *Laodicea*, which is vpon the coast of *Syria*. There I hope shortlie

he he will be rowsed, and having no place of refuge left him: nor being able to withstand so great an Armie, as that of *Cassius*; I make no doubt but that ere this time, he is defeated, and subdued. Whereupon I thinke *Pansa*, and *Hirtius*, need not hasten, in their Consulship to come vnto their Prouinces, but rather discharge their Consulship at *Rome*. wherefore if you request them, that I in the meane while, may haue the managing of *Asia*; I hope you may obtaine it. Besides, *Pansa*, and *Hirtius* promis'd mee by word of mouth, and afterwards wrote vnto me thereof, and *Pansa* affirmed as much to our *Varro*, that he would procure, that during his Consulship, I should haue no successor. Yet I protest that I affect not this prorogation out of any desire I haue vnto the Prouince. For vnto me, it hath euer beene very troublesome, dangerous, and expensiue. But because I would not haue suffered in vaine, so many discommodities, and be vrged to depart from hence, before I reape the last fruites of my laborious industrie. For, if I could send home those somms which I had gathered; I would requite a successor: but to get in that which I disbourssed to *Cassius*; and that which we lost by the death of *Trebonius*; and by *Dolabella's* crueltie; or by their perfidious proceedings, who failed both

both me, and the Common-wealth, against the dutie of their allegeance: Which cannot bee done, without time. I am vrged to desire, that you, as your custome is, would be a meanes, that I may haue this opportunitie. I hope, I haue so borne my selfe towards the Common-wealth, that in reason I may expect, not the benefit of this Prouince, but as much as *Cassius*, and *Brutus*: not onely, in that I was an associate with them, in that same action, and daunger; but also because now, I am not wanting, in any valeur, or industrie. For I was the first, that brake the lawes of *Antonius*; the first that drew *Dolabella's* Cauallerie, to take part with the Common-wealth; and that surrendred it to *Cassius*; the first to prefe souldiers for generall safetie, against that most wicked conspiracie; and that onely vnited *Syria*, and the Armies that were there, with *Cassius*, and the Common-wealth. For, if I had not giuen so much treasure to *Cassius*; so many men; and with that expedition I did; he would neuer haue attempted to goe into *Syria*. Which if it had not beene, the Common-wealth should by this time haue had no lesse cause, to feare *Dolabella*, then *Antonius*. And all these things I did, notwithstanding, I was a familiar friend, and companion to *Dolabella*; and by neare affinitie

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allied to the *Antonij*; and had also by their meanes, gotten my Prouince. But because I bare greater loue to my countrie, I was the first that rais'd war against mine owne familiars. And though I finde, that for these things, I haue not hitherto, had any great recompence: Yet am I not altogether out of hope: nor will I hold it troublesome resolutely to persеuer in the desire of libertie only: but in labour also, and in dangers. Neuertheleſſe if, for the benefit of the Senate, and of all good men, I be also put forward, by some prouocation of iust, and lawfull glorie; wee shall bee in the greater authoritie with others, and consequently, be able the more to assist the Commonwealth. When I was with *Brutus*, I could not see your son, because he was then gone w the troups of horse to their assigned winter garrison: But, that he is so disposed, I weare vnto you, I reioyce both for yours, and for his, but especially for mine owne sake. For I hold him in the esteeme of a Brother, because he is your sonne, and worthie of you. Farewell. From *Perga*: the 29. of May.

Publius Lentulus sonne to Publius, Vice-questor, and Vice-prætor, to the Consulls, Prætors, Tribunes, Senate, people, and Communaltie of Rome.

Epist. 15.

DOlabella hauing by wicked means oppressed *Asia*, I went into *Macedonia*, a neighbour Prouince: and to the Guarisons of the Commonwealth, which *Marcus Brutus* a renowned person, had vnder his gouernment: and I sought to bring to passe, that the prouince of *Asia*, and the impositions, might, by the meanes of persons, which could easily performe it, bee reduced within your authoritie. Whereof *Dolabella*, being very fearefull: and after his sacking of the Prouince, forging the customes, but aboue all, most cruelly pilfaging and selling all the *Romane* citizens, hee being so sodainely departed, that we could not in time come vp with our forces: it was not fit for me, to sojourne there any longer; or to expect supplies of souldiers. And I both thought it good out of hand to returne vnto my office, and to recouer the remainder of the taxations, and to get in, that money whal

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I had collected: and besides this, presentlie to examine, what summes had beene seazed on, and by whose negligence: that I might absolutely informe you of the successe thereof. In the meane while, sayling amongst the Ilands, which lay in my wayto *Asia*, I being informed that *Dolabell's* Naute was in *Lycia*, and that the *Rhodij* had diuers ships furnished, vnder saile, and in a readines: with that shipping, which partlie I brought with me, and in part was gathered by *Patiscus* the vice Quæstor, (a person very inward with mee, both for the familiaritie we haue had together, and for the affection we both joyne the beare to the common-wealth.) I returned to *Rhodes*; being confident in your authoritie, and the Senates decree, by which you had proclaymed *Dolabella* for an enemie: and building vpon the League, which *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Seruius Sulpitius* being Consuls, was renewed with the *Rhodij*; wherein they had taken oath, that they would esteeme those enemies, which by the Senate, and people of *Rome* were so reputed. But we were much deceiued. For, they were so farre from furnishing vs with men, for the securitie of our Naute: that euen at the entrie into the towne, at the Port, those habitations that were without the Citie, denyed our souldiers, not onely sustenance,

but very water: and wee our selues, with one small Barke, were scarcely entertained. Which indignitie, and disparagement of Maiestie, not only to my place, but also to the Empire and people of *Rome*, I for this cause digested; in that by intercepted letters wee vnderstood, that *Dolabella*, being out of all hopes of *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, resolued (as necessarily must ensue) to embarque himselfe, with all his thereunto followers, and with all the money, and so to come for *Italie*. And that for this effect, the great Merchants ships also, of which, there was none, that were of a lesser burthen then two thousand Amphoræ, that were vnited in *Lycie*, were layd for, by his Armada. Moued (O conscript Fathers) with the feare hereof; I the rather made choyce to support these iniuries: and though with our disgrace, first, to attempt all other meanes. Wherefore, being admitted into the Cittie, and Senate, by their consent, I propounded the cause of the Commonwealth, with as great vehemencie, as I could: and set before them, all the danger, which would ensue, if that Rebell should with his associate's bee embarqued. But I found the *Rhodij* so peruerse, that they thought euery one more loyall then those that really were so. Neither did they beleeue, that there was such a

concord.

concord, and vnion of all degrees, courageously to defend Libertie: and were confident, that the Senate, and euery honest man would as yet bee patient; and that it was not possible, that any man should dare to denounce *Dolabella* for a rebell. Finally, whatsoeuer was falsely auer'd by these knaues, they held more true, then in effect it was: or then that, which wee could beate into them. Out of the same peruersitie also, before our comming, and after *Trebonius* was so vnworthily murdred, and so many other wicked actions; two Embassies of theirs went to *Dolabella*; and certainely, without any president, contrary to their lawes, yea, and though they were prohibited by their Magistrates. Whether they did these things for feare, as they affirme of certaine territories which they hold within the continent, or out of a bad intention, or through the ouersweying power of some few; which had also heeretofore vsed the same villanie to renowned men; and being at this present in highest dignities, would not by any example, either on your part, or ours that were present, though easily they might, neither preuent our present perill, nor that which menaced all *Italie*, and our cities; if that Traytor together with his thecuish associates, being expelled out of *Asia*, and *Syria*, had

there arriued. Some also were suspicious, that the said Magistrates, did but entertaine time, and delate vs, while *Dolabella's* Fleet might bee aduertised of our comming. Which suspicion was the more confirmed, by some particulars which succeeded; especially, because *Sextus Marius*, and *Caius Titius*, *Dolabella's* Legates departed suddainly out of *Lycia*, from the Navie; and in a Fust fled away [illegible] there, all the great shippes: in preparation and gathering of which, they had spent no small time, and labour. Wherefore, we comming from *Rhodes* into *Lycia* [illegible] with such shipping as we had; we took the great shippes and restored them to [illegible] owners, and free'd our selues from the great feare which possessed vs, that *Dolabella* with his fellow rebells would haue made for *Italie*. The Nauie which gat away, we pursued as farre as *Syda*, which is the vttermost lymit of my Prouince. There I vnderstood, that one part of *Dolabella's* shipping was fled; and another gone into *Syria*, and *Cyprus*. I knowing that *Caius Cassius*, a famous Captaine, and Citizen, was in *Syria* with a great Fleet in readinesse; returned to my charge: & will endeuour (O conscript Fathers) to vse for you, and for the Common wealth, all officious care and diligence: & to recouer those summes of money, with the greatest

greatest possible expedition; and send them you, with all the accompts. When I haue runne ouer my Prouince, and haue notice, who haue beene faithfull to vs, and the Commonwealth; in preseruing the treasure by me layd vp, and who those wicked persons haue beene, that wilfully carried these publike moneys to *Dolabella*; I will thereof aduertise you. Against whom, if you finde it fitting, rigorously to proceede according to their desert, affording me that reputation, with your authority; I shall the more easily be able, both to recouer the remainder of the Customs, and to preserue it being recouered. In the meane while, that I may the better hold the customes, and defend the Prouince from iniuries, I haue drawen together, a necessarie guard of men, which offered themselues of their owne good will. When these letters were written, there came into *Pamphilia* about thirtie souldiers, that fled into *Syria*, of those that *Dolabella* had entertained in *Asia*. These men brought newes, that *Dolabella* was gone to *Antiochia*, which is in *Syria*, but that he was not there receiued; and striuing diuers times to enter thereinto by force, hee was euer repulsed with disaduantage. So that loosing about an hundred men, and leauing there diuers sicke persons, he fled by night from *Antiochia*,

chia towards *Laodicea*. And how in that night, all his *Asiatick* souldiers left him: amongst which some eight hundred returned to *Antiochia*, and yeelded vp themselues, to those, which held that Cittie for *Cassius*: the others by mount *Amanus*, came downe into *Cilicia*: of which number, they likwise said they were. But, that it was reported, that *Cassius*, with all his people was about foure daies iourney from *Laodicea*, when *Dolabella* went thither. For which cause, I assuredly hope that this most wretched rebell will pay for his disloyaltie sooner then is expected. From *Tarsa*. The 2. of Iune.

Caius Trebonius to Cicero. Epist. 16.

I Arriued in *Athens*, the xxij of May, where to my infinite contentment I saw your Sonne dedicated to the noblest studies; and in great esteeme for his modestie. Wherein, what pleasure I tooke, you may vnderstand without

me

my telling you. For you know well, how much I value you: and how greatly in respect of our ancient and and sincere loue, I reioyce at all your prosperities; much more at this so great an happines. Doe not suppose, my *Cicero*, that I deliuer this to you, to flatter you. Your youth, and therefore ours, (for I haue nothing but what is yours,) hath aboue all others, wonne the hearts of euery man that lyes in *Athens*; and is more then any man studious of those vertues, which you especially affect, and are most excellent. So that, in what I can truelie congratulate with you, I doe it willingly; and no lesse with my selfe, then you: that wee finde him, whom wee must what soeuer hee were, loue of necessitie; to be of such condition that we may loue him willingly. Discoursing with me, hee cast out a word, that he would see *Asia*; whereunto he was not onely by me inuited, But entreated, that he would doe it; especially, while I had the gouernment thereof. And you may be assured, that I will vse him with that deare affection, that your selfe would. I will also take order, that *Crateippus* may come with him: to the end you may not thinke, that in *Asia* he neglects those studies, whereunto you haue exhorted him. I seeme well inspired, and farre entred